ROMAN RULE IN ASIA MINOR

TO THE END OF THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST

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VOLUME II: NOTES

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CHAPTER I

1. For the situation of Pergamum see Pontremoli and Collignon *Pergame* (Paris 1900), p. 4f.: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 2 (Berlin 1913), p. 148f.: Zschietzschmann in *R.E.* XIX 1241f.: Hansen *Attalids*, pp. 4 and 219f. A summary of its history under Philetaerus and his dynasty is given in Strabo XIII p. 623f.; see also U. Pedroli *Regno di Pergamo* (Turin 1896), p. 2f.: Niese *G.M.S.* I p. 403; II pp. 130 and 156f.; III pp. 63f. and 359f.: G. Cardinali *R.P.* p. 4f.: Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2159f.: Willrich in *R.E.* VI 1090f.: W. Hoffmann in *R.E.* XIX 2157f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, pp. 592f. and 681f. and IV 2, p. 206f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII pp. 709 and 721f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 590f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 553f.: Hansen, p. 15f. The genealogy of the kings is given by Strabo, but with the erroneous statement that Philetaerus, Eumenes, the father of Eumenes I, and Attalus, the father of Attalus I, were brothers, whereas, in reality, the father of Attalus I was Philetaerus's nephew and, consequently, first cousin of Eumenes I; see Cardinali in *Mem. Accad. Bologna* VII (1912-13), p. 177f.: Ernst Meyer in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 462f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 208f.: *C.A.H.* VII *Genealogical Tables* I: Hansen, p. 27, note 2. The chronology of the kings is based on Strabo, who assigned 20 years to Philetaerus, 22 to Eumenes I and 43 to Attalus I. According to Polybius XVIII 41, 8 = Livy XXXIII 21, 1, on the other hand, Attalus reigned for 44 years. For discussions of the chronology see C. Meischke *Symbolae ad Eumenis II Perg. Regis Hist.* (Leipzig 1892), p. 13f. and Beloch IV 2, p. 207. Beloch showed that the first year of Philetaerus was 282/1 B.C., the year of his declaration in favour of Seleucus I before the battle of Corupedium (see below note 5). Since Eumenes I defeated Antiochus I, who died early in 261 (see below note 16), he evidently succeeded Philetaerus not later than 262, and since Attalus I died in the autumn of 197 (see below note 45), Eumenes's death must be dated in 241 or 240. Beloch, accordingly, observed that Strabo rounded out the years of Philetaerus but recorded the regnal years of Eumenes and Attalus, in the course of which they severally died, while Polybius rounded out the years of Attalus's reign.

2. Xenophon *Hell.* III 1, 6, where it is related that Teuthrania and Halisarna, in the plain of the Caïcus southwest of Pergamum, belonged to Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of the deposed Spartan King Demaratus who had fled to Darius about 491 B.C. (Herodotus VI 67 and 70) and received this territory from him, and that Gambreium and Palaegambreium, southeast of Pergamum, and Myrina and Gryneium, on the coast south of the mouth of the Caïcus (see Chap. III note 126), belonged to Gorgion and Gongylus, the descendants of Gongylus of Eretria, who about 476 B.C. acted as the representative of the Spartan Pausanias in his dealings with Xerxes (Thucydides I 128, 6f. and Diodorus XI 44, 3) and afterward received land from the King; see E. Thraemer *Pergamos* (Leipzig 1888), p. 214f. and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 10f. Procles appears also as ruler of Teuthrania and Halisarna in Xenophon *Anab.* II 1, 3 and VII 8, 17. While

Pergamum is mentioned in *Hell.* III 1, 6, it is not clear that it belonged to the Demaratidae. On the other hand, when Xenophon visited Pergamum in 399 (*Anab.* VII 8, 8) he was received by Hellas, the "wife of Gongylus the Eretrian and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus," and, according to *Anab.* VII 1, 18, he was aided by Hellas's son Gongylus *βίᾳ τῆς μητρός*. It was supposed by Thraemer (p. 220) that Pergamum belonged to the Gongylidae, but Pareti in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVI (1910-11), p. 618f., on the supposition that Hellas (evidently the wife of the son of the original Gongylus) was the sister of Eurysthenes and Procles and was living in the home of her family, assigned Pergamum to the Demaratidae. Unless we may suppose that the Caïcus was the dividing line between the possessions of the two dynasties (in which case Pergamum belonged to the Demaratidae), it seems impossible to determine which owned the place. In the fourth century, according to a "Chronicle" of Pergamum dating in its present form from the second century after Christ (*O.G.I.* 264), Pergamum was seized by the satrap Orontes during his revolt against Artaxerxes II (about 355 B.C., see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} III 2, p. 240) but was later surrendered by him to Artaxerxes III. The "Chronicle" also relates that in the fourth century a certain Archias (presumably the man of this name who, according to Pausanias II 26, 8, brought the worship of Asclepius from Epidaurus to Pergamum) established a local government of the Hellenic type with an annually elected *πρύτανις*, who later became the eponymous official of the city; see Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX (1911), p. 504f.=*Studi Ellenistici* (Turin 1929), p. 350f. and Chap. V note 45. Pergamum seems to have been a free city when it made an arrangement for reciprocity of civic rights with Temnus, probably in the early third century, perhaps before the rise of Philetaerus; see *O.G.I.* 265=*S.E.G.* IV 678 and Chap. V note 43.

3. For the myth of Telephus, son of Heracles and the Arcadian princess Auge, who, after he had been conveyed in a chest across the Aegean, was adopted by Teuthras, ruler of Mysia, see Strabo XII p. 572 and XIII p. 615: Preller-Robert *Griech. Myth.* II p. 1138f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 7f. According to the developed form of the myth, he became ruler of Pergamum. This version is found in a fragment attributed to the poet Nicander of Colophon (frg. 104, p. 129 Schneider), but perhaps actually by his grandson, in which a King Attalus, who, according to the Scholia and Suidas (*s.v.* *Νίκανδρος*), was Attalus III but may have been Attalus I, was addressed as a descendant of Heracles; see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 2, p. 574f. and Kroll in *R.E.* XVII 250f. For a tribe called *Τηλεφίς* in the second century see Chap. V note 48. The connexion between Pergamum and Telephus has sometimes been regarded as an old tradition preserving the remembrance of an early migration from Arcadia, which, according to Aristides *Orat.* XXIII 15 Keil, was led by Telephus; see Robert in *R.E.G.* XL (1927), p. 212f. In any case, it was officially recognized in the early second century, when Eumenes II caused episodes from the myth to be carved on one of the friezes of the great altar

(see below note 74). A decree of the *demos* of Pergamum, perhaps of the same period, but possibly enacted after the death of Attalus III, granted civic rights to the citizens of Tegea in Arcadia, the supposed home of Auge (*Ins. Perg.* 156); the decree mentions the *συγγένεια* between the two cities and contains a clause ordering that the text shall be inscribed in the sanctuary of Athena, "which Auge founded." In the second century after Christ, sacrifices were offered to Telephus at Pergamum and hymns were sung in his honour (see Pausanias v 13, 3 and III 26, 10), and in the same period an oracle (*Ins. Perg.* p. 239f.=*I.G.R.* IV 360) addressed the Pergamenes as *Τηλεφίδαι*, an appellation given to them also in *Anth. Plan.* 91.

4. The battle of Ipsus is described in Plutarch *Demetr.* 28f. and mentioned in Plutarch *Pyrrh.* 4, 3 and Arrian *Anab.* VII 8, 5. No indication of the situation, however, is given in these sources, and all that is known is derived from the statements of Appian (*Syr.* 55) and Hierocles (677, 9) that it was in Phrygia. It was placed by Ramsay (*J.H.S.* VIII [1887], p. 490f.), who identified it with Julia, situated, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, 35 miles from Philomelium (see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 721) and listed by Pliny (*N.H.* V 105) among the towns in the *conventus* of Synnada, at Isakli, about 13 miles southeast of Çay, and this site was accepted by Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 110. In *H.G.* p. 434, however, Ramsay expressed the view that Ipsus was on higher ground "on the skirts of Sultan Dağ," while Julia was lower down "on the actual line of the road." R. Kiepert, on the other hand, in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 12 B placed it at Çay. This neighbourhood, the plain of the lower Akar Çay, has usually been regarded as the battle-field, and its strategic importance as the junction of the road leading from the north with the Southern Highway (see Chap. II note 18) and so the natural meeting-place for Lysimachus, who had been in Bithynia, and Seleucus, who had been in Cappadocia (Diodorus XX 109, 6 and 113, 4), was pointed out by Hogarth in *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 152f. and Calder in *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 237f. Ruge in *R.E.* IX 2031, however, regarded the site of Ipsus as indeterminable. For a different site (at Sipsin north of Afyon Karahisar) see Honigmann in *Byzantion* X (1935), p. 647f. and Robert *Hellenica* VII (1949), p. 217.

5. The battle took place in the *Κόρου Πεδίον* according to Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 234 Schöne=p. 111 Karst=Porphyrius frg. 3, 8 Jac. (*F.Gr. Hist.* II p. 1205) and the epitaph of a man who died in it (*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 380f.=*R. Phil.* XXVI [1902], p. 257f.). This plain is evidently the *Κύρου* (*v.l.* *Κόρου*) *Πεδίον* of Strabo XIV pp. 626 and 629, lying on the northern bank of the Hermus between the river and its tributary, the Phrygius (see Chap. II note 8); see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text* p. 5 B and Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 458f. The date of the battle was the early summer of 281; see Beloch, p. 108f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 98, note 1: M. Segre in *Athenaeum* XII (1934), p. 437, note 2.

6. Seleucus was killed by Ptolemy Ceraunus, eldest son of Ptolemy I of

Egypt, who had seized the Macedonian throne. The date was placed in December 281 or January 280 by W. Kolbe *Beiträge z. Syr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* (Stuttgart 1926), p. 13f., and between 2 December 281 and April 280 by A. T. Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXII (1937), p. 6.

7. Strabo XII p. 543 and XIII p. 623. In several of Philetaerus's inscriptions, listed by Ernst Meyer in *Klio* XIX p. 463 and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 16, note 7, the name of his father appears as Attalus. This Macedonian name suggests that the family came originally from the Balkan Peninsula. His mother Boa, on the other hand, was presumably of Asianic (Paphlagonian) stock. According to gossip, she was a flute-player and a prostitute; see Carystius frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 358), quoted in Athenaeus XIII 38, p. 577 B. This was probably a fabrication; in any case, the dedication *ὑπὲρ τῆς μητρὸς* Βόας of the Temple of Demeter at Pergamum by Philetaerus and his brother Eumenes (commandant under Lysimachus of Amastris on the Euxine Sea, see Memnon 16) shows that her memory was honoured by her sons; see *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 376f. and p. 437f., nos. 22 and 23 and XXXVII (1912), p. 246 and 282, no. 5 and Zschietzschmann in *R.E.* XIX 1251f. The Pergamene "Chronicle" (see above note 2) contains fragments of a genealogy (l. 10f.), according to which a woman, apparently of noble birth, married a Paphlagonian, perhaps an ancestor (or the father) of Boa. It was commonly said that Philetaerus was a eunuch, a condition due to an injury received in his infancy; see Strabo XIII p. 623: Pausanias I 8, 1: Lucian *Macr.* 12. This also may be gossip, arising from the fact that he seems never to have married and had no children; see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 208. The identity of Philetaerus, son of Eumenes, who, like Philetaerus the Founder, made a dedication to the Muses at Thespiae (*O.G.I.* 750, see below note 9), has not been established; see Preuner in *Herm.* LV (1920), p. 393f.: Ernst Meyer in *Klio* XIX p. 470: W. Hoffmann in *R.E.* XIX 2161.

8. The position of Philetaerus with regard to the Seleucid monarchs is shown by his coins. The earliest tetradrachms which he issued are of the usual Alexander type (head of Heracles wearing the lion's skin) with the legend Βασιλέως Σελεύκου, while his later coins have the head of Seleucus and the legend Φιλεταίρου; see von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* I p. 7 and E. T. Newell *The Pergamene Mint under Philetaerus*=*Numism. Notes and Monographs* no. 76 (New York 1936), p. 17f. The change in type was attributed by Newell (p. 31f.) to Philetaerus's opportunity, about 274, for asserting his independence of the Seleucids afforded by Antiochus's plan for an invasion of Egypt or (more probably) by the successes of the Egyptians in southern Asia Minor and Syria (see *C.A.H.* VII p. 703f.). The nominal dependence of Pergamum under Eumenes I on the Seleucids is also shown by the use of the Seleucid Era by Eumenes in *O.G.I.* 266, l. 10f. (see below note 16). For Attalus (the father of the later King Attalus I) see above note 1. For his marriage to Antiochis see Strabo XIII p. 624 and inscriptions from Mamurt Kale and Delos, *Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* IX (1911),

p. 38 and *I.G.* XI 4, 1108 = Durrbach *Choix* no. 52. For Achaeus see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 204f.

9. *O.G.I.* 748, enumerating Philetaerus's services to Cyzicus over a number of years, regarded as 280-275 B.C. by Dittenberger, and as 281-276 by Tarn in *J.H.S.* XLVI (1926), p. 156, note 9 and M. Segre in *Athenaeum* XII (1934), p. 437, note 2 (correcting VIII p. 488f.). The chronology of Dittenberger was confirmed by M. Launey in *R.E.A.* XLVI (1944), p. 217f. (accepted by Robert *Hellenica* II p. 55, note 9), who connected with the Galatian invasion a relief from Cyzicus representing Heracles's defeat of an adversary (a Galatian) with an inscription (Michel 1224 and *B.C.H.* LVI [1932], p. 513f.) dated under the Hipparch Phoenix, who held office, according to Dittenberger's chronology, in 278/7, the year of the invasion. In addition to sending troops to protect the city's territory (in the war between Antiochus I and Antigonus Gonatas in 280/79 and against the Galatians in 278/7), Philetaerus gave the Cyzicenes presents of money, amounting in all to 46 talents, and, during their war with the Galatians, a large quantity of grain; he also granted them the privilege of buying cattle in his dominions without the payment of export-duties. The economic advantages to Pergamum of friendly relations with Cyzicus were pointed out by Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, pp. 365 and 389. In return for the favours granted by Philetaerus Cyzicus established a festival in his honour, called Φιλεταίρεια (*C.I.G.* 3660); this may have been the ἀγῶνες for which he gave the sum of twenty talents contained in the enumeration of his gifts. Philetaerus also built a temple to Apollo Chresterius at Aegae in Aeolis (*O.G.I.* 312 and 1 p. 655f.) and presented at least 30 talents (τ[άλαντα . . .]κοντα) to the city of Pitane, near the mouth of the Caïcus, to help in the purchase of a tract of land from Antiochus I; see *O.G.I.* 335 = *S.E.G.* IV 680, l. 135f. and Chap. III note 125. The temple of the Μήτηρ Θεῶν, on the other hand, which he built at Mamurt Kale in the mountains between the basins of the Caïcus and the Hermus (*Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* IX [1911], p. 20f. and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 263) was not attached to any city. His gifts in Greece included the present of some "sacred land" to the sanctuary of the Muses and to Hermes at Thespiae in Boeotia; see *I.G.* VII 1788-1790 = *O.G.I.* 310 and 311 and 1 p. 655: *O.G.I.* 749: Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XV (1902), p. 302f. = *Études* II p. 1f. If his name has been correctly restored in a decree of Delphi conferring προξενία, it may be assumed that he gave some gift to the Temple of Apollo; see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XX (1918), p. 9f. = *Études* II p. 9f. At Delos he founded a "vase-festival," *i.e.* an endowment to provide for an annual festival with the dedication of a golden φιάλη to Apollo; see *I.G.* XI 224 A, l. 4 and B, l. 20 and 287 B, l. 119f.: *Ins. Delos* 298 A, l. 93; 313, l. 72; 338 Bc, l. 52: Ziebarth in *Herm.* LII (1917), p. 427f. It was founded under the archon Elpines, whose year of office is usually placed in 262; see Durrbach in *B.C.H.* XL (1916), p. 305f. and *Ins. Delos* II p. 331. This was about the time of Philetaerus's death, but, as Tarn observed (*J.H.S.* XXIX [1909], p. 279, note 84), the dedication was probably made by Philetaerus himself rather than by his successor Eumenes, since, had it been made by

the latter after Philetaerus's death, the record would have read *ὑπὲρ Φιλεταίρου*. In *C.A.H.* VII p. 709, however, Tarn supposed that it was made by Eumenes. The festival was called *Φιλεταίρεια*; see *Ins. Delos* 346 B, l. 14 and 442 B = *Syll.*² 588, l. 54.

10. For the Galatians in Asia Minor see Livy XXXVIII 16: Memnon 19: Strabo XII p. 566f.: Trogus *Prol.* XXV: Justin XXV 2, 8f.: Pausanias X 23, 14: H. van Gelder *Galatarum Res in Graecia et Asia gestae* (Amsterdam 1888), p. 116f.: Ramsay *Hist. Comm. on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (London 1899), p. 45f.: F. Stähelin *Gesch. d. Kleinas. Galater*² (Leipzig 1907), p. 6f.: Brandis in *R.E.* VII 535f.: Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 568f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 104f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 29f. According to Pausanias, they crossed over to Asia when Democles was archon at Athens, *i.e.* in 278/7 B.C. The statement of Memnon that they took an oath to render assistance, not only to Nicomedes, but also to the cities of Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heracleia, Tieium and Cierus, *i.e.* the "Northern League" (see Chap. VIII note 36), *καί τισιν ἑτέροις ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν* suggests that they were expected to serve against the common enemy, Antiochus I. In the narrative of Livy the number of the Galatians is estimated at 20,000. Both Memnon and Livy give the names of their leaders as Leonnorius (or Lonorius) and Luturius (or Lutarius); the name of the former is also given by Strabo, and it seems to appear ([Λεον]*νόριος*) in a decree of Erythrae (*Syll.*³ 410), which mentions the payment of money by the city to the Galatians (see Chap. III note 108). They were divided into three tribes, the Tolistobogii (or Tolistoagii), the Tectosages and the Trocmi, the first of whom, according to Livy, ravaged Aeolis and Ionia, the second the interior of Asia Minor, and the third the coast of the Hellespont. The name of the first of these tribes varies in our sources; the form *Τολιστοβώγιοι* seems to have been used by Eratosthenes (Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* *Τολιστόβιοι*) and perhaps by Polybius (XXI 37, 2, in the corrupt form *στολιστολογιοις*), and it appears regularly in all later authors and (perhaps as *Τολιστοβώιοι*) in an inscription of the imperial period (*I.G.R.* III 226 = *O.G.I.* 537), as well as on a coin of Pessinus (Head *H.N.*² p. 748); see A. Körte in *Woch. Kl. Phil.* XV (1898), 4f. The form *Τολιστοάγιοι* or *Τολοστοάγιοι*, however, occurs in inscriptions of the earlier Hellenistic period (*O.G.I.* 275 and 276 and *I.G.R.* IV 179 = *Syll.*³ 591, l. 48). Both are probably variations of the Celtic form *Tolistovagii*; see Stähelin, p. 42, note 3 and Brandis 537.

11. For the Galatians' attacks on the territories of Cyzicus and Erythrae see above notes 9 and 10. For their temporary occupation of Ilium see Strabo XIII p. 594 and Chap. IV note 16. Their devastations around Priene are known from a decree of the city (*Ins. Priene* 17 = *O.G.I.* 765) honouring a citizen who led out a force and repelled them. A raid on the Temple of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus in 277/6 may be inferred from an unpublished inscription which shows that the Temple was robbed during a "war," presumably a Galatian attack; see W. Otto *Beiträge z. Seleucidengesch.* = *Abh. Bayer. Akad.* XXXIV (1928) 1, p. 22f. This was perhaps the raid

in which occurred the famous episode of the Milesian women who were carried off by the Galatians but committed suicide (*Anth. Pal.* VII 492: Hieronymus *adv. Jovinian.* I 41, Vol. II p. 285 Migne: Parthenius *Narrat. Amat.* 8), connected by Rehm (*Milet* I p. 245) with the Galatian War of Eumenes II in 168/7 (see above p. 22). A raid on the territory of Thyateira may be inferred from an inscription dated in the month Hyperberetaeus of the Seleucid year 37 (Aug.-Sept. 275 B.C.), which expresses thanks to Apollo for the rescue of the dedicator's son ἁλοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν; see Keil-Premerstein II no. 19 and Chap. V note 10. The attacks on Apameia and Themisonium in southwestern Phrygia, the inhabitants of which were supposed to have been saved by divine aid (see Pausanias X 30, 9 and 32, 4), probably belong to a later period, perhaps the war of Eumenes II; see Stähelin, p. 9. The methods of the Galatians are described in the decree of Priene cited above, which relates that they robbed sanctuaries and burned farmhouses and so terrorized the people that no one dared to resist them. Similar pictures, but in general terms, are given by Livy (XXXVIII 16, 10) and Pausanias (I 4, 5). Their raids into the territories of Pergamum and Bithynia are mentioned also in Strabo XII p. 566.

12. Appian *Syr.* 65: Trogus *Prol.* XXV: Suidas *s.v.* Σιμωνίδης Μάγνης. Several details, most of them probably fanciful, are given in Lucian *Zeuxis* 8f. and *pro Lapsu inter Salut.* 9. The battle has been varyingly dated: between 278 and 276/5 by Wilcken in *R.E.* I 2453; in 277 by Corradi *Studi Ellenist.* p. 129 and M. Segre in *Athenaeum* VIII (1930), p. 503f. and XII (1934), p. 437; in 275 by Otto in *Beiträge*, pp. 23f. and 89 and *Philol.* LXXXVI (1931), p. 404, note 9, and by Tarn in *JHS.* XLVI (1926), p. 157, *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 451 and *C.A.H.* VII pp. 106 and 702; about 270, *i.e.* after the First Syrian War (274-271, see Chap. IV note 20), by Stähelin, p. 13f. and Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 592, note 1, and IV 2, p. 633. It is probably to be placed before the First Syrian War and so not later than 275. On the other hand, in view of the depredations committed by the Galatians, we must presuppose a few years' interval between their arrival in Asia and their defeat by Antiochus, if this defeat was at all decisive. It would seem, therefore, that the battle should be placed in 275, although Otto's argument for this year, drawn from the inscription from Thyateira dated Aug.-Sept. 275 (see above note 11) is not conclusive, since the man in question may have been captured by the Galatians in one of their raids. For the assessment called [τὰ εἰς] τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγόμενα levied on Erythrae (and presumably on other cities also) under Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 223=Welles, no. 15) see Chap. III note 14 and Chap. IV note 23.

13. The time and circumstances of the occupation of the district of Galatia by the three tribes are variously given by the ancient writers. According to one version, they themselves seized it, either after helping Nicomedes to win his victories (Memnon 19, 5) or prior to the time when Attalus I refused to pay them the customary tribute (Livy XXXVIII 16, 13, see below note 20). According to Strabo XII 566, they received it by voluntary gift of

the Kings of Pergamum and Bithynia (the latter, according to Justin xxv 2, 11) after they had overrun the dominions of these monarchs—a statement hard to believe, since Galatia did not belong to either of these kings. According to Pausanias (1 8, 1), Attalus I forced them to withdraw to it after driving them back from the coast. Modern writers have varyingly attributed the occupation to the Galatians' own initiative after their defeat by Attalus or to a gift on the part of the king of Bithynia or of Pontus or even of the Seleucid prince Antiochus Hierax, who, between 240 and 230, employed Galatian mercenaries; see Stähelin, p. 40, note 5, and below note 24. It seems more probable, however, that it was assigned to them by Antiochus I, as suggested by Stähelin (pp. 14 and 41), followed by Otto (*Beiträge*, p. 23f.). The three tribes appear to have divided up the district among themselves in such a way that the Tolistoagii occupied the western portion, including the ancient town of Gordium and the Temple of the Great Mother at Pessinus (which, however, remained an independent sacred principality, see below note 71), the Tectosages took the centre (around Ancyra), and the Trocmi the eastern portion along the Halys, perhaps including the eastern bank of the river; see Strabo xii p. 567: Livy xxxviii 19, 1 and 24, 1: Pliny *N.H.* v 146: Memnon 19, 5 (a different arrangement): Stähelin, p. 42f. The nobles owned fortified castles built on heights (called *φρούρια* in Strabo xii p. 567), which served also as refuges for their retainers, who, like the subject population—the tillers of the soil—seem to have ordinarily lived in open country-villages; see Livy xxxviii 18, 5 and 15 (= Polybius xxi 37, 9). For the remains of some of the *φρούρια* see Anderson in *J.H.S.* xix (1899), pp. 63f. and 314. For the political organization of the Galatians see above p. 373. For the mercenaries, who served in various countries, see G. T. Griffith *Mercenaries of the Ancient World* (Cambridge 1935), p. 252 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1452f., note 342.

14. See *I.G.* xi 4, 1105 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 31, an epigram extolling a Philetaerus for his victory over the Galatians. The lettering is of the later third century, but this very fact, as well as the use of the appellation *μάκαρ*, precludes the suggestion of Hoffmann in *R.E.* xix 2160 that the man honoured was the younger Philetaerus, son of Attalus I, and we can only suppose that it was the "Founder" whose exploits are commemorated here and that the inscription was cut under either Eumenes I or Attalus I. It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 1450f., note 330) that this campaign may have been the one in which Philetaerus aided Cyzicus against the Galatians (see above note 9). The fragmentary inscription *I.G.* xi 4, 1106 seems to show that a statue of Philetaerus was erected in Delos by Eumenes I.

15. The general method of the Galatians is described in Livy xxxviii 16, 12f. The decree of Erythrae previously cited (*Syll.*[3] 410, see above note 10) contains mention of [*τῶν χρη*]*μάτων συναγωγῆς τε καὶ ἀποστ*[*ολῆς τοῖς περὶ Λεον*]*νόριον βαρβάροις ἃ συνετάξετο ἡ π*[*όλις*]. For the money extorted from the Byzantines by the Galatians in Thrace see Polybius iv 46, 3f.

For the payments made by Eumenes I see Livy XXXVIII 16, 14. For the incorrectness of the view that he defeated them see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 103f.

16. Eumenes's victory near Sardis is known only from the brief mention in Strabo XIII p. 624. It is perhaps referred to in a fragmentary epigram found at Pergamum (*Ins. Perg.* 15), which seems to commemorate a victory of Eumenes; see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 593, note 4. The battle may be dated with fair accuracy, for Eumenes succeeded Philetaerus in 263/2 (see above note 1), whereas the last date of Antiochus known from the cuneiform tablets is 8 March, 261 (A. T. Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXII [1937], p. 7) and, according to the calculations of Kolbe (*Beiträge*, p. 16), he died not later than April, 261. It has frequently been assumed, *e.g.* by Beloch (*l.c.*), Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 13), Pozzi in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LXIII (1913), p. 325 and Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 709, that Eumenes was in alliance with Egypt. The arguments, however, on which this view is based, namely, that of Beloch that Ephesus, which belonged to Antiochus I in 267, was in the possession of a son of Ptolemy II about 259 (see Chap. IV note 26) and hence must have been obtained by Egypt as the result of an alliance with Eumenes, and that of Pozzi, that the foundation of Philetaerus's "vase-festival" at Delos (see above note 9), then under Egypt's protection, could only have taken place had Pergamum been on friendly terms with the latter country, are both far from conclusive. The battle at Sardis was regarded by Pedroli (*Regno di Pergamo*, p. 8) as an act of defence on Eumenes's part, directed against the aggression of Antiochus; but, as Sardis lay well outside the boundaries of the Pergamene Kingdom, it is much more probable that Eumenes had taken the offensive; see Cardinali, p. 14. Eumenes signified his independence of the Seleucids by issuing coins of a new type; for whereas those of his predecessor bear the head of Seleucus (see above note 8), those of Eumenes bear the head of Philetaerus; see Imhoof-Blumer in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1884 III p. 24 and von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* 1 p. 7. His position after his victory is expressed in *O.G.I.* 335, l. 141 (see above note 9) as *παραλαβὼν τὰ πράγ[ματα]*. A mutiny of his mercenaries is recorded in a long inscription containing an account of the concessions made to them and the agreements entered into between them and the King; see *Ins. Perg.* 13 = *O.G.I.* 266. This mutiny took place, probably, after the battle of Sardis; see Cardinali, p. 14, note 8 and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 99. The settlement at Attaleia (see below note 17) was evidently in territory taken from Antiochus.

17. According to Strabo (XIII p. 624), the Pergamene Kingdom before 188 included *οὐ πολλὰ χωρία μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἐλαΐτην κόλπον καὶ τὸν Ἀδραμυττηνόν*. For the territory of Mitylene on the coast of Aeolis see Chap. III note 125. Adjoining the territory of Mitylene on the south was that of Pitane on the Gulf of Elaea (see above note 9 and Chap. III note 125). It does not necessarily follow from the mention of Eumenes I in *O.G.I.* 335, l. 141f. that, as Hansen suggested (*Attalids*, p. 23), Pitane was "under his jurisdiction." The agreement between

Eumenes and his mercenaries (see above note 16) mentions Philetaereia ὑπὸ τὴν Ἴδαν and Attaleia as the places in which these soldiers were quartered. The former is also mentioned as a garrison-post in *Ins. Perg.* 240 = *O.G.I.* 336. Its site is unknown, but it was presumably on the eastern side of the range of Ida, since the western side was probably the territory of the city of Scepsis, which, it is true, was taken over by the Pergamene kings, but probably at a later period (see Chap. III note 122). Attaleia was presumably the later city of this name, situated on the southern side of the low watershed between the Caïcus and the Hermus; see Chap. V note 15. The southern boundary of the Pergamene dominions is known from an inscription of the time of Philetaerus or Eumenes, cut on a rock on the western slope of Mt. Hagios Elias, a little over a mile southeast of Cape Hydra; see *B.C.H.* v (1881), p. 283: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 95f.: Philippson I p. 77. Farther east, the northern side of the range of Yünt Dağ, where Philetaerus built a temple at Mamurt Kale (see above note 9) was Pergamene. For the extent of the early kingdom see also Schuchhardt in *Arch. Jahrb.* XXVII (1912), *Arch. Anz.* p. 58f. and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 94f. with observations by Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 523f.

18. See Strabo XIII pp. 615 and 622: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 30: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 111f. (with plan): W. Leaf *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), p. 333f. Letters on one of the blocks of the city-wall seem to show that this was built under Attalus I; see *Alt v. Perg. l.c.* A boundary-dispute with a neighbour under Antiochus I suggests that at this time Elaea was an independent city; see *O.G.I.* 335, l. 144. If an inscription erected by ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἱεροί in honour of Moschus, a former trierarch (*B.C.H.* IV [1880], p. 380, no. 7) may be placed in the Pergamene period, it would show that the city had self-government under the kings; in this case, Moschus was an officer in the royal navy. During the third century an Ἐλαῖτας received [πολιτ]εία and προξενία from the city of Temnus; see *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 492f.

19. The head of a monarch, found in Pergamum and now in Berlin, showing an energetic and powerful personality, has been identified, with a high degree of probability, as a portrait of Attalus I; see *Alt. v. Perg.* VII 1, p. 144f. and A. Schober in *Arch. Jahrb.* LIII (1938), p. 147f.

20. For Attalus's refusal to pay tribute to the Galatians, his victory over them and his assumption of the title of King see Polybius XVIII 41, 7f. = Livy XXXIII 21, 3, (a eulogy of Attalus after his death): Livy XXXVIII 16, 14: Strabo XIII p. 624: Polyaenus IV 20: Pausanias I 8, 1; 25, 2; X 15, 3. His victory is presumably to be identified with the battle περὶ πηγὰς Καΐκου ποταμοῦ against the Τολιστοαγίους Γαλάτας recorded in two inscriptions of Attalus in Pergamum, one a dedication to Athena in celebration of this particular success, the other from a large monument commemorating all his victories (see below note 24); see *Ins. Perg.* 20 and 24 = *O.G.I.* 269 and 276: H. Gaebler *Erythrae* (Berlin 1892), p. 45f.: Stähelin *Galater*,[2] p. 20f.:

A. Schober in *Röm. Mitt.* LI (1936), p. 104f.: Hansen *Attalids*, pp. 32 and 226f. For the "Sources of the Caïcus" and the strategic importance of the place see Chap. II note 20. The date of the battle has been much disputed. It was placed in 241/0, immediately after Attalus's accession, by Thraemer *Pergamos*, p. 258, Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2159f., Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 268, note 2, von Fritze *ibid.* p. 8, note 1, Ferrabino in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVIII (1912-13), p. 233f. and Hansen, pp. 29 and 37f. On the other hand, it was dated in 230 by Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 2, p. 546, Cardinali *R.P.* pp. 21f. and 41, Stähelin, p. 23f. and Brandis in *R.E.* VII 542. The argument for the later date is based on the assumption that the battle was fought, not in the course of a separate campaign against the Galatians, but during the war waged by Attalus against them when they were fighting in combination with the Seleucid prince, Antiochus Hierax; according to this theory, Attalus overcame the Galatians shortly before his victory over Hierax at Coloë in 229/8 (see below note 24). But, as Ferrabino, in particular, showed, there is no evidence for the belief that Attalus's victory at the Sources of the Caïcus and the battle against the Galatians and Hierax took place during the same war. Nor is there any indication that the King's refusal to pay tribute to the Galatians was connected with his struggle against Hierax. The fact that his victory over the latter and the Galatians took place close to Pergamum (see below note 24) indicates that his kingdom had been invaded by their combined forces. Polybius's eulogy, moreover, suggests that Attalus's famous victory occurred at the very beginning of his rule, and the historian's statement *βασιλεύσας τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα [ἔτη]* is most easily explained by supposing that Attalus held the title of King for this length of time, *i.e.* 241-197 (see above note 1). This view is borne out by the fact that the years of Attalus's rule seem to have been reckoned from his assumption of this title; see *O.G.I.* 268, dated *βασιλεύοντος Ἀττάλου πρώτου ἔτους* and honouring an *ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν ἀχθέντων Βασιλείων*. For Attalus's title of *Σωτήρ* see *Ins. Perg.* 43-45: *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 283, nos. 5 and 6 (= *O.G.I.* 289). He seems to have built a monument in Delos, perhaps a portico, to commemorate his victory; see *I.G.* XI 4, 1108 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 52 and Durrbach, pp. 69 and 279. For the question of his erection of a monument at Athens see below note 27.

21. The last date of Antiochus II found in the cuneiform tablets is 15 April, 246; see A. T. Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXII (1937), p. 8. Since, according to the reckoning of Kolbe (*Beiträge*, p. 16f.), he died not later than April, 246, his death may be dated in this month. He had divorced Laodice not later than 253, when he sold her an estate near Cyzicus; see *O.G.I.* 225 with an additional fragment in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, *Anh.* 1 p. 36 = Welles, nos. 18-20 and Chap. III note 40. The divorce took place in connexion with the conclusion of the treaty which ended the Second Syrian War, one of the provisions of which was the betrothal of Antiochus to Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II. The end of this war was dated in 253 by Otto in *Beitr. z. Seleucidengesch.* pp. 3f. and 28f. and *Philol.* LXXXVI (1931), p. 416f. and by A. Pridik in *Acta et Comm. Univ. Tartuensis* (*Dorpatensis*) XXXV (1935)

I, p. 26f. in refutation of Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII pp. 713f. and 862 and *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 453, note 1, who, on the basis of an inscription from Delos (*I.G.* XI 2, 116), dated it in 255. For the divorce of Antiochus and Laodice and an attempt to reconstruct the arrangement made by him with her see Pridik *ibid.* p. 50f. For the ancient accounts of the King's death see Pridik, p. 16f., who, in opposition to Beloch (*G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 673f.) and Otto (*Beitr.* p. 61f.), accepted the statement (dependent on Phylarchus) that he was poisoned by Laodice and rejected the version found in Polyaenus VIII 50 that he named his son Seleucus as his successor.

22. For the Third Syrian War (called Λαοδίκειος πόλεμος in *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 134), between Seleucus II and Ptolemy III in 246-41 B.C., see De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVII (1911-12), p. 801f.: von Wilamowitz in *Herm.* XLIX (1914), p. 447f.: Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XVIII (1916), p. 153f. = *Études* III p. 281f.: Stähelin in *R.E.* XII 703f.: A. G. Roos in *Mnem.* LI (1923), p. 266f.: Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 673f. and IV 2, p. 536f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 715f.: Otto *Beiträge*, p. 48f.: M. Cary *Hist. of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* (London 1932), p. 395f. The ancient literary sources are hopelessly inadequate and often mutually contradictory. For the accounts of the murder of Berenice and her son see Pridik *ibid.* p. 93f. An account of Ptolemy's arrival in Antioch (probably in the spring of 246), which was regarded by von Wilamowitz, Holleaux, Otto and Pridik (p. 132f.) as the King's own version, is contained in the Gurob Papyrus (Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 1 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 885f.). Seleucus's departure from Asia Minor for Syria is alluded to in a decree of Smyrna, *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229 (see Chap. IV note 29), where the expressions ὑπερέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Σελευκίδα (l. 1) and ὑπερβεβληκότος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν Σελευκίδα (l. 13f.) both seem to refer to this journey across the Taurus; see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 118f.: Laqueur *Epigr. Untersuchungen z. d. Griech. Volksbeschlüssen* (Leipzig 1927), p. 113f.: Otto *Beiträge*, p. 70, note 3. For the belief that they refer to two journeys see Kolbe in *Herm.* LXXV (1940), p. 403f. It was evidently only a short time after his accession to power in 246, for before the end of 245 he had regained Babylonia; see Otto, p. 70f. Seleucus's request for reinforcements after a defeat is mentioned in Justin XXVII 2, 5f. It is probably to be placed before his march to the relief of the Syrian fortresses of Damascus and Orthosia, which were besieged by Ptolemy's troops. These sieges are dated in Ol. 134, 3 = 242/1 B.C. in Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251 Schöne = p. 118 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 8 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1216), but the correctness of this chronology is uncertain (see below note 23).

23. Our sources for this war are: Trogus *Prol.* XXVII: Justin XXVII 2, 6f.; XLI 4, 4 and 7: Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251f. Schöne = p. 118f. Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 8 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1215f.): Plutarch *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* p. 184 A = *de Frat. Am.* p. 489 A-B: Phylarchus quoted in Athenaeus XIII 64, p. 593 E (= *F.H.G.* I p. 341 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 169) = Polyaenus VIII 61: Polyaenus IV 9, 6. They are exceedingly meagre and inadequate. For at-

tempted reconstructions of the events of the war see Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 152f.: Cardinali in *Riv. Fil.* XXXI (1903), p. 438f.: Corradi in *Atti Accad. Torino* XL (1904-5), p. 811f.: De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVII (1911-12), p. 957f.: Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Séleucides*, p. 106f.: Stähelin in *R.E.* II A 1237f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 720: Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 679f. and IV 2, p. 541f. The date of the beginning of the revolt and its relation to the Third Syrian War and the peace between Seleucus and Ptolemy III, which followed the former's relief of Damascus and Orthosia (see above note 22), are especially doubtful. Niese, following the order of events as given by Justin, dated the peace about 240 and the outbreak of the revolt soon afterward. De Sanctis, accepting the order given in Eusebius, supposed that the revolt broke out in 245, that the battle of Ancyra took place in 242 during an armistice with Ptolemy, and that Seleucus returned to Syria in 241 to defend the two strongholds against an attacking Egyptian force. Beloch, also accepting Eusebius's order of events but rejecting his chronology, dated the outbreak of the revolt in 235 and the relief of the strongholds in 234/3, when he supposed that Ptolemy again invaded Syria. This view was based on a Babylonian inscription dated 8 Addaru of the Seleucid year 75 = 21 Feb. 236 B.C. (*Ztschr. f. Assyriologie* VII [1892], p. 330, note 2 = *R. Phil.* XXV [1901], p. 18f. = *Klio* I [1901], p. 299, note 1, see *C.P.* XXXII [1937], p. 8), which relates that Laodice and her sons Seleucus and Antiochus presented to a temple the lands once given to them by King Antiochus (*i.e.* Antiochus II). It seems difficult to believe that Seleucus, after being badly defeated at Ancyra, was able to relieve the two strongholds besieged by Ptolemy's forces. On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow from the Babylonian inscription that in 236 the war had not broken out, for the gift would naturally have been made in the names of the three owners of the property; it is possible, as believed by Stähelin and Tarn, that by this time the struggle was finished and Hierax recognized as ruler of Asia Minor. It seems safer, therefore, to suppose with Niese and Stähelin that Eusebius's order is incorrect, and that Seleucus, after relieving the two places, made peace with Ptolemy in 241, after which he left Syria for Asia Minor in the hope of suppressing the revolt.

24. For this war see Trogus *Prol.* XXVII: Justin XXVII 3, 1 and 5f. (where Attalus is called *Rex Bithyniae Eumenes*): Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251f. Schöne = p. 119 Farst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 8 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1216). At least four battles are mentioned on Attalus's great triumphal monument on which his military successes from 240 to 225 were recorded (see *O.G.I.* 273 and above note 20). This consisted of several sections, each celebrating a single victory and probably with a separate group of statues; see A. Schober in *Arch. Jahrb.* LIII (1938), pp. 128f. and 134f. For the chronology of the war see Ferrabino in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVIII p. 233f., whose order of events was followed by Hansen in *A.J.A.* XLI (1937), p. 52f. (the validity of whose arguments was questioned by Schober, p. 130). The brief narrative of Justin (XXVII 2, 11f.) relates that the Galatians turned against Hierax after his victory over Seleucus II at Ancyra (see above note 23),

and that in order to gain their aid for his campaign against Attalus he was forced to hire them as mercenaries. The Galatians appear in conjunction with Hierax in an inscription from Attalus's monument (*O.G.I.* 275), which records the battle [*παρὰ τὸ*] *Ἀφροδίσιον πρὸς Τολιστοαγίους* [*καὶ Τεκτοσά*](*γ*)*ας Γαλάτας καὶ Ἀντίοχον*, as well as in a dedication to Athena by Epigenes and the troops *συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς Γ*[*αλ*]*άτας καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας* (*O.G.I.* 280). They were probably mentioned also in a fragment of a calendar of Pergamene festivals (*Ins. Perg.* 247 I) restored by Ferrabino (p. 239f.) as [*Ἄτ*]*ταλος τὴν δευ*[*τέραν τοῦ* (name of month) *ἢ ἐ*]*νίκησεν τοὺς* [*Γαλάτας κα*]*ὶ* [*Ἀ*]*ντίοχον*. If the Aphrodisium where the battle against the Galatians and Antiochus was fought was the Temple of Aphrodite close to Pergamum (Polybius XVIII 2, 2 and 6, 4 = Livy XXXII 33, 5 and 34, 9), the inscription bears out the statement of Trogus, *Galli Pergamo victi ab Attalo*. The scene of the battle suggests that the offensive was taken by the Galatians and Hierax and not by Attalus, as in Justin's account (accepted by Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2160). The combination was evidently broken up after the battle at the Aphrodisium. According to the account preserved by Eusebius, the Galatians seized Hierax, but he succeeded in escaping and, with the help of Egyptian troops, defeated them in battle near Magnesia-on-Maeander. The same account relates that, acting without the co-operation of the Galatians, he was defeated by Attalus four times in all, twice in Lydia, once at Coloë and once in Caria; the first three of these defeats are dated in Ol. 137, 4 = 229/8 B.C., the fourth in Ol. 138, 1 = 228/7 B.C. As the name Coloë was borne by three different places in Lydia, a lake north of Sardis, a town in the northeastern part of the district, and a place in the upper valley of the Caÿster (for the last two see Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 5 A and IX *Text*, p. 4 B), the scene of this particular defeat cannot be determined definitely. In view, however, of the strategic importance of the valley of the Hermus, the site near Sardis is perhaps the most probable (Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 460). The triumphal monument of Attalus, on the other hand, records three battles against Hierax (without mention of the Galatians), [*ἐμ Φρ*]*υγίᾳ τῇ ἐφ' Ἑλλ*[*η*]*σ*[*πόντῳ*], [*περὶ Κολ*]*όην* and *παρ*[*ὰ τὸν Ἄρπασον ἐν Κ*]*αρίᾳ*; see *O.G.I.* 274, 278 and 279, the last restored from *O.G.I.* 271, *ἀπὸ τῆς πα*[*ρὰ τὸν*] *Ἄρπασον ἐ*[*γ Καρίᾳ π*]*ρὸς* [*Ἀ*]*ντ*[*ίοχον μάχης*]. The battle on the Harpasus was evidently the battle in Caria recorded by Eusebius, but the question arises as to the correctness of the latter's statement that three battles (in all) were fought in Lydia and their relation to the battle which appears in Attalus's monument as having taken place in Hellespontine Phrygia. In view of the dismemberment of the monument, it is impossible to state definitely that no other victories over Hierax were recorded on it (Schober, p. 130 pointed out that a group has been lost between *Ins. Perg.* 28 and 25-26); but since Eusebius's source may have confused Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia and since the author seems to have been unaware that Coloë was in the former district, it is perhaps safer to conclude that only three battles in all were fought; see Ferrabino, p. 237f. According to the order of events as suggested by Ferrabino, followed by Hansen (*Attalids*,

p. 35), Hierax, after his defeat at the Aphrodisium (perhaps in 230), withdrew into Bithynia, the kingdom of his father-in-law Ziaëlas (see above p. 312), remaining there until the King's death in 229, when he reappeared with his army in northern Mysia (Hellespontine Phrygia), only to suffer a defeat there (summer of 229); then, withdrawing southward, he was defeated a second time at Coloë (spring of 228) and a third time in Caria (summer of 228). For the later adventures of Hierax see, in addition to the sources cited above, Polyaenus IV 17: Aelian *Hist. Anim.* VI 44: Pliny *N.H.* VIII 158 = Solinus 45, 13. Eusebius (*l.c.*), omitting any mention of his expedition to Mesopotamia and his subsequent flight to the King of Cappadocia, his brother-in-law (incorrectly called his father-in-law by Justin), placed in one single year (Ol. 138, 1 = 228/7 B.C.) his defeat in Caria, his flight to Thrace and his death there. It is obvious that all these events could not happen in one year, and his death could hardly have occurred before 226, the year in which his brother Seleucus II also died (between April and October, see Kolbe *Beiträge*, p. 17f.)

25. Polybius IV 48, 7f.; V 40, 6: Appian *Syr.* 66: Trogus *Prol.* XXVII: Justin XXIX 1, 3: Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 253 Schöne = p. 119 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 9 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1216): Hieronymus *Comm. in Daniel.* XI 10 (Vol. V p. 586f. Migne) = Porphyrius frg. 44 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1223). The defeat of Seleucus's generals was commemorated by special monuments at Pergamum (*Ins. Perg.* 35 [= *O.G.I.* 272] and 36) and mentioned on Attalus's triumphal monument (*O.G.I.* 277, see above note 24). His death was dated by Eusebius in Ol. 139, 1 = 224/3 B.C. (between July and October 223, according to Kolbe *Beiträge*, p. 18). For the relationship of Achaeus to the Seleucid royal house see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 205f.

26. The kingdoms of Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia remained outside Attalus's power, as did also the southern coast, which was held by the Egyptians, and the cities of southern Ionia and Caria, which also were still under the power of Egypt (see Chap. IV note 31). It has been generally assumed that it was in celebration of his success against Seleucus III that Attalus established the festival of the Nicephoria in honour of the goddess Athena Nicephorus, and on the basis of Polybius IV 49, 3 (mentioning τοὺς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγῶνας) the date of its institution was placed by Holleaux shortly before 220; see *R.E.A.* XVIII (1916), p. 170f. = *Études* II p. 61f. On the other hand, Kolbe in *Herm.* LXVIII (1933), p. 445f., followed by Ziehen in *R.E.* XVII 307f., on the ground that the Athena mentioned in Polybius and on Attalus's triumphal monument (see above note 24) may have been Athena Polias, maintained that since there is no direct reference to the Nicephoria before 182 B.C. (see below note 59), the festival was probably not founded before this year. In the third century, however, Athena Nicephorus had a temple (τὸ Νικηφόριον), which was destroyed by Philip V in 201 B.C. during his raid on Pergamum (Polybius XVI 1, 6; XVIII 2, 2; 6, 4, see below note 46). M. Segre in Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 116f. suggested that the cult was established after the battle of

Chios (see note 39) and dated the foundation of the festival early in the reign of Eumenes II, preferably in 189.

27. On the art and architecture of Pergamum see M. Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque* (Paris 1897) II p. 500f.; A. Baumeister *Denkmäler d. Klass. Altertums* (Leipzig 1887) II p. 1213f.: *Alt. v. Perg.* II-V and VII: Baumgarten-Poland-Wagner, *Die Hellenistisch-Röm. Kultur* (Leigzig 1913), p. 172f.: Ashmole in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 679f.: Hansen *Attalids*, pp. 226f. and 275f. On the statues of the Galatians see S. Reinach in *R.A.* XII (1888), p. 273f.; XIII (1889), pp. 11f. and 317f.: von Bieńkowski, *Die Darstellungen d. Galater i. d. Hellenist. Kunst* (Berlin 1908), p. 1f. For Attalus's collection see Pausanias VIII 42, 7; IX 35, 6: Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 60; XXXVI 24: Tacitus *Ann.* XVI 23, 1: *Ins. Perg.* 48-50 = *O.G.I.* 286-288. See also Fränkel in *Arch. Jahrb.* VI (1891), p. 53f. For the work of Epigonus see Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV 88: Michaelis in *Arch. Jahrb.* VIII (1893), p. 129f.: A. Schober in *Arch. Jahrb.* LIII (1938), p. 126f. and *J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), *Beibl.* 79f.: Hansen, p. 277f. His name as sculptor appears in the inscription on a monument ascribed to an Attalus, probably the nephew of Philetaerus (*Ins. Perg.* 12), and probably on the triumphal monument of Attalus I (*Ins. Perg.* 22 = *O.G.I.* 274, see above note 24), as well as on the dedication by Epigenes in commemoration of his victory over the Galatians and Antiochus Hierax (*O.G.I.* 280, see above note 24) and also on the bases of several statues (*Ins. Perg.* 31 and 32 and *A.M.* XXXIII [1908], p. 416f., nos. 58 and 59), on the last two of which he is called Περγαμηνός. Schober assigned to him other works of art, chief among them the monument of Attalus commemorating his victory over the Galatians in 240 (see above note 20), including the originals of the famous "Dying Gaul" in the Capitoline Museum and the "Gaul with his slain wife" in the National Museum in Rome, both regarded by Schober in *Röm. Mitt.* LI (1936), p. 110f. as parts of this monument. In addition to Epigonus, we know from Pliny (*N.H.* XXXIV 84) of the sculptors Isigonus, Phyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus (*qui volumina condidit de sua arte*), who, we are told, *fecere Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos proelia.* Of these, Isigonus and Stratonicus are otherwise unknown; Antigonus was perhaps the author of the work *de Toreutice* listed by Pliny in the indices to XXXIII and XXXIV, who is mentioned also in XXXV 68 as a writer *de pictura.* Phyromachus is known from Pliny XXXIV 80 (an older artist of this name, who flourished in 296-292 B.C., appears in XXXIV 51) and from an inscription from Delos (*I.G.* XI 4, 1212 = Loewy *Inschr. Griech. Bildhauer* 118), in which he and Niceratus are mentioned together as fellow-artists. It has been customary to date all these artists, including Niceratus, in the third century, in the belief that the Attalus and Eumenes whose battles *adversus Gallos* they depicted were Eumenes I and Attalus I or (if the artists could be brought down into the early second century) Attalus I and Eumenes II; see *e.g.* Loewy, *l.c.*: *Ins. Perg.* p. 69: Lippold in *Phil. Woch.* LIV (1934), 309 and *R.E.* XVII 314f.: Schweitzer in *Abh. Sächs. Akad.* XLIII 4 (1936), p. 96f. and *Arch. Jahrb.* LIV (1939), *Arch. Anz.* 405f.: Hansen, p. 278, note 19. An attempt was made by Schober in *J.O.A.I.* XXXI (1939), p. 142f. to show

that Niceratus may be dated in the second century, but in *J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), *Beibl.* 73f., while pointing out that although Antigonus and Phyromachus cannot be definitely assigned to the third century, he admitted that Niceratus's early work may be dated in the last two decades of this century. According to Pausanias I 25, 2, "Attalus" erected in Athens a monument which represented the victories of the Gods over the Giants, of the Athenians over the Amazons and the Persians and of the King himself over the Galatians. It is generally agreed that sculptures depicting Giants, Amazons, Persians and Galatians preserved in the museums of Naples, Rome, Venice, Paris and Aix and, probably, some other places are copies of the figures from this monument; see *e.g.* Brunn in *Ann. d. Inst.* XLII (1870), p. 292f.: Michaelis *ibid.* p. 119f. (who attributed them to Epigonus): S. Reinach in *R.E.G.* VII (1894), p. 37f.: Hansen, p. 282f. The donor has ordinarily been regarded as Attalus I; see, most recently, Schweitzer in *Abh. Sächs. Akad. l.c.* (who dated the monument soon after 200 B.C., supposing that it was presented by Attalus I but completed under Eumenes II) and Hansen, pp. 57f. and 286f. (who connected it with Attalus's visit to Athens in 200, see below note 44). Schober, however, in *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), p. 102f. and *Röm. Mitt.* LIV (1939), p. 82f., dating the extant figures in the later second century (so also R. Horn in *Röm. Mitt.* LII [1937], p. 150f.), assigned the monument to Attalus II.

28. Polybius IV 2, 6; 48, 3 and 12; V 57. Achaeus assumed the crown at Laodiceia-on-Lycus in Phrygia in 220. For his coins with the legend Βασιλέως Ἀχαίου see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, pp. lxxxvii f. and 60f. For his war with Selge see Polybius V 72–77, 1. It was brought to an end by the city's promise to pay him 700 talents. After this, he conquered the region of Milyas (see below note 56) and the greater part of Pamphylia and then returned to Sardis, where he was still regarded by the inhabitants of Asia Minor as φοβερὸς καὶ βαρύς.

29. Polybius V 77, 2; see Chap. IV note 36, where exception is taken to the view that some of these cities became Attalus's subjects. It has sometimes been held that Attalus infringed on the rights of certain smaller communities in the Troad, but the instances of this supposed infraction do not afford conclusive proof. According to Strabo XIII p. 616, an "Attalus" moved to a κώμη called Gergitha near the Sources of the Caïcus (see Chap. V note 13) τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τραάδι, τὸ χωρίον ἐξελών, which is ordinarily supposed to denote the old town of Gergis (probably on the hill above the defile where the Scamander enters the plain of Ilium, see Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 105f.) but may equally well refer to the τόπος Γεργίθιον in the territory of Lampsacus mentioned in Strabo XIII p. 589 (see Leaf, p. 102f.). This Attalus has frequently been identified with Attalus I; see *e.g.* Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 260, note 1: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 602 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 560: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 53: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 42. His kingdom, however, appears not to have included the Troad (see below note 30), and it is accordingly difficult to suppose that he had the power to move these people.

Moreover, ἡ Γεργιθία, by which is evidently meant the territory of Gergis, belonged to Ilium under Antiochus I; see *O.G.I.* 221 = Welles, no. 10, l. 24 and Dittenberger's note 7. According to Livy XXXVIII 39, 10, Gergithium (*i.e.* Gergis) was assigned to Ilium by the Romans in 188 (see Chap. IV note 60). It is therefore hard to see how either Attalus I or Attalus II (as supposed by Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 64, note 3) could have been responsible for a forcible removal of the population of this place. We may, accordingly, regard "Attalus" as an error for Antiochus or identify the χωρίον with the τόπος Γεργίθιον belonging to Lampsacus, with which Attalus had an alliance (see Chap. IV note 36), and suppose that these settlers were transferred to the Caïcus valley with the Lampsacenes' consent. It is even more difficult to connect with Attalus I the statement in Strabo XIII p. 595 that οἱ βασιλεῖς "frequently" removed the community of Dardanus to Abydus and then resettled it on its ancient site; for not only can the statement hardly be regarded as literally true, but there is nothing to indicate who these "kings" were. Dardanus was declared free in 188 (Livy *l.c.*), and, as was observed by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 97, note 7), they could not have been Pergamene rulers.

30. Polybius V 77, 7f., where Attalus's line of march is given as the river Lycus, Carseae, Didyma Teiche, the Plain of Apia, Mt. Pelecas, the Macestus (Μέγιστος in the manuscripts). On this route see Holleaux in *Rev. d. Univ. du Midi*, 1897, p. 409f. = *Études* II 17f. and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 185f. Robert, accepting the frequently proposed identification of τὸ Ἀπίας πεδίον with the plain around Balıkesir, identified Mt. Pelecas with the pass of Demirkapu to the northeast, showing that Attalus took the road leading northward from the valley of the upper Caïcus (at Gelenbe, see Chap. II note 20) to the lower Macestus. Robert's suggestion, however, that Didyma Teiche was the modern Dimetoka on the lower Granicus and that Carseae was the region to the south, called Caresene in Strabo XIII 602 (see Chap. II note 34) is more difficult to accept. This would have involved a long roundabout march—northward through Mysia to the Propontis, southward to the Plain of Balıkesir, northeastward to the Macestus, where the Aegosagae mutinied, frightened by the eclipse of the moon (on 1 Sept. 218, according to Stähelin *Galater*[2], p. 34, note 8), and thence westward to the Hellespont. See also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 42f., note 84. The κατοικίαι of the Mysians visited by Attalus, Robert pointed out (p. 191f.), were not military colonies, as often supposed, but native villages. The Aegosagae afterward seized lands in the Troad, where, until they were exterminated by Prusias I of Bithynia, they terrorized the inhabitants; see Polybius V 111, 1f. As the result of Attalus's conquests in 218, his kingdom, according to Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 81), extended on the north from Mt. Ida to Mt. Pelecas and on the south from the Gulf of Elaea to the city of Attaleia (see above note 17). It was supposed by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), p. 68 that at this time he held all northern Mysia, as far as the Propontis, but, as Holleaux observed in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 14, note 1 = *Études* II p. 85, note 4, this is exceedingly doubtful.

31. Polybius VII 15f. and VIII 18(20)f. See also Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 393f.: Leuze in *Herm.* LVIII (1923), p. 188f.: B. A. van Proosdij in *Herm.* LXIX (1934), p. 347f., who showed that the mutilation and decapitation of Achaeus and the subsequent impaling of his body had been the usual punishment inflicted by the Assyrian and Persian kings on those who rebelled against them. It was suggested by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 82f.) that Antiochus may have ceded eastern Mysia to Attalus in return for his assistance against Achaeus. The supposition of Gäbler (*Erythrae*, p. 54) that Attalus obtained the greater part of Asia Minor is unfounded.

32. Polybius IV 65, 6, where it is related that the walls of the Aetolian fortress of Elaüs, captured by Philip V in 219, had been built at the expense of Attalus. For his portico at Delphi see *Syll.*[3] 523, dated about 223/2 by Flacelière *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris 1937), p. 271, note 1, and p. 407, and for the ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν βασιλικῶν sent by him to Delphi in 197 see *S.G.D.I.* 2001 = *Syll.*[2] 846 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 87f. For his redemption of the sacred land at Sicyon see Polybius XVIII 16, 1f. = Livy XXXII 40, 8. Before 212, probably, he presented gifts to the Temple of Apollo on Delos, including, in imitation of Philetaerus (see above note 9), an endowment for a "vase-festival," called Attaleia; see *Syll.*[2] 588, ll. 61 and 183: *Ins. Delos* 361, ll. 11 and 363, ll. 8 and 26: Schulhof in *B.C.H.* XXXII (1908), p. 111. For the monument which he built in Delos after his victory over the Galatians see above note 20. Later, when he visited Athens in the spring of 200 and urged the citizens to enter the war against Philip, he reminded the Athenians of the benefits which he had conferred on them; see Polybius XVI 25, 5f. = Livy XXXI 14, 12f. and below note 44. They received him with great honour and (perhaps in 199, see S. Accame in *Riv. Fil.* LXIX [1941], p. 188) named a city-tribe after him, which is mentioned also in Pausanias I 5, 5 and in many inscriptions, as, for example, the lists of victors and ephebi of the second century before Christ (*I.G.* II[2] 956f. and 1009). It was probably on the occasion of this visit that the Athenians established a priest for his worship; see *I.G.* II[2] 5080.

33. Polybius II 8f.; III 16 and 18f.: Livy *Per.* XX: Appian *Illyr.* 7f.: Cassius Dio frgs. 49 and 53 Boiss. See also Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1 p. 664f. and IV 2, p. 262f.: Holleaux *Rome, la Grèce et les Monarchies Hellénist.* (Paris 1921), pp. 98f., 131f. and 141f. and *C.A.H.* VII pp. 831f. and 844f. It was pointed out by F. W. Walbank *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge 1940), p. 51 that, while Philip's policy of developing a strong navy (in 218) was probably due to the influence of Demetrius of Pharus, this may not be regarded as a programme of hostility toward Rome. Walbank pointed out (p. 65) that Philip's campaign (in 217/6) on the Illyrian coast was also due to Demetrius's influence; see Polybius V 101, 8f.; 108, 5f. The statements of Polybius, however, that this was to be a prelude to an invasion of Italy were rightly questioned by J. V. A. Fine in *A.J.P.* LXIV (1943), p. 462.

34. Livy XXVII 29, 10f. (dated in 208 B.C., but in reality 210/9), where we

are told that Attalus was elected στρατηγός of the Aetolian League (for 210/9, see *I.G.* IX² p. L). The soldiers whom he sent to aid the Aetolians, consisting of three companies of Mysians, one of Pergamenes and two of miscellaneous mercenaries, one of them under a Cretan commander, were granted προξενία and the rights of citizenship by the Aetolian city of Lilaea (which had expelled a Macedonian garrison, see Pausanias X 33, 3); see *Fouilles de Delphès* II A 2, p. 224=*Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXVIII (1931), p. 84 and for other, as yet unpublished, inscriptions see Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 594f. and G. Daux in *R. Phil.* LX (1934), p. 364. It was observed by Flacelière (*Aitoliens à Delphes*, p. 301, note 5) that while it is probable that these troops were sent to Lilaea in 209/8, when Attalus was in Greece, it might have been a year or two earlier, while he was in Asia. During this war Attalus bought the island of Aegina for thirty talents from the Aetolians, who, after it had been captured by Publius Sulpicius Galba in 210, acquired it from the Romans (Polybius IX 42, 5f.; XI 5, 8; XXII 8 (11), 9f.); see Holleaux in *R. Phil.* LVII (1931), p. 7f., who pointed out that the statement of Valerius Antias quoted in Livy XXXIII 30, 10, that it was given to Attalus by the treaty of 196, is incorrect. For the activity of the Pergamene fleet in 208 see Polybius X 42 and Livy XXVIII 5f. and, for the date, Walbank *Philip V*, p. 304.

35. For the Treaty of Phoenice, concluded in 205 B.C., see Livy XXIX 12, 13f., where the *ab rege foederi adscripti* are enumerated as Prusias I of Bithynia, the Achaeans, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirotes, those *ab Romanis* as the Ilians, Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, the Eleans, Messenians and Athenians. The correctness of the lists has been the subject of much discussion. Niese (*G.M.S.* II p. 502, note 4), while accepting the entire list of Philip's *adscripti*, regarded Ilium and Athens as suspect on the ground that neither had taken part in the war. Täubler (*Imp. Rom.* I p. 214f.) rejected the entire list of Roman *adscripti* on the ground that during the war they had been allies of the Aetolians and not of Rome. Both lists, on the other hand, were accepted by De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* III 2, p. 436f. and *Riv. Fil.* LXIV (1936), p. 198, note 1, and the Roman list, save for Ilium and Athens, was accepted by Larsen in *C.P.* XXX (1935), p. 210f. and XXXII (1937), p. 15f. on the somewhat uncertain ground that Nabis, the Eleans and the Messenians, as well as Attalus and Pleuratus, had treaties of alliance with Rome. The Roman list, save for Athens, was accepted also by A. Heuss *Die Völkerrechtl. Grundlagen d. Röm. Aussenpolitik in republ. Zeit=Klio, Beih.* XXXI (1933), p. 32f., on the ground that these states might participate in the treaty as allies of the Aetolians, and, including Athens, by S. Accame in *Riv. Fil.* LXIX (1941), p. 182f. A middle position was taken by Holleaux in *Rome, la Grèce, etc.* p. 258f and *C.A.H.* VIII p. 135f., whose view was adopted by A. H. McDonald in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 181, and by Walbank *Philip V*, p. 103f., note 6. Holleaux, while accepting Livy's list of Philip's *adscripti*, as well as Attalus (*Rome*, p. 264, note 1) and Pleuratus, rejected the others both on the general ground that Livy's text is a *contaminatio* of Polybius and

a Roman annalist and therefore unreliable, and for the more specific reason that the Lacedaemonians, Eleans and Messenians had been allies of the Aetolians and so had already (in 206) made peace with Philip. In the case of the Athenians, Holleaux argued that they had not as yet entered into relations with Rome; he also rejected Ilium (*Rome*, pp. 56 and 260) on the ground that in 197, when Lampsacus sent envoys to Rome (*I.G.R.* IV 179=*Syll.*[3] 591, see below Chap. IV note 51), the Ilians had not been taken formally under Roman protection. Now, the assumption that the passage of Livy containing the lists of the *adscripti* is a *contaminatio* and that we are at liberty to pick from it whatever names we wish is not free from the danger of making an arbitrary choice. Attalus, as Heuss observed (*l.c.*), had fought on the side of the Romans and Aetolians during the war, and the statement is made in Livy XXIX 11, 2 that the year 205 marked the beginning of his *amicitia* with Rome, *i.e.* his close relationship promising neutrality with the option of sending troops to participate in any defensive war waged by the Romans (see Chap. IV note 76). As far as Ilium is concerned, it is difficult to accept the argument of Täubler (p. 215f.) that the statement of Livy (XXIX 11, 1) that (in 205) *nullasdum in Asia socias civitates habebat Populus Romanus* shows that at this time Ilium was not an ally and therefore could not have been "included" in the Treaty of Phoenice. For this gives to a passage which is undoubtedly annalistic the very authority which Holleaux denied to the passage which he regarded as "contaminated." A connexion, moreover, between Rome and Ilium is shown to have existed in 197, for the Lampsacene envoys based their plea for Roman protection on the "kinship" of their people to the Romans (*i.e.* through Ilium), and Holleaux's argument that had this "kinship" been recognized by Rome, the envoys would have provided themselves with letters of introduction from the Ilians instead of relying on the support of the Massilians does not carry conviction. Holleaux's rejection, moreover, of the four states of Greece in Livy's list is based on the assumption that the *adscripti* must necessarily have still been engaged in the war. It was shown, however, by Bikerman in *R.Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 59f. that according to Greek usage the principal contracting parties to a treaty might "include" in it other (independent) states, which, although they had not been engaged in the war, might participate in the general (although not necessarily in the specific) terms of the agreement. By thus imposing on each of the contracting parties the obligation of refraining from making war on them, these states entered into what amounted to a pact of non-aggression, by which either of the principals had the right to intervene in the behalf of any of them, should it be attacked by the other. Bikerman pointed out, furthermore, that the relationship implied in the term *adscriptus* was the same as that which the Lampsacene envoys attempted to establish with Rome when they requested the Senate *ὅπως συμπεριληφθῶμεν* in the treaty to be concluded in 196 with Philip V (*Syll.*[3] 591, l. 64). This relationship appears also in the provision in the treaty concluded in 180/79 by the allied Kings Eumenes II and Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia with Pharnaces of Pontus (Polybius XXV 2, 12, see Chap. VIII note 43) that *περιελήφθησαν ταῖς*

συνθήκαις Artaxias, ruler of Greater Armenia, a dynast named Acusilochus, the Sarmatian prince Gatalus, and the independent cities of Heracleia, Mesambria, Chersonesus and Cyzicus. The action of Lampsacus in requesting to be "included" in the treaty of 196 shows that it was not considered necessary that an *adscriptus* should have been an ally or even a belligerent in the war ended by the treaty in question, and this is confirmed by the list of the princes and cities "included" in the treaty of 180/79, for it is difficult to regard these as allies of the two kings or even participants in the war. There seems, therefore, to be little cogency in the argument of Larsen that Ilium and Athens must be excluded from the list of *adscripti* because they were not allies of Rome or in that of Walbank that the three Peloponnesian states which had made peace with Philip in 206 could not have been *adscripti* in the treaty of 205 since "they cannot have made peace with Rome twice." It seems clear that the reason why these various states wished to be included in the treaties in question is to be found in the promise given by the Roman praetor to the Lampsacenes (*Syll.*[3] 591, l. 33f.) that the Romans if they should enter into friendship or treaty-relations with a state, would preserve its democracy and autonomy, and if anyone should attempt to cause annoyance, they would not suffer it but would prevent it.

36. For the depredations of Philip's agent, the *condottiere* Dicaearchus, on the coast of the Hellespont and the Aegean in 205/4 (Polybius XVIII 54, 8f. and Diodorus XXVIII 1) see Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXXIII (1920), p. 223f. and Walbank *Philip V*, p. 110. For the war of the Cretans, supported by Philip, against Rhodes see Herzog in *Klio* II (1902), p. 316f. and Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXX (1917), p. 88f. This war is mentioned in a decree of Halasarna on the island of Cos (*Syll.*[3] 569), where, as Holleaux observed (*ibid.* p. 90 and *R.E.A.* XXV [1923], p. 341), ὁ Κρητικὸς πόλεμος and ὁ συνεστακὼς πόλεμος refer, respectively, to this war (in 204), in which Cretans also attacked Cos (see Chap. III note 141), and to the war waged by Philip against Attalus and the Rhodians in 201 (see below note 39). The "Cretan War" was brought to an end when the Rhodians, taking advantage of a war between the Hierapytnians (who had been active in the attack on Cos, see *Syll.*[3] 567) and their fellow-Cretans, made a treaty with the former; see *S.G.D.I.* 3749=*Syll.*[3] 581. Since by the terms of this treaty Rhodes gained every advantage and Hierapytna none, it is evident that the latter had been unsuccessful in the war (Herzog in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1901, p. 475). This treaty was dated in 197 by Herzog in *Klio* II p. 331f., but in 201/200 by Holleaux in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 152 and *R.E.G.* XXX p. 101, followed by Walbank (p. 120, note 3). An inscription from Nisyros, honouring a [σ]τρατηγήσας ἐκ [πάντων] κατὰ πόλεμο[ν τὸ]ν Κρητικόν (*I.G.* XII 3, 103=*Syll.*[3] 673) was connected with this war by Herzog *ibid.* p. 328, Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXX p. 98f. and M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* LXI (1933), p. 391, note 2. For Philip's emissary Heraclides and his attempt to destroy the Rhodian fleet, which seems to have resulted in the burning of thirteen ships, see Polybius XIII 4f.: Polyaenus V 17, 2: Walbank, p. 111.

37. *C.I.G.* 2679 = *I.B.M.* 441 = *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 21f. = *R.E.A.* V (1903), p. 224f. Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XII p. 30f. identified the Olympichus who made the attack with the dynast of this name who gave a present to Rhodes after the great earthquake about 227 B.C. (see Chap. III note 70) and showed that he was acting as Philip's agent; so also Lenschau in *R.E.* XVIII 185. He is presumably to be identified also with the Olympichus ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως two of whose officials were honoured in a decree found at Alinda in Caria (but probably from some other city); see Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 291f., no. 1, dated in 202 by Laumonier, but in 201/200, after Olympichus had become a στρατηγός of Philip during the latter's invasion of Caria (see below note 40), by Walbank (*Philip V*, p. 116, note 3 and *J.H.S.* LXII [1942], p. 8f.). It was pointed out by Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1051f. that the frequently held view that he was tyrant of Mylasa (see *e.g.* Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 550) is without foundation.

38. Polybius XV 22f.: Livy XXXII 33, 16: Strabo XII p. 563. For Cius and Myrleia see also Chap. XIII note 20. It was pointed out by Münzer in *Philol.* LXXXIX (1934), p. 215f. that the list of places in *Auct. ad Herennium* IV 68, Lemnos, Thasos, *urbem Bithynam Cium* (*uiminachium* or *bithiniā* or *bithanā*, Mss.), Abydus, represents Philip's advance and that the passage was perhaps translated from the speech of a Rhodian envoy to Athens. For Philip's seizure of Thasos and Nisyros by the ruse of offering them independence see Polybius XV 24 and *I.G.* XII 3, 91 = *Syll.*³ 572. The view of Beloch (*G.G.*² IV 2, pp. 339 and 551) that Nisyros had previously been under Philip's rule seems to be refuted by the fact that at the time of the "Cretan War" the Rhodians had a *strategos* on the island (see above note 36). Philip's offer to Nisyros and his presumable occupation of the island were dated in 201 by Herzog in *Klio* II (1902), p. 328f. and Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXX (1917), p. 102f. and *R.E.A.* XXV (1923), p. 344. But Holleaux's view that Philip seized Nisyros after the battle of Lade (see below note 39) is not supported by any evidence, and it is possible that his offer was made somewhat earlier as part of his programme for weakening Rhodes.

39. For Philip's campaign in the summer of 201 see Polybius XVI 1f.; 7, 6; 10, 1; 14, 5f.; XVIII 6, 4 (= Livy XXXII 34, 9): Diodorus XXVIII 5: Appian *Mac.* 4, 1: Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 583f.: van Gelder *Gesch. d. Alt. Rhodier*, p. 122f.: Holleaux in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 450f.; *R.E.A.* XXII (1920), p. 237f.; XXIII (1921), p. 181f.; XXV (1923), p. 330f.; *C.A.H.* VIII p. 153f.: A. H. McDonald in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 186f.: Walbank *Philip V*, pp. 117f. and 307f. Philip's march to Thyateira during his invasion of the Pergamene Kingdom, reported by Polybius, is attested by an inscription in his honour found near Selendi some distance south of Thyateira but, in all probability, brought from the latter; its letters seem to have been recut at some later time; see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 104, no. 25 = *J.H.S.* XXXVII (1917), p. 110, no. 23. For Philip's attempt to take the city of Chios see Chap. IV note 42. For the participation of Cos in the war see above note 36 and Chap. III note 141. For a thank-offering dedicated by Attalus I apparently after the battle of

Chios see *O.G.I.* 283. For Philip's entry into Miletus after the battle of Lade see Polybius XVI 15, 6 and for his seizure of some Milesian territory see Chap. IV note 43. For his offerings to Apollo on Delos see *I.G.* XI 4, 1100 (=*Syll.*³ 573) and 1101 and De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 9, note 26. The traditional order of the three principal events of the campaign, based on the usual arrangement of the fragments of Polybius, is Pergamum, Chios, Lade; see *e.g.* Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2165: Niese *l.c.*: Cardinali *R.P.* p. 50f. Holleaux, however, following a suggestion of van Gelder (*ibid.* p. 124) and rearranging the fragments of Polybius, proposed the order Chios, Lade, Pergamum (accepted by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 52f.). He based this order on the argument that, had the Pergamene Kingdom been invaded before the battle of Chios, it would not have been necessary for Theophiliscus, the Rhodian admiral, to persuade Attalus to enter the war (Polybius XVI 9, 4), and on the statement of Philip (Polybius XVIII 6, 1f.) that Attalus and the Rhodians had been the aggressors. Holleaux placed the invasion before the harvest in June, on the ground that Philip seems to have expected to feed his army on the produce of the country (Polybius XVI 1, 3 and 7f.). A different order, proposed by De Sanctis (IV 1, p. 10, note 27), was adopted by G. T. Griffith in *Cambr. Hist. Journ.* V (1935), p. 8, McDonald (*l.c.*) and Walbank (*ll. cc.*). According to this view, the battle of Lade and the invasion of Pergamum preceded the battle of Chios. This order was based on the statement of Polybius (XVI 10, 1) that at the time of the battle of Lade Ἄτταλον μηδέπω συμμεμιχέναι, as well as on the arrangement of the fragments in which Polybius's characterization of Philip as "mad," although it refers to his failure to sail on to Egypt after his victory at Lade, appears directly after the battle of Chios and the death of Theophiliscus. Holleaux seems to have proved that the battle of Chios preceded that of Lade; so also Tarn in *J.R.S.* XXXI (1941), p. 172. He also made it highly probable that it preceded the invasion of Pergamum; for this is the order in which the demands for reparation made by Attalus's envoy in 197 are given in Polybius XVIII 2, 2=Livy XXXII 33, 5, and, as Starr observed (*C.P.* XXXIII [1938], p. 63, note 2), Philip's "anger" at Attalus at the time of his invasion (Polybius XVI 1, 2 and Diodorus *l.c.*) is more explicable if we suppose that it was due to Attalus's previous participation in the battle of Chios. On the other hand, it is hard to accept Holleaux's view that the invasion followed the battle of Lade. The supposition ascribed to Philip (Polybius XVI 1, 1), οἷον αὐτόχειρ Ἀττάλου γενέσθαι, can be connected with the battle of Chios, after which Attalus, who probably suffered considerable loss (see Tarn in *J.R.S.* XXXI p. 172), was forced to ground some of his ships and escape to the mainland (Polybius XVI 6, 4f.), more easily than with that of Lade, in which he did not take part (Polybius XVI 10, 1). Since he was not present at this battle, it may be supposed that during this period he was in his own kingdom, and, according to Diodorus (*l.c.*), he was not there at the time of the invasion. Moreover, it is hard to believe that Philip, during the time which elapsed between the battle of Lade and his invasion of Caria (see below note 40), could have made the long land-march from Miletus to Pergamum, Thyateira and the Plain of Thebe (Adramyttium) and back again, and it

seems much more probable that this march was made immediately after the battle of Chios from some point on the coast of Mysia, perhaps the mouth of the Caïcus. In view of these considerations, the order of events seems to be: Chios, the invasion of Pergamum, Lade.

40. For Philip's campaign in Caria see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXII (1920), p. 248f.; XXIII (1921), p. 204f.; XXV (1923), p. 348f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 70f.: Walbank *ibid.* p. 125f. In undertaking it he may have been influenced by an expedition into the district made in 227 B.C. by his predecessor, Antigonus Doson—if indeed this expedition really took place. Our knowledge of it is confined to the brief statement of Trogus (*Prol.* XXVIII) that Antigonus *in Asia Cariam subiecit* and the mention in Polybius XX 5, 11 of the King's πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν; its cause, course and outcome are unknown. It was accepted as a fact by Beloch (*G.G.*² IV 1, p. 682f. and IV 2, p. 548f.), Tarn (*C.A.H.* VII pp. 722 and 752), P. Treves (*Athenaeum* XIII [1935], p. 38f.), Dow and Edson (*Harv. Stud.* XLVIII [1937], p. 170f.), J. V. A. Fine (*A.J.P.* LXI [1940], p. 142f.), and Walbank (p. 12f.), but rejected by Kolbe in *G.G.A.* 1916, p. 459f., followed by Holleaux (*R.E.A.* XXV [1923], p. 344, note 8 and *R. Phil.* L [1926], p. 56, note 1) and by Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 161). The suggestion of Lenschau in *R.E.* XVIII 185f. that the description of the dynast Olympichus as στρατηγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως in *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 291f. (see above note 37) indicates that there was a Macedonian province in Caria from 227 to 202 was shown by Walbank in *J.H.S.* LXII (1942), p. 8f. to be unfounded. According to Meyer's reconstruction of Philip's expedition, the King, after advancing along the coast from Miletus, landed near Cnidus and, after failing to capture it, took Prinassus in the Rhodian Peraea; see Polybius XVI 11, 1f. (with the retention of the marginal note of the Codex Urbinas περὶ τῆς Κνίδου πόλεως): Polyaenus IV 18 (17), 1: Frontinus *Strat.* III 8, 1. He then marched around the eastern end of the Gulf of Cos and over the mountains through Pisye to the valley of the upper Marsyas, where he captured Stratoniceia. From there he either went in person or sent detachments of soldiers northward to Alabanda (Polybius XVI 24, 8) and even across the Maeander to Magnesia; these two cities together with Mylasa supplied him with provisions during the winter of 201-200, which he spent at Bargylia on the coast (see below note 41). He seems to have marched thither from the Marsyas valley and to have captured, besides Bargylia, the neighbouring Iasus as well as Euromus and Pedasa (or Pidasa, see Chap. IV note 78) farther northeast, all of which were in his possession at the end of the war (see Chap. IV note 44). On the other hand, it is evident that he did not capture Halicarnassus and Myndus, for they were, at least nominally, Egyptian allies in 197; see Livy XXXIII 20, 11f. and Chap. IV note 49. The fact that there was a gymnasium at Halicarnassus called τὸ Φιλίππειον (Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XI [1908], p. 53f., no. 1 and probably no. 2) may not be used to show that Philip took the city, for the inscriptions (which record its restoration) are to be dated in the third century, probably in the earlier part. Philip's failure to take Halicarnassus and Myndus was explained ingeniously, although not con-

vincingly, by Meyer (p. 71f.) by the theory that Ptolemy V had formally ceded his Carian possessions but had not ceded these two cities. There is no reason to suppose that Philip even planned to take them (see below note 42); but if he did so plan, it is probable that his failure was due to his enforced retreat from Caria before he was able to force his way down the long and difficult peninsula on which both cities lay. Philip's occupation of Stratoniceia in 199/8 is attested by decrees of the Panamareis near the city honouring both Philip himself and his *ἐπιστάτης*, the latter decree being dated *βασιλεύοντος Φιλίππου ἔτους τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ*; see *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 345, no. 1 and p. 354 and p. 346f., nos. 2 and 3, combined by H. Oppermann in *Zeus Panamaros* (Giessen 1924), p. 20f. His troops were still holding it in 197 when the Rhodian general Pausistratus, sent to recover the "Peraea" (see Chap. III note 72), invaded the interior of Caria; see Livy XXXIII 18. Pausistratus defeated Dinocrates, the Macedonian general, in a battle near Alabanda and forced him and his army to retreat to Bargylia, but he failed to press on to Stratoniceia—which, we are told, might have been taken, had he followed up his victory—thereby making it possible for Dinocrates and some soldiers to return to the city. For the campaign of the Rhodian general Nicagoras, which has been regarded as another episode of this war, see Chap. III note 72.

41. Polybius XVI 24. See also Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXV (1923), pp. 349f. and 353, who pointed out that the trick recorded in Polyaenus IV 18, 2, by means of which Philip escaped from the fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians, refers to his escape from Bargylia. For the pursuit by the combined fleets, which followed Philip to the Macedonian coast and then returned to Aegina, see Livy XXXI 14, 11. On the chronology (the consulship of P. Sulpicius Galba) see Holleaux in *B.C.H.* LVI (1932), p. 531f. and Walbank *Philip V*, p. 309.

42. Livy XXXI 2, 1 (201 B.C.), where it is related that envoys from Attalus and the Rhodians informed the Senate that *Asiae quoque civitates sollicitari* (*i.e.* by Philip). These embassies are mentioned also in Justin XXX 3, 5 and alluded to in Polybius XVI 24, 3; only the one sent by Rhodes is mentioned in Appian *Mac.* 4, 2. For the report of a secret agreement between Philip and Antiochus see Polybius III 2, 8 and XV 20, 1f.: Livy XXXI 14, 5: Appian *Mac.* 4, 1: Trogus *Prol.* XXX: Justin XXX 2, 8: Hieronymus *Comm. in Daniel.* XI 13 (Vol. V p. 588 Migne) = Porphyrius frg. 45 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II D. 1224). According to Appian (*l.c.*), it was brought to Rome by the Rhodian embassy. Since not only were Philip's plans for securing the mastery of the Aegean (see above note 36) evidently made before the accession of Ptolemy V (not earlier than the autumn of 204 and perhaps in the autumn of 203, see F. W. Walbank in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* XXII [1936], p. 20f.: C. F. Nims *id.* XXIV [1938], p. 73: Bikerman in *Chroniques d'Égypte* XXIX [1940], p. 124f.), but in 202, after the agreement was supposedly formed, he seized no possessions of Egypt except Samos, which he appears to have occupied without opposition, it seems probable that the story of the agree-

ment was a fabrication of the Rhodians, designed to frighten the Romans into entering the war; see D. Magie in *J.R.S.* XXIX (1939), p. 32f.

43. For the events leading up to the Second Macedonian War and the causes of the war see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXII (1920), p. 77f.; *Rome, la Grèce, etc.*, pp. 269f. and 309f.; *C.A.H.* VIII p. 155f.: A. Passerini in *Athenaeum* IX (1931), pp. 269f. and 542f.: E. Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), pp. 75f. and 161f. and (as Bickerman) in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 137f.: G. T. Griffith in *Cambr. Hist. Journ.* V (1935), p. 1f.: McDonald and Walbank in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 180f.: Walbank *Philip V*, pp. 127f. and 310f.: K. E. Petzold *Die Eröffnung d. 2ten Röm.-Mak. Krieges* (Berlin 1940), see F. M. Wood in *A.J.P.* LXIV (1943), p. 465f. In contrast to earlier writers, who varyingly attributed Rome's entry into the war to a sentimental interest in the Greeks, to a desire for further territory, and to a supposed need for economic expansion, Holleaux showed that the compelling cause was fear of the reported combination between Philip and Antiochus and that the Senate hoped to reduce the former to impotence at once and meanwhile to remain on friendly terms with the latter. This view was also held, with some differences, by Passerini, Griffith and McDonald and Walbank. Passerini pointed out that to the Romans the greater danger would seem to lie in the imperialistic plans of Philip, who appeared stronger than he actually was and may well have been thought of as a second Hannibal; Griffith observed that Philip's large fleet and his victory at Lade, together with the possibility of further success, were potent factors in arousing alarm at Rome. The view that the war was caused by the Romans' fear for the safety of Italy is more convincing than the explanation suggested by Bikerman (*R. Phil.* LXI p. 170f.), namely, that the Senators did not really wish to become involved in war and presented their demands to Philip purely out of a sense of obligation to their allies but were forced into hostilities by Philip's disregard of their ultimatum. This theory fails to take into consideration the fact that the ultimatum was not presented until the Roman army was on the point of sailing—perhaps had already sailed—for Epirus (see below note 44).

44. For this embassy see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XV (1913), p. 4; *Rome, la Grèce, etc.* pp. 50 and 58f.; *C.A.H.* VIII p. 161f.: E. Degen *Krit. Ausführung z. Gesch. Antiochus d. Gr.* (Basle 1918), p. 17f.: Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 167f. and *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 139: Walbank in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 192 and *Philip V*, pp. 128f. and 313f.: S. Accame in *Riv. Fil.* LXIX (1941), p. 186: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 56f. The three envoys seem to have left Rome early in 200; see Livy XXXI 2, 3f., where, however, their departure is wrongly dated and their mission (*ut . . . gratias agerent regi* [*i.e.* Ptolemy V], *quod in rebus dubiis . . . in fide mansisset, et peterent ut, si coacti iniuriis bellum adversus Philippum suscepissent, pristinum animum erga populum Romanum conservaret*) is insufficiently described. As Holleaux and Walbank pointed out, their real errand was to create a sentiment in Greece hostile to Philip and (secondarily) to prevent Antiochus from making war on

Egypt; see Appian *Mac.* 4, 2 and Polybius XVI 27, 5. After visiting Epirus, the Aetolians and the Achaeans, the envoys arrived in Athens in the spring of 200, about the time when Attalus and the Rhodians returned from their pursuit of Philip in his withdrawal from Bargylia (see above note 41), and here they had an interview with the Pergamene King, on whom the Athenians conferred high honours; see Polybius XVI 25 and above note 32. The envoys also presented to Philip's general the demand addressed to the King which they had already announced to the states of Greece: *τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὶ πολεμεῖν, τῶν δὲ γεγονότων εἰς Ἄτταλον ἀδικημάτων δίκας ὑπέχειν ἐν ἴσῳ κριτηρίῳ* (Polybius XVI 27, 2). It was supposed by Bikerman (*R. Phil.* LXI p. 75f.) that by Ἕλληνες only the Greeks of Greece proper were meant. But when the ultimatum was subsequently presented to Philip himself, he was besieging Abydus (see below), and the term Ἕλληνες might also denote the Greeks of Asia. On their way eastward to interview Antiochus the envoys stopped at Rhodes (where they heard of Philip's attack on Abydus) in September, 200; see Polybius XVI 34, 2 and Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXV (1923), p. 359, note 1. For Philip's conquest of southern Thrace, including the Egyptian possessions Aenus and Maroneia, and of the Chersonese see Livy XXXI 16, 4f. For the siege and capture of Abydus see Polybius XVI 30f. = Livy XXXI 16, 6f. Its possession gave Philip control of the Hellespont and the land-route to Asia. On learning of this siege, the Roman envoys, postponing the execution of their mission in the East, sent one of their number, M. Aemilius Lepidus, to present what was, in fact, an ultimatum to Philip with the further demand that he should refrain from seizing any of the possessions of Egypt and indemnify the Rhodians as well as Attalus; see Polybius XVI 34, 3f. Although this was technically not a declaration of war, about this time the Roman army left Italy for Epirus, where it arrived about the middle of September, 200; see Livy XXXI 18, 9 and 22, 4: Plutarch *Flam.* 3, 1: Holleaux in *B.C.H.* LVI (1932), p. 532f.: Walbank *Philip V*, p. 317. The envoys' ultimatum was rejected by Philip; see Polybius XVI 34, 7 = Livy XXXI 18, 4: Diodorus XXVIII 6. Their further actions are not definitely known, for the narrative has been lost from Polybius's history and was not included by Livy. They seem, however, to have met Antiochus, whose plans the Romans wished to find out, and they probably visited Alexandria also; see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XV p. 4 and *Rome, etc.* pp. 58f. and 82. For what was perhaps an attempt on Philip's part to placate the Athenians by a letter to the Athenian colony at Hephaestia on Lemnos professing a wish to be initiated into the mysteries of the local gods see Accame *ibid.* pp. 179f. and 189f.

45. For Attalus's participation in the war see Livy XXXI 28, 3; 45f. (200 B.C.); XXXII 16, 6f.; 19, 3f.; 23, 4f. (198 B.C.): Strabo XIII p. 624: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 59f. For his gift of ten talents and 10,000 *medimnoi* of wheat to Sicyon and the honours—a golden *εἰκών* and a yearly sacrifice—which were voted to him in return see Polybius XVIII 16, 3 = Livy XXXII 40, 9 (197 B.C.). For his illness and death see Livy XXXIII 2, 2f: Polybius XXI 20, 5 = Livy XXXVII 53, 10: Plutarch *Flam.* 6. On the evidence of an inscription

recording the presence in Delphi in August-September, 197 of Dameas ὁ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀττάλου ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν βασιλικῶν (*S.G.D.I.* 2001 = *Syll.*[3] 846, see above note 32) Meischke observed (*Symbolae*, p. 22f.) that Attalus did not die before September of this year.

46. The demands made by Attalus's representative at the conference with Philip held in November, 198 (see Walbank *Philip V*, p. 321) at Nicaea, east of Thermopylae on the southern shore of the Melian Gulf, were the surrender of all Pergamene ships captured at the battle of Chios, together with their crews, and the complete restoration of the Temples of Aphrodite and Athena Nicephorus destroyed by Philip during his attack on Pergamum; see Polybius XVIII 2, 2 and 6, 2f. = Livy XXXII 33, 5 and 34, 8f. It was pointed out by Larsen in *C.P.* XXXI (1936), p. 342f. that the demands presented at this time by Flamininus and his allies (Attalus, the Rhodians, the Achaeans and the Aetolians) were those which were afterward imposed on Philip by the peace-treaty drawn up and ratified in Rome; see Polybius XVIII 38, 2 and 42, 1f. = Livy XXXIII 13, 4 and 24, 3—25, 7. The senatus consultum preserved in an abbreviated form in Polybius XVIII 44 = Livy XXXIII 30, 1-7 and Appian *Mac.* 9, 3 dealt with the application of this treaty and also imposed additional burdens on Philip, which were presumably based on his previous agreement (Polybius XVIII 38, 2) περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διδόναι τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν ἐπιτροπήν. For the treaty see also Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 432f.: Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 180f.: Passerini in *Athenaeum* X (1932), p. 110f.

47. Eumenes was probably little over 24 years old at the time of his father's death, for his younger brother Attalus, who died in 138 at the age of 82 (see Lucian *Macr.* 12), was evidently born in 220; see Meischke *Symbolae*, p. 25f. For his portrait on a coin in the British Museum see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1884 III p. 13, no. 81 and p. 36 and 1910, *Anh.* I, Taf. II, no. 14 and *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 117, no. 47. For his war against Nabis (195 B.C.) see Livy XXXIV 26, 11; 29, 4; 30, 7; 35, 2; 40, 7. His victories in this war, as well as in a second campaign in 192 (Livy XXXV 20, 13; 22, 2; 25, 2f.) were commemorated by a group of monuments in Pergamum; see *Syll.*[3] 595 and 605.

48. For the chronology of the Fifth Syrian War see Holleaux in *Klio* VIII (1908), p. 267f. = *Études* III p. 317f. For the completion of Antiochus's conquest of Coele Syria in 198 see Livy XXXIII 19, 8. According to Livy XXXII 8, 9f. and 27, 1 (from an annalistic source), envoys from Attalus came to Rome in 198, before Flamininus's departure for Epirus, to inform the Senate that during his absence in Greece Antiochus had invaded the Pergamene Kingdom and to ask the Fathers either to despatch troops to protect his dominions or allow him to return for the purpose; whereupon the Senate promised to send envoys to Antiochus, asking him to desist; later in the same year Attalus sent the Romans a golden wreath in gratitude for the envoys' success in persuading Antiochus to withdraw. The his-

toricity of this narrative was attacked by Holleaux (*Klio* VIII p. 279f. = *Études* III p. 331f. and *R.E.A.* XV [1913], p. 4, note 4 and p. 20, note 3), whose conclusions were accepted by De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 122, note 3. Holleaux showed that the invasion could not have taken place in the winter of 199-198, since at this time Attalus was in Pergamum and did not leave it until Flamininus had arrived in Epirus (Livy XXXII 16, 6f.); accordingly, his kingdom could not have been invaded and the news brought to Rome before Flamininus's departure from the city. An attempt to defend the truth of Livy's narrative was made by O. Leuze in *Herm.* LVIII (1923), p. 190f., on the ground that the invasion may have occurred at the beginning of the summer of 198, after Attalus had left Pergamum. In this, however, Leuze was forced not only to disregard the order of events as given in the narrative, but also to assume that Flamininus did not leave Rome until June or even July, whereas it is generally supposed that he arrived in Epirus early in May (see Kromayer *Ant. Schlachtfelder* II p. 108: De Sanctis *ibid.* p. 384f.: Walbank *Philip V*, p. 319). At the same time Leuze admitted that the invasion may have been conducted, not by Antiochus himself, but by one of his subordinates in Asia Minor, an admission which not only leaves out of account the statement of Livy that Antiochus himself invaded Pergamum, but is also inconsistent with the title of Leuze's chapter, namely, Antiochus's "Second Expedition to Asia Minor." Moreover, Leuze's dating of the arrival of the Pergamene envoys in Rome in the early summer involves a difficulty in the chronology; for there are too many events to be crowded into the last half of 198—the journey of the Roman envoys to Antiochus, then in Syria (see Livy XXXIII 19, 8, cited above), the transmission of orders to the King's subordinate in Asia Minor to cease operations against Pergamum, the conveyance of the news to Attalus, who spent the autumn of 198 before Corinth and the following winter in Aegina (Livy XXXII 19, 3f.; 23, 4f.; 39, 2), and the journey of his envoys, bearing the golden wreath, to Rome. While it is difficult, as Holleaux observed, to account for the origin of the story, so many inconsistencies are involved that it is still more difficult to believe it. It may perhaps have been invented by a patriotic annalist for the purpose of showing Antiochus's respect for Rome at this time. Leuze himself observed (p. 250f.) that the annalistic writers did not hesitate to invent embassies when it suited their purpose to do so.

49. Livy XXXIII 19, 9f.: Polybius XVIII 39, 3: Hieronymus *Comm. in Daniel.* XI 15 (V p. 589 Migne) = Porphyrius frg. 46 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1224). Holleaux showed that the leaders of the army sent to Sardis, Ardys and Mithradates, were not sons of Antiochus, as stated in the manuscripts of Livy, but generals; see *Herm.* XLVII (1912), p. 481f. = *Études* III p. 183f. For Antiochus's seizure of the Cilician cities see Chap. XII note 2. The list of the cities of Lycia which surrendered to him, omitted by Livy, is given in Hieronymus (evidently taken ultimately from Polybius) as Corycus, Andriace, Limyra, Patara, Xanthus. His "consecration" of Xanthus to Leto, Apollo and Artemis (see *T.A.M.* II 266 = *O.G.I.* 746 and Chap. XXII note 30)

was a pretended recognition of the city's independence and in keeping with his general policy at this time. For the Rhodians' protest to him in the summer of 197 see Livy XXXIII 20, taken from Polybius (see XVIII 41 A). The historicity of the incident was denied without sufficient reason by Passerini in *Athenaeum* X (1932), p. 117f. on the ground that Polybius took it from his Rhodian sources. For the Rhodians' protection of the Carian cities and Samos see Chap. IV note 49. For Antiochus's occupation of Ephesus see Livy XXXIII 38, 1 (196 B.C.): Polybius XVIII 41 A, 2: Appian *Syr.* 1. The statement of Livy, *cum hibernasset Ephesi* indicates that he arrived in the city in the autumn of 197. For the strategic importance of Ephesus as a centre for his military operations see Polybius *l.c.* and Frontinus *Strat.* III 9, 10. For a general account of Antiochus's expeditions to Asia Minor in 197/6 and 195/4 see Degen *Krit. Ausführung*, p. 32f. and Leuze *ibid.* p. 201f.

50. For the view that the freedom of the Greek cities was used by the Romans merely as a pretext for opposing Antiochus's designs on Europe see Chap. IV note 55. The actual danger to Rome from Antiochus was minimized by Holleaux in *Rome, la Grèce, etc.* p. 329f. and *C.A.H.* VIII p. 188, but it was pointed out by Passerini in *Athenaeum* X (1932), p. 119f. that the King's seizure of southern Thrace, which, with Abydus, gave him control of the route between Asia and Europe, was in fact a menace to Greece and ultimately to Rome. For the negotiations between the King and the Romans from 196 to 193 see Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XV (1913), p. 5f.: Degen *ibid.* p. 50f.: Leuze *ibid.* pp. 203f. and 214f. Holleaux showed that the following embassies were sent: (1) by Antiochus in the summer of 196 to Flamininus in Corinth (Polybius XVIII 47, 1f. = Livy XXXIII 34, 1f. and Appian *Syr.* 2): (2) by the Roman commissioners in Greece in the autumn of 196 to Antiochus in Lysimacheia (Polybius XVIII 50-52 = Livy XXXIII 39-40: Diodorus XXVIII 14: Appian *Syr.* 3): (3) by Antiochus late in 196 to Flamininus in Corinth, where the envoys were still present in the spring of 195 (Livy XXXIII 41, 5 and XXXIV 25, 2, see Leuze, p. 207, note 3, correcting Holleaux): (4) by Antiochus at the beginning of 193 to the Senate (Livy XXXIV 57, 3—59, 8: Diodorus XXVIII 15: Appian *Syr.* 6): (5) by the Senate in the summer of 193 to Antiochus in Asia Minor (Polybius III 11, 1: Livy XXXIV 59, 8; XXXV 13, 6; 15, 1—17, 3; 22, 1: Appian *Syr.* 12: Justinus XXXI 4, 4f.; see A. Aymard in *R. Phil.* LXVI [1940], p. 96f.). With this embassy the King, after a fruitless meeting at Apameia, dealt through a deputy, Minnio. In the narrative of Livy (XXXV 16, 2f.) he is represented as asserting the same rights over Lampsacus, Smyrna and the other cities of Aeolis and Ionia that Rome had over the cities of southern Italy and Sicily, and as maintaining that his claims were based on his ancestors' conquest. In reply, the Roman envoy is said to have asserted that Rome's dominance over the Italian and Sicilian cities was based on treaties and had never been questioned. For the probable sources of the two points of view expressed in these arguments see P. Treves in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 457f. According to Livy, the conference broke up when the Romans brought in the envoys from the

Greek cities and all attempts at negotiation ceased. The statement of Appian (*Syr.* 12) that Antiochus offered to recognize the independence of Rhodes, Byzantium, Cyzicus and the other Greeks in Asia if the Romans would make a treaty with him is evidently untrue; see Passerini *ibid.* p. 338. Antiochus's negotiations with the Aetolian League, as Niese observed (*G.M.S.* II p. 677), were evidently begun in 193, when Hegesianax, one of the King's envoys to the Senate, was made a *proxenos* of Delphi, presumably in the course of his return-journey (*Syll.*[3] 585, l. 43f.). For the events which immediately preceded Antiochus's entry into the war see Leuze, p. 244f.: Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 201f.: *Passerini*, p. 336f.

51. Livy (XXXV 13, 7f. and 17, 1) regarded Eumenes's fear of Antiochus in 193, combined with his hope of profiting by the diminution of the Seleucid power, as his motive for urging the Romans to make war against the King. Cardinali maintained (*R.P.* p. 63f.) that Antiochus's action was not directed against Eumenes, and it is probably true that he had no immediate intention of attacking Pergamum and that for the present he even wished to preserve friendly relations, as appears also in his offer to give Eumenes his daughter in marriage (see below note 52). But the accomplishment of Antiochus's policy of making himself master of the free cities could not fail to weaken Pergamum.

52. Polybius XXI 20, 8 = Livy XXXVII 53, 13 (a speech supposedly delivered by Eumenes in 189 B.C. and perhaps apocryphal, see Chap. IV note 59): Appian *Syr.* 5. The time of Antiochus's offer is uncertain. Appian's order of events seems to place it in 196/5, and this date was accepted by Niese (*G.M.S.* II p. 674). It was pointed out, however, by Leuze *ibid.* p. 211f. that Appian placed together the marriages of several of Antiochus's daughters and that hence his dating is unreliable. Leuze dated the offer in 192 or 191 on the ground that the language of Eumenes's speech seems to show that when the proposal was made the war was about to break out or, indeed, had already begun. His argument, however, is not altogether convincing, and it is difficult to believe that Antiochus waited so long before attempting to gain Eumenes as an ally. The dating in 193, suggested by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 71, seems more probable.

53. Antiochus's departure for Greece was announced to the Senate by Eumenes's brother Attalus; see Livy XXXV 23, 10. For Eumenes's participation in the campaign in Greece in 192/1 see Livy XXXV 39, 1f.; 50, 6f.; XXXVI 42, 6f.: Polybius XXI 20, 9 = Livy XXXVII 53, 15: Meischke *Symbolae*, p. 79f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 74f. His success against Antiochus was recorded on one of the monuments commemorating his victory over Nabis (see above note 47). For the Pergamene fleet at the battle off Mt. Corycus, on the Erythraean Peninsula, in the autumn of 191 see Livy XXXVI 43, 12f. and Appian *Syr.* 22. For the question as to the scene of the battle see Hansen, p. 77, note 25. For Antiochus's attack on the Pergamene Kingdom in 190 see Polybius XXI 10: Livy XXXVII 18f.: Appian *Syr.* 26: Meischke, p. 85f.

Seleucus, Antiochus's son, plundered the territory between Elaea and Pergamum and even laid siege to the capital, so that Attalus, who was in command of the city, was forced to send for his brother to come to the rescue. Antiochus himself, after further devastation of the country around Pergamum, plundered the coast district as far north as Adramyttium; prevented from taking the city by the appearance of the Roman-Pergamene fleet, he returned through the mountains of the interior to Thyateira and so to Sardis. Meanwhile he had offered terms of peace to the Roman naval commander, Lucius Aemilius Regillus, but the latter was persuaded by Eumenes to reject all his proposals.

54. For the crossing of the Hellespont by the aid of Eumenes and for the latter's support during the Romans' march through his kingdom see Livy xxxvii 33, 4 and 37, 4f. For the battle of Magnesia see Livy xxxvii 39f.: Appian *Syr.* 31f.: Kromayer *Ant. Schlachtfelder* II p. 179f. The battle was dated by Kromayer (p. 163, note 2), following Matzat (*Röm. Zeitrechnung*, p. 207), in January, 189 B.C., by Beloch (*Klio* xv [1918], p. 386f.) in late September, 190, and by De Sanctis (*Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 393f.) in December, 190 or January, 189. For a dedication by the Achaeans who served under Eumenes in this battle see *Syll.*[3] 606 and Chap. V note 21.

55. For the terms of the Treaty of Apameia see Polybius xxi 43 (45) = Livy xxxviii 38: Diodorus xxix 10: Appian *Syr.* 38-39. The territorial clause has been lost from the text of Polybius and we are therefore dependent on the version of Livy, which appears in the manuscripts as follows: *Excedito* (*Antiochus*) *urbibus, agris, vicis, castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Tanaim* (or *Accaym*) *amnem et ea* (or *a* in the Codex Parisinus) *valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua in Lycaoniam vergit.* From Diodorus and Appian we learn only that Antiochus was to evacuate Asia ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου. Similarly, in the account of the instructions given by the Senate to the peace-commissioners in Livy xxxvii 56, which, although dependent on a Roman annalist, was probably taken from an official document (see Mommsen *Röm. Forsch.* II p. 523f.), the districts to be ceded by Antiochus were all north of the Taurus; Lycia, which is included among them, was evidently regarded, as also by Strabo (II p. 129 and XII p. 534), as lying "within" the Taurus, since it seems to have been generally held that the main range "began" with the mountain called Solyma (see Chap. XI note 11), which runs northward from Cape Chelidonia (Ἱερὰ Ἄκρα) at the southeastern corner of Lycia; see Strabo XI p. 520 and XIV pp. 651 and 666. The eastern limit of the dominions ceded by Antiochus is evidently contained in the name of the river *Tanaim* (*Accaym*), which, on the basis of Strabo's statement (VI p. 287) that τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου finally (after opposition) became subject to Rome, has been frequently emended to *Halyn.* This correction, however, has not met with universal approval. Mommsen (*ibid.* p. 527f.), emending the text to *ad Taurum amnem*, supposed that the words *et ea valle Tauri* referred to this river, which he identified with the Pamphylian Cestrus (see Chap. XI

note 2). Other attempts to determine the boundary were made by Kahrstedt in *G.G.N.* 1923, p. 93f., by Ruge in *Phil. Woch.* XLVIII (1928), 1373f., and by Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 145f. Most recently, however, Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2169f. abandoned any attempt at identification. On the other hand, the emendation of *Tanaim* to *Halyn* was defended by Viereck in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 371f. (followed by Hansen, p. 89, note 49), by Cardinali in *Klio* X (1910), p. 249f. (followed by Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 75f. and De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 207, note 147), and especially by Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 229f. and *R.E.G.* XLIV (1931), p. 304f. and XLV (1932), p. 7f. Viereck and Cardinali showed that the course of the middle Halys, if prolonged to the south, affords a line *usque ad iuga* (*Tauri*) *qua in Lycaoniam vergit* and that *ea valle* (*i.e. per eam vallem*) may be regarded as the line through the valley of the Halys to the Taurus, corresponding to the boundary between Lycaonia and Cappadocia (between Coropassus and Garsaoura) as specified in Strabo XII p. 568. Holleaux, who in his second article refuted Kahrstedt's argument by showing that the words *ea valle* do not refer to any river south of the Taurus, pointed out that ἡ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος χώρα λεγομένη, as defined in Strabo II p. 129, contained all the districts of Asia Minor except Cappadocia and that Asia ἡ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου as described in Strabo XII p. 534 corresponded to the country called ἡ ἐντὸς Ἅλυος by Herodotus (I 28), which included all Asia Minor from the Aegean to Lycaonia. Accordingly, it seems evident that the lines of the Taurus Range and of the course of the middle Halys were regarded by geographers as conventional boundaries, and that it was all this country north of the one and west of the other that Antiochus was forced to cede. Only, as Holleaux pointed out, since between the middle Halys and the Taurus there was a long expanse of artificial frontier, which lacked definiteness, it was necessary to add a further clause, specifying the boundary at this southeastern point of the ceded territory, and this was attempted in the words *et* ⟨*ab*⟩ *ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga, qua in Lycaoniam vergit* (where, with Viereck, *Tauri* is regarded as depending on *iuga*), *i.e.* that part of the Taurus which encircles Lycaonia on the southeast. Whether or not one accepts Holleaux's suggestion that in the text of Livy *et a valle* may be a corruption for *et ab Alye* (see *C.A.H.* VIII p. 229, note 1), it seems clear that he has added convincing arguments to the previously accepted belief and that the portion of Asia Minor ceded by Antiochus was bounded on the east by the line of the middle Halys.

56. For the dominions obtained by Eumenes in 188 B.C. see Polybius XXI 46 (48), 2f. = Livy XXXVIII 39, 7f.: Livy XXXVII 56, 2f. See also Cardinali *R.P.* p. 75f. and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 148f. According to Polybius-Livy, Eumenes received "Hellespontine" Phrygia, Great Phrygia, the Mysii οὓς (Προυσίας) πρότερον αὐτοῦ παρεσπάσατο (so Büttner-Wobst), Lycaonia, Milyas, Lydia, and the cities of Tralles, Ephesus and Telmessus. According to the annalistic account in Livy XXXVII 56, 2f. of the instructions given to the Roman commissioners (see above note 55), Eumenes was to have *Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam, regias silvas, et Lydiae Ioniaeque extra*

ea oppida quae libera fuissent quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est, et nominatim Magnesiam ad Sipylum et Cariam quae Hydrela appellatur agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem, et castella vicosque ad Maeandrum amnem et oppida nisi quae libera ante bellum fuissent, Telmesson item nominatim et castra Telmessium praeter agrum qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset. While the identification of "Hellespontine" Phrygia with Phrygia Epictetus found in Strabo XII pp. 543, 563 and 564 has led to some confusion, the two regions are clearly distinguished in Strabo II p. 129, where Hellespontine Phrygia is said to have included the Troad, and Phrygia Epictetus is regarded as a part of Greater Phrygia, and apparently also in XII p. 571, where "Lesser Phrygia" seems to be represented (incorrectly) as including ἡ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον, ἡ καὶ Ἐπίκτητος λεγομένη. In XII p. 576, moreover, Strabo, placing Phrygia Epictetus north of Greater Phrygia, correctly included in it the cities of Aezani, Nacoleia, Cotiaeium, Midaeum, Dorylaeum and Cadi; see Chap. V note 36. According to Strabo, "some" placed Cadi in Mysia and it may indeed have been in the region of Mysia Abbaïtis (see Chap. II note 2). In the late second or the first century before Christ, the cities comprised in the region issued coins inscribed Ἐπικτητέων (also in various abbreviations) with magistrates' names; see *BM. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. XXIV and 200f. and Imhoof-Blumer in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* (Vienna 1898), p. 202f., who suggested that these coins were minted at Aezani. This list of cities given by Strabo shows that Phrygia Epictetus lay on the border between Bithynia and Greater Phrygia and east of Abbaïtis (so Strabo XIII p. 625) and included the basins of the Tembris and the Parthenius and, farther west, the upper reaches of the Rhyndacus. Its northern limit was probably the Boz Dağ, which forms the southern watershed of the middle Sangarius; for a more detailed, though perhaps not altogether correct, boundary see A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* XII (1908), p. 379, note 1. The statement of Strabo (XII p. 543) that the Sangarius διέξεισι τῆς Ἐπικτήτου Φρυγίας τὴν πλείω is inaccurate, and it cannot be saved by the hypothesis of Sölch in *Klio* XI (1911), p. 401f., who, by supposing that the northern boundary of Phrygia Epictetus followed the watershed between the Gök Su and the Sangarius as far as the junction of these streams and thence ran northeastward over the Kara Kaya Dağ, the Karamalı Dağ and the Dikmen Dağ (there turning southward along the border of Galatia), represented the Sangarius as flowing *through* Phrygia Epictetus. It may be presumed that Phrygia Epictetus, which Eumenes, after a war lasting perhaps for two years, finally recovered from Prusias I in 184 B.C. (see above p. 314), was the region referred to by Polybius as the "Mysians whom Prusias had formerly taken from him"; see Ed. Meyer in *R.E.* III 519: Niese *G.M.S.* II, p. 760, note 3: A. J. Reinach *ibid.* p. 380, note 1. For a different view see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 82f., note 2 (but see Hansen *Attalids*, p. 93, note 68). After Eumenes acquired this region, his kingdom included the southern shore of the Propontis ("Hellespontine" Phrygia) as far as the mouth of the Rhyndacus. Farther east, the boundary was carried along the range of the Mysian Mt. Olympus (Strabo XII p. 564) and its extension toward the east and thence along the

Boz Dağ as far as the border of Galatia. The question of this northern boundary, however, has been complicated by the view of Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 148f.) that in 184 Eumenes gained all the territory bounded on the one side by the "lower Sangarius and the mountain-ranges north of the plain of Bolu" and on the other by the Paphlagonian-Galatian border with a "corridor" extending as far as Tieium on the Euxine Sea. This theory (accepted by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 95) was based on (1) Strabo XII p. 563, *τὴν δὲ Βιθυνίαν ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὁρίζουσι Παφλαγόνες τε καὶ Μαριανδυνοὶ* (east of the mouth of the Sangarius) *καὶ τῶν Ἐπικτήτων τινές*; (2) the statement of Polybius XXV 2, 7 that in the treaty concluded in 179 by Eumenes and his allies Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia and Prusias II of Bithynia with Pharnaces I of Pontus (see Chap. VIII note 43) Pharnaces ceded Tieium, which *μετά τινα χρόνον Εὐμένης ἔδωκε Προυσίᾳ πεισθεὶς μετὰ μεγάλης χάριτος*; (3) the appearance in an inscription from Bithynium-Claudiopolis of A.D. 134 (*I.G.R.* III 72) of the tribe *Ἀπολλωνίς*, named presumably after Eumenes's mother. The existence of a Pergamene "corridor" to the Euxine, however, is more than doubtful; see also A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 420, note 9. Apart from the incorrectness of the theory of Sölch in *Klio* XI p, 393f. that the Bithynian Gallus (Strabo XII p. 543) is to be identified with the Mudurnu Çay, which was used by Meyer to support his view but was shown by Ruge in *R.E.* XV 2333 to be erroneous, Strabo's mention of the Paphlagonians as bordering on Bithynia on the east is in itself a refutation of a belief in a Pergamene "corridor" extending along the eastern frontier of the latter. The existence of the tribe Apollonis in Bithynium, moreover, cannot be regarded as a cogent argument for the belief that Eumenes owned the city, for even if this tribe were named after the Pergamene Queen, this may have been as a compliment to Attalus I, in whose honour a tribe was named *Ἀτταλίς* both at Athens (see above note 32) and at Magnesia-on-Maeander in the period when the city was not under Pergamene domination (*Ins. Magn.* 89 and 98 [=*Syll.*^{3} 589], see Herzog in *Herm.* LXV [1930], p. 462, note 1). Likewise, the view that Eumenes II possessed Tieium for a time, though accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 860 and Jones *l.c.*, is highly questionable. The city, which had been seized by Prusias I (Memnon 27, see Chap. XIII note 21), had been captured by Pharnaces early in the war (Diodorus XXIX 23), but there is no suggestion that he took it from Eumenes rather than from the Bithynians, and there is nothing in Polybius's account of its surrender by Pharnaces to indicate that Eumenes had either the right or the intention of keeping it for himself or that it was ever regarded as belonging to his kingdom.

On its eastern side, along the border of Galatia, the kingdom of Eumenes did not include the temple-state of Pessinus, which remained a separate principality governed by the Priest of the Goddess (see below note 71). Toward the southeast, Eumenes received (perhaps only nominally) at least part of Lycaonia (which the Romans in 129 gave to Cappadocia, see Chap. VI note 28), presumably as far as the Taurus (see above note 55), and also the portion of eastern Pisidia which lay south of Lake Beyşehir, with the city of Amlada, about ten miles south of the southeastern corner

of the lake; see Welles, no. 54 and below note 77. In Pisidia, however, the southern boundary was insufficiently determined as the result of a lack of clarity as to what constituted the line of the Taurus range, the territory "on this side" of which Antiochus was compelled to cede. For while the "beginning" of this range was ordinarily placed at Cape Chelidonia (see above note 55), another definition identified it with the mountains which descend to the Mediterranean east of the Pamphylian plain (see Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XLV [1932], p. 22f.), an ambiguity of which Eumenes took advantage to claim Pamphylia as "on this side of the Taurus"; see Polybius XXI 46 (48), 11 = Livy XXXVIII 39, 17 and Chap. XII note 5. A difficulty in determining the extent of Eumenes's dominions in Pisidia arises from the uncertainty of what was meant by Milyas. According to Strabo (XIII p. 631), this region was the mountain-country which extended from the στενά (Yenice Boğaz, see Chap. XI note 12) at Termessus and the pass leading across the Taurus to Isinda (see Chap. XI note 15) as far as Sagalassus and the territory of Apameia. A totally different situation, however, was assigned to it by Ptolemy (V 3, 4), whose list of places in Milyas consists of Podalia, Neisa, Choma and Candyba, the first and third of which were in central Lycia (see Chap. XXII note 6), the second and fourth in the southern part of this district (see Heberdey in *Beitr. z. Alt. Gesch. u. Geogr., Festschr. f. H. Kiepert* [Berlin 1898], p. 153f. and *Reisen* I nos. 105 and 106). Pliny, on the other hand, who seems to have drawn on the sources used both by Strabo and by Ptolemy without observing the discrepancy between them, described (*N.H.* V 147) the people of the Milyae as *qui circa Barim sunt* (a short distance north of Sagalassus), while listing as *super Pamphyliam* (*N.H.* V 95) the *Thracum suboles Milyae quorum Arycanda oppidum* (*i.e.* in central Lycia, see Chap. XXII note 19). An attempt to reconcile these divergent conceptions of Milyas was made by Heberdey (*ibid.* p. 158) by means of the hypothesis that while Strabo (or his source) regarded the region as including the entire territory of the old Milyae of Herodotus (I 173 and Strabo XII p. 573), the term was restricted by Ptolemy to that portion of their country which was later joined to Lycia. It is perhaps more probable, as Ramsay suggested (*C.B.* I p. 317, note 1), that Ptolemy or his source confused the Milyae with the Termilae, an ancient name for the Lycians (see Strabo XII 573 and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 778). In any case, since Lycia was expressly assigned by the commissioners at Apameia to Rhodes (see Chap. IV notes 61 and 63), it was evidently the Pisidian Milyas that was given to Eumenes. This region, as Heberdey observed (*ibid.* p. 157), contained, besides Isinda, the cities of Andeda, Pogla and Comama (later a Roman colony, see Chap. XIX note 38), *i.e.* the region of the Istanos Çay and the Andya Çay, which, uniting, flow into the lake of Kestel Göl from the southwest. If Strabo's description is to be taken literally, Milyas must have included also the country north of the lake "as far as Sagalassus," although not as far north as Apameia. The situation assigned to the region by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 4), accordingly, as between the river Lysis (the Gebrem Çay) on the northwest and the range of the Baba Dağ on the south is, like that suggested by Ramsay

in *C.B.* I p. 317, note 2, somewhat too extensive. Milyas may be supposed, however, to have included the entire basin of Lake Kestel, and the subsequent campaigns of both Eumenes and his successor against the city of Selge (see below notes 65 and 79) seem to have been attempts to extend their dominions to the mountain-region east of this lake. The possession of Isinda gave the Pergamene kings the control of the great route which led from Laodiceia-on-Lycus to Tefenni and thence southeastward through this part of Milyas to Pamphylia; see Chap. X note 28 and Chap. XI note 15. West of Milyas, Cibyra did not become Pergamene but continued to exist as an independent state until 84 B.C. when it was annexed by Murena to the province of Asia (see above p. 241f.). Eriza, however, north of Cibyra in the valley of the Kara Hüyük Çay, perhaps at Işkian Pazar near the junction of this stream with the Horzum Çay (but see Robert *Villes*, p. 112, note 4), an important station on the road from Laodiceia southward which had belonged to Antiochus III (*O.G.I.* 224 = Welles, nos. 36-37, see below), presumably passed to Eumenes; an inscription in which the garrison and the settlers in neighbouring places honoured an official named Menodorus, a native of Adramyttium (*O.G.I.* 238) was assigned by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 258f.) to the period of Pergamene rule. Farther north, Eumenes obtained, apparently, the valley of the Lycus and, according to Livy, Caria Hydrela and the *ager Hydrelitanus*, lying between the Lycus and the Maeander; see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 173 (followed by Bürchner in *R.E.* IX 77f.) and Cichorius in *Alt. v. Hierap.* p. 79, note 2. From this point the Maeander constituted the boundary as far as the Aegean.

The grant of Telmessus in Lycia (see Chap. XXII note 4) to Eumenes, recorded also in Strabo XIV p. 665, is attested by a decree of the city passed in the King's honour in 184 B.C. (see below note 59). The city had belonged to Egypt in 224 B.C. as is shown by the use of the Egyptian era in *T.A.M.* II 42, but it may have received Antiochus III when he occupied the Lycian coast in 197/6 (see above note 49), and his supremacy is suggested by the fact that the city issued a coin of a Seleucid type, showing Apollo on the Omphalos (see *B.M. Cat. Lycia*, p. xlix and p. 86, no. 1) and that in A.D. 149 it still used the Seleucid era (*T.A.M.* II 41 *c*). In any case, the surrender of Telmessus to the Romans in 188 (Livy XXXVIII 39, 3) made it part of the spoils of the war. The usual interpretation of the clause *praeter agrum qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset* as "except the *ager* (presumably a domain or fief) which had belonged to Ptolemaeus" is open to question. In the expressions *extra ea oppida quae libera fuissent* and *extra eundem Telmessum, etc.* (§ 5) "except" is rendered by *extra*. Furthermore, since it is expressly stated in § 5 that this *ager* was not given to Rhodes, there is no record of its disposition. It seems more probable, therefore, that *praeter* is used, as elsewhere by Livy (*e.g.* XXXVII 25, 8 and XLII 12, 9), in the sense of "in addition to," indicating that this *ager* also was given to Eumenes. By this interpretation the sentence *haec ab Eumene et Rhodiis excepta* (§ 5), where *haec*, usually supposed to refer to *ager*, and *excepta ab*, taken in the sense of "withheld from," have puzzled commentators and given rise to emendation, becomes intelligible; for *haec* evidently refers to all

the territories previously listed and the sentence is resumptive, indicating what was *received* by each. Ptolemaeus Telmessius is evidently to be connected with Ptolemaeus, son of Lysimachus, who, "having obtained" Telmessus from Ptolemy III of Egypt, was praised in a decree of the city passed in 240 B.C. (*T.A.M.* II 1 = *O.G.I.* 55), with Ptolemaeus, son of Lysimachus, whose daughter was made priestess of Queen Laodice perhaps in 193 (*O.G.I.* 224 = Welles, nos. 36-7, see Chap. IV note 48), and presumably with the man whose initials Πτ. appear on a coin of Telmessus (Hill in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 211f. and *Klio* XXVI [1933], p. 229f.). This Ptolemaeus of Telmessus has been identified with Ptolemaeus, son of King Lysimachus and Arsinoe (see Chap. IV note 26), with a hypothetical son of Lysimachus, the younger brother of Ptolemy III who was killed about 220 B.C. (Polybius XV 25, 2), and with an equally hypothetical grandson of Agathocles, the son of King Lysimachus; see, most recently, E. von Stern in *Herm.* L (1915), p. 437f.: Holleaux in *J.H.S.* XLI (1921), p. 183f. = *Études* III p. 382f.: Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 184f.: Pridik in *Acta et Comm. Univ. Dorpatensis Humaniora* V (1924) 3, p. 13f. and XXXV (1935) 1, p. 18 and *Klio* XXV (1932), p. 74f.: Kalinka in *T.A.M.* II p. 5: Welles, pp. 75f. and 161f.: Cavaignac in Εἰς Μνήμην Σπ. Λάμβρου (Athens 1935), p. 7f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 336 and 646. If the restoration [φίλος] Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λ[υσιμάχου] in a decree of Telmessus dated between 265/4 and 257/6 (Segre in *Clara Rhodos* IX [1938], p. 183f.) may be accepted, he was evidently, as was observed by Segre (p. 185f.) and Robert (Holleaux *Études* III p. 404), the son of King Lysimachus. This man appears to be mentioned as the donor of an ἄγαλμα λί[θινον] in an inventory of the Temple of Delos made in 157/6 B.C. (*Ins. Delos* 1417 A, l. 10f., perhaps also in 1426 A, l. 24). Since it cannot be supposed that this man was alive at the time of the Treaty of Apameia, the Ptolemaeus of Livy was regarded by Holleaux, Segre and Rostovtzeff as his grandson, and it has been proposed to identify the latter with the "Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus" who was said to have presented a φιάλη to the Temple of Delos in 188 B.C. (*Ins. Delos* 442 B [= *Syll.*² 588], l. 94f. and p. 116f. and also 1441 A 1, l. 28). A Lysimachus mentioned in a decree of Telmessus, dated on the basis of the lettering about 220 B.C. (*Atti d. IV Congresso Internaz. di Papirologia* [Milan 1936], p. 359f.), was believed by Segre to have been his father. In the absence of any connexion, however, between the donor of this φιάλη with Telmessus, the identification seems doubtful. There is, in fact, no cogent reason for the assumption that Livy's Ptolemaeus was alive at the time of the Treaty of Apameia; for the expression *qui fuisset* seems to be analogous to the clause *oppida quae libera fuissent, etc.* in the same passage and merely to describe the *ager* which bore the name of its former proprietor. Part of this domain is perhaps referred to in a letter of Eumenes II to Artemidorus (probably a royal governor) in 181/0 B.C. granting to the κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδάκων κώμῃ (evidently near Telmessus) the remission of further payments on the land which they had bought "from Ptolemaeus"; see *Clara Rhodos* IX p. 190f. and Chap. V note 69. It may be supposed that this man had sold a part of the *ager* to

the Cardaces and that Eumenes, as the new owner of this land by virtue of the Senate's action, was entitled to receive the part of the purchase-price still in arrears, which he remitted in his letter to Artemidorus. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Ptolemaeus mentioned in Eumenes's letter was not Livy's Ptolemaeus Telmessius but one of the Egyptian kings; the omission of the royal title, perhaps surprising, may be paralleled by the reference of Antiochus III in his letter to Amyzon (Welles, no. 38) to *τῇ Πτολεμαίου [συμμαχίᾳ]*. The area of the districts comprised in Eumenes's enlarged kingdom, including, however, all Pisidia and Pamphylia (but not Telmessus), according to the planimetric measurements of Beloch (see Chap. VII note 39), followed by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 173), was 165,100 sq.km. (about 63,500 sq.mi.). For the territory received by Rhodes see Chap. IV note 61.

57. For the treaty with the Cretan cities, a great part of which is lost, see *Syll.*[3] 627; the document contained the names of 31 communities, one of which was subsequently erased. About 170, the city of Cydonia, the name of which does not appear in the treaty, appealed to Eumenes *κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν* for aid in a war with Gortyn, which was included in the treaty, with the result that the King sent it a force of 300 soldiers; see Polybius XXVIII 15. For Eumenes's aid to Antiochus IV see Appian *Syr.* 45 and *O.G.I.* 248, a decree of Athens passed after the accession of Antiochus in 175. This friendship was later made the basis of a charge against Eumenes (see below note 65).

58. Livy XXXVII 60, 2: Polybius XXI 37-39 = Livy XXXVIII 18-27: Appian *Syr.* 42. See also Körte in *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 1f.: Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 751f.: Stähelin *Galater*[2], p. 52f.: Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 228f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 85f. Polybius (III 3, 5) credited Manlius with having freed all those who lived north of the Taurus from *βαρβαρικῶν φόβων καὶ τῆς Γαλατῶν παρανομίας*. A similar sense of relief was expressed by the representatives of the Asianic cities at Apameia; see Polybius XXI 41 (43), 1f. = Livy XXXVIII 37, 2f. Before this expedition Manlius led his troops into Caria and Pisidia, where he extorted large sums of money from the cities; see Chap. XII note 4.

59. Polybius XXII 21: Trogus *Prol.* XXXII. Eumenes's war against Ortiagon was known only from these two fragments until the finding of a decree of Telmessus honouring Eumenes, together with his mother Apollonis and his brothers, for his victory over "Prusias, Ortiagon, the Galatians and their allies"; it is dated on the 2 Audnaios of Eumenes's 14th year, *i.e.* Nov.-Dec., 184 B.C.; see *Clara Rhodos* II (1932), p. 172f., no. 3 = *Riv. Fil.* LX (1932), p. 446f. The inscription makes it highly probable that the Galatians were acting in conjunction with Prusias in his war against Eumenes and seems to justify the restoration [Βιθ]*ύνους κ*[*αὶ Γαλάτας*] in the inscription recording Attalus's victory at Lypedrum (*O.G.I.* 298); see Chap. XIII note 39. Ortiagon was the chief of the tribe of the Tolistoagii and had fought against Manlius in 189; see Livy XXXVIII 19, 2. His wife Chiomara

was captured by a Roman soldier but succeeded in killing her captor and returning to her husband; in her later years she lived at Sardis, where Polybius talked with her; see Polybius XXI 38 = Livy XXXVIII 24, 2f. = Plutarch *de Mul. Virt.* 22 (p. 258 D-F). For this war, as well as for Eumenes's second war against the Galatians (below note 62), see Köpp in *Rh. Mus.* XL (1885), p. 124f.: Niese *G.M.S.* III pp. 72 and 199f.: Cardinali *R.P.* p. 106f.: Stähelin *Galater*², p. 81f. In the decree of Telmessus Eumenes has the title Σωτήρ, which, in imitation of Attalus I (see above note 20), he seems to have taken after this victory over the Galatians (see Robert in *R. Phil.* LX [1934], p. 284, note 1 and *Ét. Anat.* p. 73, note 1) rather than, as suggested by Hansen (*Attalids*, p. 83), after the Battle of Magnesia. It appears in several later inscriptions (some after Eumenes's death); see *Alt. v. Hierap.*, no. 30 = *O.G.I.* 308: *Ins. Magn.* 86: *R. Phil.* LX p. 279f.: *O.G.I.* 301 and 332: *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 94f., nos. 86 and 87. See also *R. Phil.* LX p. 283f., note 5. It was pointed out by Robert in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), p. 332f. that it was also in consequence of this victory that in 182 Eumenes sent his general invitation to the Greek communities to recognize the inviolability of the Temple of Athena Nicephorus at Pergamum and to participate in the festival of the Nicephoria, perhaps originally founded by his father (see above note 26) and later reorganized in a new form, in which the contests were στεφανῖται, *i.e.*, wreaths were given to the victors, as at the great festivals in Greece. For Eumenes's letters to Cos and to an unknown city, possibly Iasus, inviting these communities to participate see Welles, nos. 49 and 50 with an additional fragment of the latter published by M. Segre in Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 102f., and for the subsequent acceptance of his invitation by the Aetolian League and by the Amphictyonic Council, the former of which guaranteed the inviolability of the Temple, see *I.G.* IX² 170 = *Syll.*³ 629 and *Syll.*³ 630 = Holleaux *Études* II p. 63f. For the significance of this guarantee see Chap. IV note 33, and for the importance of the date of the first celebration of the reorganized festival (182/1 B.C.) in determining the dates of Pergamene inscriptions which contain mention of subsequent celebrations see Robert *ibid.* p. 337f.

60. In the winter of 181-180 the army of Pharnaces of Pontus, during his war with Eumenes, devastated Galatia, and those chieftains who had sided with him were regarded by Eumenes as guilty of ἀθεσία (Polybius XXIV 14 (8), 7). In the treaty made with Pharnaces in 179 all συνθῆκαι between the King and the Galatians were declared null and void (Polybius XXV 2, 4); see Stähelin, p. 61, note 5. Moreover, in 171 and 169 Galatian cavalry served among the troops sent by Eumenes to Greece; see Livy XLII 57, 7f. and XLIV 13, 13 and 28, 7f.

61. Livy XLII 11-13 (a speech attributed to Eumenes): Appian *Mac.* 11, 1f.: Valerius Maximus II 2, 1. In return for his information and advice the Senate voted him a magistrate's curule chair and ivory staff; see Livy XLII 14, 10 and Diodorus XXIX 33, 2. On his way home in 172 B.C. he was attacked near Delphi by a band of assassins commonly believed to be agents of

Perseus, and for a time he was thought to be dead; see Polybius XXII 18, 5: Livy XLII 15, 2f.: Diodorus XXIX 34: Appian *Mac.* II, 4. See also *Syll.*[3] 643, l. 29f. (restored) and Ferguson in *C.P.* I (1906), p. 231f. (based on *O.G.I.* 302). For the participation of Eumenes and Attalus in the war against Perseus see Livy XLII 55-67 (171 B.C.); XLIV 4, 11 and 10-12 (169 B.C.); 28, 7f. (168 B.C.): Diodorus XXX 6 (170 B.C.): Justin XXXIII 1, 2 (where Eumenes is called *rex Bithyniae*): Hansen *Attalids*, p. 106f. Both Attalus and Athenaeus served with the Romans at Pydna; see Livy XLIV 36, 8 and *Hesperia* V (1936), p. 429f., no. 17.

62. For this war see Polybius XXIX 22, 4; XXX 1, 3 and 3, 2 (=Livy XLV 19, 3 and 20, 1f.): Diodorus XXXI 13f.: Trogus *Prol.* XXXIV; see also above note 59. For the mission of Attalus (apparently in the early winter of 168-167) see Polybius XXX 1, 1f.=Livy XLV 19, 1f. For Eumenes's battle against the Galatians see Polyaenus IV 8, 1, where it is related that the King, who because of illness was carried in a litter, was being pursued by the Galatians but in the course of his flight ordered his bearers to halt on a hill, whereupon the enemy, thinking that a second Pergamene force was near at hand, withdrew. This episode was connected with the campaign of 168 by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 108, note 1) and Stähelin (p. 68 and note 3), but with that of 167 by Holleaux (*Études* II p. 163, note 2). The winning of a victory by Eumenes near Sardis (though doubted by Cardinali, p. 108) has been generally inferred from the action taken by the city in his honour; see Daux in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) I pp. 289f. and 296 (=*O.G.I.* 305) and Chap. V note 7. In the second of these inscriptions the Sardians are described as διαφυγόντες [τὸν μέγιστον] κίνδυνον μετά τ[ε τᾶς τ]ῶν [θεῶν] εὐν[ο]ίας καὶ [μετὰ τᾶς τοῦ β]ασιλέος Εὐμένεος ἀρετᾶς. While the date of this "escape" cannot be determined, it is probably to be placed, with Stähelin (p. 69, note 3) and Holleaux (p. 162, note 5), soon after the beginning of the war, rather than, with Daux (p. 293), in the spring of 166; for a Galatian advance to the neighbourhood of Sardis is more easily explained by assuming that it occurred at a time when Eumenes was taken by surprise rather than after he had mobilized his forces near the city in 167 (Livy XLV 34, 11). An armistice was declared for the winter of 168-167, which Eumenes, who was ill, spent in Pergamum; see Livy *ibid.*: Cardinali, p. 107f.: Stähelin, p. 68. At some stage of the war the city of Amlada in Pisidia seems to have been involved, for it was subsequently made liable for the payment of a sum of money ἐπισκευ[ῆς ἕνεκ]ε in "the Galatian War"; see below note 77. While the exact meaning of this expression, as restored by Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XX (1918), p. 17f.=*Études* II p. 149f., is not wholly clear, it suggests either that the citizens had done some damage for which a reparation was exacted or that they were forced to reimburse the Pergamene government for the cost of protecting them.

63. For the appointment of the commission by the Senate see Polybius XXX 3, 5f. For the conference at Synnada in 167 see Livy XLV 34, 10f. For Eumenes's final defeat of the Galatians see Diodorus XXXI 14. This is pre-

sumably the battle recorded in *Ins. Perg.* 165, with an additional fragment published in *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 90, no. 74, where we are told that Eumenes and Attalus *ἐνίκησαν παραταξάμενοι ἐμ Φρυγίᾳ* [. . . . *τὴν*] *πρὸς Γαλάτας* [*μάχην*]. The date of this battle cannot be definitely determined except that it obviously took place after Attalus's return from Rome in the spring of 167 and after the failure of the conference at Synnada. An allusion to this victory seems to be contained in the *μείζονα εὐημερήματα* of Eumenes, "from which the greatest blessings have resulted both to our people and to all others," mentioned in a decree of Pergamum honouring the priestess Metris in 165 B.C.; see *O.G.I.* 299 and for the date (the ninth celebration of the Nicephoria) see Robert in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), p. 337. The decree of the Ionian cities passed in honour of Eumenes in 167/6 B.C. mentioned his *πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας πρὸς τοὺ*[*ς*] *βαρβάρους*; see *O.G.I.* 763 = Welles, no. 52, l. 8f. and below note 67.

64. Polybius XXIX 4, 8—8, 10: Livy XLIV 13, 9; 24-25: Appian *Mac.* 18, 1. The specific charge was made that Eumenes had demanded 500 talents from Perseus for withdrawing his aid from the Romans or 1500 for putting an end to the war. Polybius appears to have believed the charge, although his reason for so doing seems to have been that it explained the change in the Romans' attitude toward Eumenes; at the same time, he expressed surprise (XXIX 9, 2) at the *ἄγνοια* shown by both kings. The general attempts to blacken Eumenes's character, taken by Livy from the Roman annalist Valerius Antias, who even went so far as to attribute to Attalus the advice of Eumenes to enter the war against Perseus, represent the fabrications of the King's enemies at Rome; see Livy XLII 11, 1; XLIV 13, 12f. and 20, 7. They appear also in Velleius Paterculus I 9, 2.

65. Polybius XXX 27 and 30 (XXXI 5-6); XXX 1 (9), 3f.: Livy *Per.* XLVI: Diodorus XXXI 7, 2. The land claimed by Prusias as a part of Bithynia was perhaps the territory which his father had ceded to Eumenes in 184 (see above note 56). For Eumenes's relations with Antiochus IV see above note 57. It is difficult to see how they could have affected the cities of western Asia Minor or, in view of Eumenes's relations with the Greek city-states (see below note 66), to believe that any of these made charges against him. The only city specifically mentioned by Polybius is Selge in Pisidia, which is said to have been instigated by Prusias. It seems probable that Eumenes made an attempt to subject Selge to his rule on the ground that Pisidia had been assigned to him in 188; see above note 56. According to Trogus *Prol.* XXXIV, he actually made war upon it; this may have been one of the city's struggles *πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας* mentioned in Strabo XII p. 571. Since the mountain-country of Cilicia Aspera, southeast of Selge, was still nominally under Seleucid rule (see above p. 280), it is possible that the Selgians did fear a combination between Eumenes and Antiochus IV; but it is more probable that the charge was intended to alarm the Senate in the hope of some action which might hold Eumenes in check. In any case, the Senators professed to feel fear at the alleged combination (Polybius XXXI 1, 8).

66. Polybius XXXI 1 (9), 6f.; 6 (10): Diodorus XXXI 7, 2. For the correct spelling of the Commissioner's cognomen see Münzer in *R.E.* IV A 808. As in the case of the complaints said to have been made in Rome (see above note 65), it is hard to see who could have brought the charges. Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 53=*Études* II p. 121, following Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 68f.), alluded to the "conflicts" of Eumenes and Attalus with various Greek cities. As examples, however, he was able to cite, in the case of Eumenes, only Selge (see above note 65) and Amlada (see below note 77), and in the case of Attalus only Priene, which he and his brother-in-law Ariarathes V of Cappadocia attacked about 155 B.C. (see Chap. IV note 93). Of these cities, however, neither Amlada nor Selge was a Greek community, and Attalus's invasion of Priene was due, not to any enmity toward the city, but to a desire to aid Ariarathes. For the friendly relations between Eumenes and the Greek cities, see notes 67-70.

67. *Milet* I 9, p. 144f., no. 306=*O.G.I.* 763=Welles, no. 52, a letter of Eumenes to the Federation of the Ionian cities (see Chap. III notes 47f. and 54) accepting the honours conferred on him and repeating much of the Federation's decree. It was pointed out by Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXXVII (1924), p. 306f.=*Études* II p. 154f., followed by Rehm in *Milet* I 9, p. 148f., that the wording of the decree suggests that the outcome of the war against the Galatians (see above note 63) was still uncertain, and that Eumenes's visit to Delos, where the Federation's envoys met him, can hardly be placed later than his return-voyage from Italy in the winter of 167-166. Holleaux, accordingly, dated the decree at this time, pointing out that it was obviously passed as a result of Eumenes's rebuff in Rome.

68. For Cos see *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 10: *Syll.*[3] 1028=*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI, p. 25f., no. 9, l. 27: *Bull. Com. Arch.* LX (1932), *Bull. d. Mus. d. Imp. Rom.* p. 28, no. 25. For Teos see *O.G.I.* 209=*S.E.G.* IV 619 as corrected in Rebert *Ét. Anat.* p. 18f. (a priestess of Apollonis and Stratonice): *O.G.I.* 325 (a priest of the deceased Eumenes): *C.I.G.* 3068 A=Michel 1016 A (a priest of Eumenes, but probably belonging to the society of the Artists of Dionysus, see Chap. III note 114). For the Aetolians see *I.G.* IX[2] 1, 179 and 183=*Syll.*[3] 629 and 628. The former is the decree accepting Eumenes's invitation to the Nicephoria in 182 B.C. (see above note 59); the latter is the inscription on a statue erected ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς ποτὶ τὸ ἔθνος, perhaps to be dated at the beginning of his reign; see G. Daux *Delphes au II[e] et au I[ier] Siècle* (Paris 1936), pp. 272f. and 500. In 182 the Amphictyonic Council, in accepting his invitation, also voted to erect a bronze statue of him (*Syll.*[3] 630, see above note 59). For a festival in his honour at Tralles see *R. Phil.* LX (1934), p. 279f. and Chap. V note 29.

69. *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 27f., a decree of Miletus, dated after 163 B.C. by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923 VIII p. 16f., in 163/2 by Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXXVII (1924), p. 478f.=*Études* II p. 177f.; for the sug-

gested date of 160/59 see below note 75. A second decree, *Milet* I 9, p. 150f., no. 307, praises Eumenes for some gift, apparently the gymnasium mentioned in the first decree. For Cyzicus see Polybius XXII 20, 4f.; the Cyzicenes compared the ceremonial entry of Apollonis and her sons to the famous episode of Cleobis and Biton at Argos (Herodotus I 31). For the reliefs of the temple of Apollonis see *Anth. Pal.* III 1-19, a series of epigrams describing them; for suggestions as to their arrangement see A. Schober in *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), p. 40f. One of these reliefs represented Romulus and Remus in the act of freeing their mother from the bonds in which she had been placed by her uncle, the usurper Amulius, a myth with which Eumenes had evidently become familiar during his stay in Rome. It was observed by Waddington (L.W. 88, commentary) that this was probably the first time that a Roman myth was used in the decoration of a Greek temple. Waddington also suggested that this temple was built, not by Eumenes, but by Attalus II. Apollonis, however, received divine honours during the reign of Eumenes (*O.G.I.* 308 and 309) and it is probable that the plan, at least, of building this temple was formed by him.

70. For Rhodes see Polybius XXXI 31 (25), 1: Diodorus XXXI 36. According to the latter, Eumenes's death prevented the fulfilment of his promise to build the theatre. It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 805) that the gifts of Eumenes and Attalus II to Rhodes, Cos (see above note 68 and below note 82) and Athens (see below note 82) had an economic purpose, namely, to maintain good relations with these centres of commerce in the Aegean. For Eumenes's gifts to Delphi see *Syll.*[3] 671 B, to be dated probably in 160/59 B.C. (see below note 75). For these gifts and those of Attalus made about the same time (see below note 82) see G. Daux *Delphes*, pp. 682f. and 502f. and Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 364. Eumenes's gifts, consisting of three and a half talents and one talent, were to be used as endowments, respectively, for σειτωνία and for the sacrifices previously voted and called Eumeneia in his honour, as well as for σώματα εἰς τὰν ἐπισκευὰν τοῦ θεάτρου κ[αὶ] τῶν ἄλλων ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τὰν ἄλλαν [χορ]αγίαν. For his gift at Thebes, used for the purchase of "sacred land" for Dionysus Lyseius see Ἀρχ. Δελτ. III (1917), p. 366. For his colonnade in Athens, the ruins of which are still extant, see Vitruvius V 9, 1 and W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] (Munich 1931), p. 325. In return, the city erected a colossal statue of him; see Plutarch *Ant.* 60, 3. He and his brothers won prizes at a Panathenaic festival, probably that of 178/7; see *I.G.* II[2] 2314, l. 84f. The island-city of Calauria off the coast of Argolis also erected a statue to him in acknowledgement of his εὐεργεσία; see *I.G.* IV 848 = *O.G.I.* 297. The Athenians conferred citizenship on Attalus (see below note 82) and honours on Philetaerus and some of Eumenes's courtiers (see *Syll.*[3] 641 and *I.G.* II[2] 905, 945-7 and 953).

71. For the temple-state of Pessinus (at Balhisar), on the border of Phrygia and Galatia near the headwaters of the Sangarius, the chief seat of the great Asianic Mother-Goddess (Cybele or the Magna Mater), see

Strabo XII p. 567 and Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 1105f. According to Strabo, the priests of the Temple were τὸ παλαιὸν δυνάσται, ἱερωσύνην καρπούμενοι μεγάλην. They were evidently the rulers of the sacred domain with powers probably similar to those held in early times by other priests in western Asia Minor and still exercised in the first century before Christ by the priests of the Great Goddess in Pontus and Cappadocia; see Chap. V note 62. In the time of Strabo, however, αἱ τιμαὶ πολὺ μεμείωνται. Nevertheless, in the letters to the Priest Attis from Eumenes II and Attalus II (see below) the holder of the sacred office appears as an independent ruler. For the buildings (a ναός and στοαὶ λευκόλιθοι) presented by the Ἀτταλικοὶ βασιλεῖς (presumably Attalus I and Eumenes II) see Strabo *l.c.* For the removal of the sacred stone to Rome see Livy XXIX 10, 4f. According to this version, the Senate sent envoys to Attalus, who escorted them to Pessinus and obtained the stone for them. The statement that the envoys actually fetched the stone from Pessinus is found also in Strabo *l.c.*: Cicero *de Harusp. Resp.* 27f.: Diodorus XXXIV 33, 2: Appian *Hann.* 56: Herodian I 11, 3. On the other hand, according to Varro *de Ling. Lat.* VI 15, the stone was obtained from Attalus, who had it in a *Megalesion*. In the account of the foundation of the Goddess's festival, the *Ludi Megalenses*, in Rome in Ovid *Fasti* IV 255f. there is likewise no mention of Pessinus. It is perhaps more probable, therefore, that the stone was presented to the envoys by Attalus, who, in any case, must have obtained it from the Priest of Pessinus; see L. Bloch in *Philol.* LII (1893), p. 580f.: E. Kuiper in *Mnem.* XXX (1902), p. 277f.: Stähelin *Galater*,[2] p. 39, note 1: Wissowa *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*[2] (Munich 1912), p. 317f.: Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XVIII (1916) p. 6, note 1: Habel in *R.E. Suppl.* V 626. For Manlius Vulso at Pessinus see Polybius XXI 37, 5f. = Livy XXXVIII 18, 9. In this narrative the chief priests bear the names Attis and Battaces, and one or the other of these seems to have been the official name of the Priest of the Temple. The name Attis was borne by the priest to whom were addressed the letters of Eumenes and Attalus II; see *O.G.I.* 315, I-VII = Welles, nos. 55-61 (two letters by Eumenes, the earlier dated in Sept. 163 B.C., three by Attalus during his brother's reign and two by him as king). For a later priest named Battaces (102 B.C.) see Chap. VII note 40. In the imperial period one of the ten priests was called Ti. Claudius Attis Deiotarus; see *I.G.R.* III 225 = *O.G.I.* 541.

72. For Ariarathes IV see Chap. IX note 7. For the war against Pharnaces see Chap. VIII note 41, and for Ariarathes's resistance to the Galatian Trocmi see Polybius XXXI 8 (13), 1f. (164/3 B.C.), where it is related that (apparently under Ariarathes's son, who had just ascended the throne) a Roman envoy came to Cappadocia on the complaint of the Trocmi, who had been unsuccessful in an attempt to seize a part of the kingdom. Eumenes's betrothal to Stratonice in 188 is recorded in Livy XXXVIII 39, 6. If she was a child of Ariarathes by his wife Antiochis, daughter of Antochus III, whom he married about 193 (Appian *Syr.* 5; Diodorus XXXI 19, 7: Zonaras IX 18, see above note 52), she must have been very young at the time of the betrothal and could not have been married until some years later. It is possible, how-

ever, that Ariarathes, who ascended the throne about 220 and was over middle age in 193, may have been married previously and that Stratonice was the child of an earlier wife. Nevertheless, in decrees passed by the city of Telmessus in 184 B.C. and by the Aetolian League in 182 B.C. (see above note 59), as well as in the decree of Athens passed in 175 or 174 after the accession of Antiochus IV (see above note 57), although praises are bestowed on Eumenes, his three brothers and Apollonis, there is no mention of Stratonice, an omission which suggests that the marriage did not take place until after 175. For a statue of Stratonice erected by the Athenians on Delos, perhaps after the death of Attalus II, see *O.G.I.* 350 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 89.

73. Strabo XIII pp. 609 and 624: Vitruvius VII *Praef.* 4: Pliny *N.H.* XIII 70. As was pointed out by Dziatzko (*R.E.* III 414), the collection of books may have been begun by Attalus. Remains of the building have been found (see *Alt. v. Perg.* II [Berlin 1885], p. 56f.), and the bases of statues of various authors (among them Homer, Alcaeus and Herodotus) have been preserved (*Ins. Perg.* 198-203).

74. See *Alt. v. Perg.* III 1 and 2 (Berlin 1896 and 1910): Zschietzschmann in *R.E.* XIX 1255f.: D. Thimme in *A.J.A.* L (1946), p. 345f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 292f. The subject of the war between Gods and Giants was treated also in the monument erected in Athens by Attalus I or perhaps Attalus II (see above note 27). The view of Zschietzschmann (*ibid.* 1257) that the altar was not built by Eumenes II, as generally held, but in the later years (220-197) of Attalus I was based only on the similarity of the lettering of the dedicatory inscription (*Ins. Perg.* 69) to that of inscriptions of Attalus (*e.g. Ins. Perg.* 47) and on certain stylistic peculiarities of the east frieze, which suggest work of the third century. This dating was rejected by A. Schober in *Arch. Jahrb.* LIII (1938), p. 145f. on the ground that Attalus I, occupied with wars, first with Achaeus and then in Greece, from 220 onward, had neither the opportunity nor the reason to erect a work of the importance of the great altar, and that, in fact, during this period he seems to have dedicated only the monument commemorating his naval battles (*Ins. Perg.* 51-55). The "Throne of Satan" mentioned in *Apocalypse* II 13 was perhaps the great altar. For the enlarged city-wall built by Eumenes and the general appearance of Pergamum during his reign see Hansen, p. 228f.

75. The exact date of Eumenes's death is uncertain. According to the manuscripts of Strabo (XIII p. 624), he reigned for 49 years, a number which cannot be reconciled with Strabo's further statement that Attalus II ruled for 21 years and Attalus III for five, since Eumenes came to the throne in the autumn of 197 (see above note 45) and Attalus III died in 133. Eumenes was evidently alive in the winter of 160-159 when his brother Attalus was in Rome answering charges of the Galatians, instigated by Prusias II (Polybius XXXII 1 (5), 5). He was alive also when a Delphian decree providing for the use of his gifts to the Temple (*Syll.*[3] 671 B = Daux

Delphes, p. 683f., see above note 70) was passed in the month Theoxenius (March) under the archon Amphistratus, whose year of office was dated in 160/59 by Daux in *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 222 and *Delphes*, pp. 120f., 194 and 619f. and *Chron. Delph.* (*Fouilles de Delphes* III *Suppl.*), p. 53. According to this dating, Eumenes did not die until after March, 159. Daux also observed (*B.C.H.* LIX p. 224f.), following Durrbach (*Choix*, p. 100, note 1), that the restoration [κ]αὶ νῦ[ν] Εὐ[μέ]νο[υς τ]ὴν ἀρχ[ὴν καταλιπόντος] in an Athenian decree (*I.G.* II² 953) passed in Posideon (Dec.-Jan.) under the archon Tychandrus (160/59 B.C., see W. B. Dinsmoor *Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* [New York 1939], p. 190) does not necessarily refer to Eumenes's death, as was supposed by Kirchner in his commentary on this inscription. The question is complicated by a second decree of Delphi (*Syll.*³ 672 = Daux *Delphes*, p. 686f.), which provided for the use of the gifts made by "King Attalus" (*i.e.* Attalus II) and ordering that the endowment should bear interest from the month Amalius under the archon Amphistratus, *i.e.* January, 159. The fact that Attalus is described as King in this decree passed before Eumenes's death was explained by Homolle in *B.C.H.* XX (1896), p. 631, note 2 by the supposition that the decree was not actually inscribed until after the death of Eumenes, and that the royal title was given to Attalus even though his gift had been made before his accession to the throne. Homolle, accordingly, accepting 159/8 as the year of Amphistratus, dated Eumenes's death between April and June, 158. Homolle's dating, however, was rejected by Daux (*B.C.H.* LIX p. 222f. and *Delphes*, p. 620f.), who, following a suggestion made by Laum (*Stiftungen* II p. 34, note 2) and accepted by Pomtow (*Syll.*³ 671, intro. note), held that during Eumenes's last year, at least, Attalus bore the title of King. In proof of this view, Daux cited the decree of Miletus passed on the occasion of Eumenes's gifts to the city (see above note 69), in which Attalus bears the royal title. This decree is ordinarily dated in 163 or soon afterward, but, as Daux observed, it may equally well be placed in 160/59. If it may be supposed that Eumenes died in the autumn of 159 or during the following winter and that Strabo rounded out this last year as the 39th year of his reign, the text of the author, as has frequently been suggested (see Meischke *Symbolae*, p. 13 and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 121, note 164), may be emended from ΜΘ′ to ΛΘ′.

76. In 153/2, on the occasion of his appearance before the Senate, the young Attalus was described by Polybius (XXXIII 18, 2) as ἔτι παῖς ὤν, *i.e.* less than eighteen years old; he was, therefore, not born until 170 or later. In 167, on the other hand, in connexion with the elder Attalus's visit to Rome and the Romans' offer to him of a part of Eumenes's kingdom, Polybius (XXX 2, 5f. = Livy XLV 19, 11) quoted the physician Stratius as reminding him of Eumenes's ἀπαιδία and added parenthetically: οὐδέπω γὰρ ἀναδεδειγμένος ἐτύγχανε κατὰ φύσιν υἱὸς ὢν αὐτῷ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν (Attalus III). The word ἀναδεδειγμένος was interpreted as "born" by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 137), who believed that the boy was, in fact, the child of Eumenes and Stratonice, born after 167. This,

however, is not the usual meaning of the word, and the expression *οὐδέπω ἀναδεδειγμένος* was rendered by Livy as *necdum . . . agnoverat*; it seems to refer to a son whose birth was in some way irregular. Moreover, even granting that Stratonice and Eumenes were not married for several years after their betrothal in 188 (see above note 72), it is difficult to believe that their son was not born until after 167. An explanation of Polybius's vague statement was attempted by Köpp in *Rh. Mus.* XLVIII (1893), p. 154f., who propounded the view that the boy was the son, not of Eumenes, but of his brother Attalus and Stratonice, born in 171 of a temporary union during the time when Eumenes, after the attempted assassination near Delphi (see above note 61), was supposed to be dead and Attalus is said to have taken both the kingdom and the Queen; see Livy XLII 16, 8f.: Diodorus XXIX 34: Plutarch *de Frat. Amore* 18, p. 489 F and *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* p. 184 B. This theory was accepted by Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2170 and 2175, Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* I p. 656f., Lenschau in *Jahresb. f. Cl. Philol.* CXXV (1907), p. 235f., and Geyer in *R.E.* IV A 321. It was rejected by Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 204, note 4), Breccia in *Diretto dinast. nelle Monarchie d. Successori d' Aless. Magno* (Rome 1903), p. 50f., and Koperberg in *Mnem.* LIV (1926), p. 195f., all of whom regarded Attalus as the son of a concubine. Not only is it somewhat difficult to reconcile Attalus's birth in 171 with Polybius's statement that in 153/2 he was *ἔτι παῖς*, but the fact of the supposed union is highly questionable; see also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 106, note 115. Although it is suggested by Diodorus's expression *ἐπεπλάκη*, only Plutarch uses the word *ἔγημε* (*γήμας*), and in order to show Eumenes's affection for his brother, he would naturally tend to exaggerate the latter's offence. It seems more probable, therefore, that Attalus was the son of Eumenes by a concubine, born before 167 but not acknowledged until after this year. The acknowledgement, indeed, took place not long afterward, for in the decree of Miletus passed between 163 and 160 (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 27f., see above note 69) Attalus is described as Eumenes's son. Not only did the Senate greet him as the son of Eumenes in 153/2, but he appears as such in a Pergamene inscription of 147/6 (*A.M.* XXIX [1904], p. 170f., no. 14) and in decrees of Magnesia and Aegina passed under Attalus II (*Ins. Magn.* 87 = *O.G.I.* 319 and *I.G.* IV 1 = *O.G.I.* 329); moreover, letters of Attalus II refer to him as *ὁ τἀδελφοῦ υἱός* (*O.G.I.* 331 II = Welles, no. 65 and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 75). The official version, indeed, made him the son of Eumenes and Stratonice; see Strabo XIII p. 624 and *O.G.I.* 331 IV = Welles, no. 67, where he refers to the Queen as *ἡ μήτηρ μου εὐσεβεστάτη μὲν γενομένη πασῶμ, φιλ[ο]στοργοτάτη δὲ διαφερόντως πρός τε τὸμ πατέρα μου καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ*. His devotion to her is also indicated by the story that he executed various relatives who were supposed to have caused her death (see below note 86), and it was expressed in his cognomen Philometor, which appears in inscriptions and was used by authors; see *O.G.I.* 332, 338 (= *I.G.R.* IV 289) and 764 (= *I.G.R.* IV 294): *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1894, p. 911: Strabo XIII p. 624 and XIV p. 646: Trogus *Prol.* XXXVI. The suggestion was made by F. Poulsen in *Mél. G. Glotz* II p. 751f. that a head of bluish-

gray marble from Asia Minor, now in the Glyptothek at Ny Carlsberg, is a portrait of Attalus III. For other possible portraits see Hansen *Attalids*, p. 138f. For the guardianship of Attalus II see Strabo XIII p. 624 (*ἐπίτροπος καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς νέου τελέως ὄντος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς*).

77. In Polybius XXX 2, 4f. the physician Stratius is represented as saying to Attalus when the Romans offered him a part of his brother's kingdom (see above note 76) that he was already king in all but the name. In the Pergamene Chronicle (see above note 2) Eumenes is described as [*τῆς ἀρχῆς κοινω]νήσας* ['Ατ]*τά*[*λῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ*]. In the decree of Athens honouring Eumenes for his aid to Antiochus IV (*O.G.I.* 248, see above note 57) Attalus is praised *ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Εὐμένους πάντα συνέπραξεν ἀόκνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως*. His conduct of governmental affairs during his brother's reign is shown by his letters to the Priest Attis (*O.G.I.* 315 IV and V = Welles, nos. 58 and 59, see above note 71), in which he seems to be acting for Eumenes. An even greater degree of authority appears in a letter apparently written by him (although attributed to Attalus I by Boehringer in *Alt. v. Perg.* IX p. 92) granting the request of the Priest of the Temple of Apollo Tarsenus for exemption from a tax on sheep, probably during the festival (Welles, no. 47 and Fayel in *R.E.A.* XLII [1940], p. 137f.), dated (*ἔτους*) *ιβ'* (*i.e.* of Eumenes II) = 186/5 B.C., and especially in a letter to the city of Amlada in Pisidia (*Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 74 II = *O.G.I.* 751 = Welles, no. 54, see above note 56). In this document the liberation of the city's hostages and the remission of a portion of its tribute as well as of a special payment imposed, apparently, because of its participation in "the Galatian War" (see above note 62) were granted by "Attalus." It has usually been supposed that the letter was written by the later Attalus II during Eumenes's reign. Keil, however, suggested (*Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 34) that the writer was the later Attalus III acting for his uncle during the latter's reign. This view was based on a fragmentary letter (*ibid.* no. 75) in which Attalus II as king exhorted Amlada to show its *εὔνοια* toward him by opposing his enemies and which Keil supposed to be contemporary with the letter promising the remission of tribute. This second letter (no. 75), however, is so fragmentary that it is impossible to establish definitely any connexion between the two documents. For the tendency of the Roman annalists to magnify Attalus at Eumenes's expense see above note 64. The partiality of the Senate for Attalus as opposed to Eumenes was pointed out by Polybius (XXXII 1 (5), 7). Eumenes, nevertheless, showed no jealousy, and his confidence in his brother is shown in the latter's frequent missions to Rome; see Polybius XXXI 1 (9), 2f. (164/3 B.C.); XXXI 32 (XXXII 3), 2 (161/60 B.C.); XXXII 1 (5), 5f. (160/59 B.C.). Attalus's cognomen Philadelphus, assumed during Eumenes's lifetime (*O.G.I.* 308), appears frequently in inscriptions dating from his reign.

78. See *O.G.I.* 315 VI = Welles, no 61 and above note 71. Since the advisers named in this letter had been those of Eumenes also, it was inferred by Stähelin (*Galater*^{2}, p. 82, note 3) that this incident occurred not long after

the beginning of Attalus's reign. The Menogenes who is mentioned as one of them is presumably the man of this name who was ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων under Eumenes and erected statues in Pergamum of several members of the royal family (*O.G.I.* 291-296). The nature of the project in question is wholly unknown. It was suggested by E. Thraemer (*Die Siege d. Pergamener über die Galater, etc.* [Fellin 1877], p. 17) that it was a move against the Galatians, and by Stähelin (p. 82), followed by Hansen (*Attalids*, p. 125), that it was a combination against Prusias II, against whose aggressions Attalus later appealed to the Senate (see below note 80).

79. For the cities of Attaleia and Selge and Attalus's expedition to Pisidia and Pamphylia see Chap. XI notes 4 and 13 and Chap. XII note 6. The date of this campaign is unknown. Eumenes seems to have tried to reduce Selge to subjection (see above note 65), and Attalus's expedition may have been a renewal of this attempt. If so, it probably occurred soon after his accession to power. The situation of Apameia, an important road-junction from which a route ran southward through Pisidia to Pamphylia (see Chap. XI note 16), suggests that Attalus's meeting with Attis here may have taken place during his return-march to Pergamum. The suggestion was made by Keil in *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 34f. that the words [ἀντέχειν τοῖς πολ]εμίοις in a fragmentary letter of Attalus II (*ibid.* no. 75, l. 21, see above note 77) refer to Attalus's war against Selge.

80. See Chap. XIII notes 42 and 43. In 156 Attalus sent his brother Athenaeus to Rome to protest, since his previous envoy, Andronicus, had not succeeded in convincing the Senate that Attalus was not the aggressor; see Polybius XXXII 16 (28). Andronicus was again in Rome about 150, when he abetted Nicomedes, son of Prusias II, in his revolt against his father; see Appian *Mith.* 4. He was perhaps the [σύντρο]φος τοῦ βασιλέως sent by Attalus as envoy to Rome ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκα[ιοτ]άτοις καιροῖς whose name has been lost from a decree of Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 288 = *O.G.I.* 323), in which, as Holleaux observed (*Études* I p. 373, no. 24), there seems to be an allusion to a hostile move on the part of Prusias.

81. For the *cistophori* see Pinder in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1855, p. 533f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1884 III p. 28f.: von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910 *Anh.* I p. 15f.: Head *H.N.*² p. 534f.: Regling in *R.E.* XI 524f.: G. van Hoorn in *Mnem.* XLIII (1915), p. 233f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 555f. They were minted on the Rhodian standard (three quarters of the Attic) and issued chiefly as tetradrachms, but also in the form of didrachms and drachma-pieces. It was supposed by Imhoof-Blumer that the issue began under Attalus I, but in fact, as von Fritze observed, the earliest known cistophori date from the reign of Eumenes II. They first appear in history in 191, when a large quantity of them was found by the Romans in the booty taken from Antiochus III in Greece; see Livy XXXVII 46, 3. They were also taken from Antiochus in Asia (Livy XXXVII 58, 4 and 59, 4) and by Manlius from the Galatians (Livy XXXIX 7, 1). Cistophori

minted at Apollonis, Stratoniceia in Mysia and Thyateira bear the letters BA. ETM. followed by B or Δ; see Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* pp. 14 and 32 and *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, pp. 26, 28f. no. 1 and p. 147, no. 1: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 18, no. 1 and p. 284, no. 1. Imhoof-Blumer assumed (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1884, p. 32) that these dates were reckoned from 189 as the year of the enlargement of Eumenes's kingdom, and not from 197, the year of his succession to the throne. This view, widely accepted (*e.g.* in *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxi and Head *H.N.*² p. 658), was based on the fact that in 190 B.C. Eumenes invaded the territory around Thyateira (Livy xxxvii 8, 7); for it has been generally inferred from this invasion that the city belonged to the Seleucids; see *e.g.* Keil-Premerstein II p. 28 and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, pp. 100 and 125. Robert, however, pointing out (*Villes*, p. 34f.) that Eumenes's invasion proves only that Antiochus had seized the territory of Thyateira and not that the city had been a Seleucid possession, showed that it is much more probable that the dates of the cistophorus of Thyateira bearing the legend BA. ETM. B and those of Apollonis and Stratoniceia with BA. ETM. Δ were reckoned according to *regnal* years of Eumenes, *i.e.* 196/5 and 194/3 B.C. In addition to those issued at Pergamum, Apollonis, Stratoniceia and Thyateira, cistophori were minted during the second century at Ephesus, Smyrna, Adramyttium, Sardis, Nysa, Tralles, Laodiceia and Apameia; specimens are known from Synnada, issued, apparently, during the Roman period (*Rev. Num.* x [1892], p. 87 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 392, no. 1). The attribution (as in Broughton's list) of cistophori to Parium and Phocaea is doubtful; see Marquardt *R. St. V.*² I p. 341, note 4 and Caland in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XIII (1885), p. 113f. Cistophori were issued also by the Cretans (probably in the middle of the first century) and by an unidentified city abbreviated as KOP. Save for these two, all the cities where cistophori were coined either belonged to the Pergamene Kingdom or were free cities having close relations with it. After the formation of the province of Asia cistophori bearing a date reckoned from 134/3 B.C. were issued by some of the cities, notably Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Tralles and Nysa. It was supposed by Imhoof-Blumer (p. 33), followed by von Fritze, that cistophori were first issued at Ephesus, whence the type was adopted at Pergamum. Van Hoorn, however, pointed out that the ivy-wreath and the mystical *cista* which appear on the obverse of the tetradrachms were connected with the cult of Dionysus and that the quiver on the reverse is the symbol of Heracles, while the didrachm and the drachma show on the obverse the club and lion's skin, which are likewise symbols of Heracles, and on the reverse a vine-leaf and grapes, the symbols of Dionysus. He maintained, accordingly, that these devices point to an origin at Pergamum, where Dionysus Cathegemon and Heracles (as the father of Telephus) were highly honoured, rather than at Ephesus, the city of Artemis. In this case, unless we are to believe that the cistophorus bearing the date 196/5 actually represents the earliest issue of this type of coin, it seems evident that the minting of cistophori began under Attalus I. For cistophori issued between 58 and 49 B.C. and bearing the names of Roman governors see Chap. X note 63.

82. Attalus sent troops to Greece to aid the Romans in their wars against the pretender known as Pseudophilippus, the self-styled son of Perseus, in 148 (Strabo XIII p. 624) and against Corinth in 146 (see below note 85). His benefactions to Miletus are attested by the erection of statues to him and his brother Athenaeus; see *O.G.I.* 320 and 321. At Cos a πομπή was instituted for him and a festival was named Ἀττάλεια; see *Syll.*[3] 1028, l. 40 and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI, p. 26. For his gifts of cattle and herdsmen, and apparently of land as well, to the Temple of Athena at Ilium see Welles, no 62. For his unsuccessful attempt to improve the harbour of Ephesus see Strabo XIV p. 641. In Delos, he seems (if the inscription is rightly restored) to have erected a monument in honour of his σύντροφος Apollon[ides]; see *Ins. Delos* 1554. In Greece, he gave the Delphians, apparently before Eumenes's death, the sums of three talents and a half-talent to be used, respectively, as endowments for education and for sacrifices, which were performed on a day named Attaleia after him; see *Syll.*[4] 672 and above notes 70 and 75. In return, the Delphians erected an equestrian statue of him; see *Fouilles d. Delphes* III 3, no. 121 = *Klio* XVI (1920), p. 110f., no. 113 = *Syll.*[3] 670. Toward the end of his reign he sent three Pergamene painters to Delphi to execute some work of art; see *Syll.*[3] 682. In Athens, where, before his accession to power (perhaps in 178 B.C., see Ferguson in *Klio* VIII [1908], p. 352f.), he and his brother-in-law, Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, had received citizenship and erected a statue of Carneades the philosopher (*I.G.* II[2] 3781 = *Syll.*[3] 666), he built a large portico fronting on the agora; see *I.G.* II[2] 3171 = *O.G.I.* 318: Athenaeus V 50, p. 212 F: W. Judeich *Topographie v. Athen*[2] p. 354f. A colossal statue of him, as also of Eumenes, was erected in the city, perhaps in gratitude for his gift; see Plutarch *Ant.* 60, 3. At Aptera in Crete a statue and other honours and privileges were conferred on "King Attalus"; see *O.G.I.* 270. The monarch in question was supposed by Dittenberger to be Attalus I, but, as Cardinali pointed out (*R.P.* p. 201, note 4), it is much more probable, especially in view of Eumenes's treaty with the Cretan cities (see above note 57), that he was Attalus II.

83. He bought some of the works of art captured by the Romans at Corinth; see Pausanias VII 16, 8 and Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 24. According to Pliny *N.H.* VII 126 and XXXV 24, he was reported to have offered (unsuccessfully) one hundred talents for a single painting by Aristides of Thebes.

84. For Attalus's death in 138 see above note 47. He died on the island of Pharmacussa (off the coast south of Miletus), according to Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* For the appointment of a priest of Dionysus Cathegemon by him and his nephew conjointly see *O.G.I.* 331 II = Welles, no. 65, dated in Dec. 142. The probability that this was not the only instance of the younger Attalus's participation in the government was observed by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 126f.), who pointed out, however, that the statements of Plutarch (*de Frat. Am.* 18, p. 490 A and *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.* p. 184 B) that Attalus II during his lifetime gave his nephew the diadem and the kingdom

are incorrect. If the letter granting the remission of the money-payments due from Amlada in Pisidia was written by the younger Attalus and not by his uncle (see above note 77), it would show that he had a certain amount of real authority.

85. *I.G.R.* IV 1712=*S.E.G.* I 374, from a statue erected to Philopoemen by Attalus in Samos, in which he is called στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σφραγίδος. For his presence at Corinth, where he received some of the spoils of the captured city, see Pausanias VII 16, 1 and 8. For his control over Attalus II see Plutarch *an Seni Resp. ger. sit* 16, p. 792 B, where the jest is related that those returning to Rome from Asia were asked whether the King had any influence with Philopoemen. His father, whose name is given as Andronicus, was perhaps Attalus's former envoy in Rome (see above note 80).

86. Justin XXXVI 4, 1-5 and Diodorus XXXIV 3; these narratives have evidently both been taken from the same source, and from it seems also to have come the charge that Attalus III poisoned his predecessor (Lucian *Icaromen.* 15). The traditional account of Attalus's character has been generally accepted, *e.g.* by Mommsen (*R.G.*[7] II p. 53=Eng. Trans. III p. 277), who regarded him as a tyrannical Asiatic sultan, by Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 11), who called him "fantasque et brutal," and by Greenidge (*History of Rome* I p. 175), who spoke of "his disordered mind" and his "carnival of slaughter . . . followed by an apathetic indifference to the things of the outer world." The milder term "eccentric," applied to him by Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 102 is more just, if we may regard an exaggerated interest in scientific research on the part of a monarch as an eccentricity. For a generally sceptical attitude toward the historical sources see Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2176.

87. Stratonice was apparently still alive in October, 135 (*O.G.I.* 331 IV=Welles, no. 67), and, according to Justin XXXVI 4, 5, Attalus was personally supervising the construction of her tomb when he received the sunstroke from the effects of which he died a week later. For relatives of Attalus see *O.G.I.* 331 II-IV=Welles, nos. 65-67, containing mention of Athenaeus, son of Meidias and cousin of Attalus II, his son-in-law Sosander and the latter's son Athenaeus. See also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 45. Since the younger Athenaeus is described as a Cyzicene citizen on his mother's side, it seems evident that the elder Athenaeus and his father Meidias were Cyzicenes; the latter was presumably the brother or brother-in-law of Apollonis. Except for the members of this family—who, of course, had no claim to the Pergamene throne—no paternal relatives of Attalus III are known; for Attalus II and Stratonice evidently had no children—the story in Plutarch *Reg. et. Imp. Apophth.* p. 184 B, that, although Attalus had many children, he reared none of them, is certainly fictitious (see Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 206, note 2 and Ferguson in *Klio* VIII [1908], p. 354)—and there is no evidence that his younger brothers Philetaerus and Athenaeus were

ever married. The fact that C. Julius Severus of Ancyra in Galatia, who during the first half of the second century after Christ, held many offices under the Roman government, among them that of proconsul of Asia, was said to be a descendant of Attalus Βασιλέως Ἀσίας (*I.G.R.* III 173 = *O.G.I.* 544, see Chap. XXVI note 54) suggests that either Attalus I or Attalus II had descendants of whom we know nothing. But, as Dittenberger observed (note 5), the line of descent, if really genuine, may have been through an illegitimate child.

88. See *Ins. Perg.* 246 = *O.G.I.* 332, found near Elaea and generally attributed to that city, but assigned to Pergamum itself by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 66f.). The value of the document as a means of correcting the historians' statements about Attalus was pointed out by Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2176 and by Cardinali in *La Morte di Attalo III e la Rivolta di Aristonico* in *Saggi di Storia Ant. e di Arch. offerti a G. Beloch* (Rome 1910), p. 273f.

89. Attalus appears among the *auctores* of Pliny for *N.H.* VIII and XI (on zoology) and XIV, XV, XVII and XVIII (on botany), and perhaps in XXVIII and XXXI (on medicine). For his researches in pharmacology and toxicology see Galen *de Simpl. Medicam. Temp. ac Fac.* X 1 (Vol. XII p. 251 Kühn); *de Compos. Med. per Genera* I 13 (XIII p. 416 Kühn), where he is described as σπουδάσας περὶ φάρμακα παντοῖα; 14 (p. 419f.); 17 (p. 446); *de Antid.* I 1 (XIV p. 2 Kühn): Plutarch *Demetr.* 20, 2. See also Cardinali *Morte di Attalo*, p. 270f. and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 136.

90. Toward the end of the reign of Attalus II, a certain Molcestes or Moceltes (perhaps to be emended to Moagetes) by the use of troops made himself tyrant of Bubon in the region of Cabalis, near the border between Cibyratis and Lycia (see Chap. XXII note 21), and ruled until murdered by his brother, who then reigned in his place; see Diodorus frg. 22 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. xvii f.) and Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 371, note 6. If the correction of his name (accepted by Niese) is admissible, he may perhaps have been the Moagetes who led the people of Bubon in an attack on Araxa in Lycia; see Chap. X note 30. About the same time in Thrace, a chieftain named Diegylis, who was the brother-in-law of Prusias II and had aided that monarch against Attalus II and Nicomedes II, overran the Greek cities on the Thracian coast and treated their inhabitants with the greatest cruelty; it was only by the intervention of Attalus's troops that he was repulsed; see Diodorus XXXIII 14f.: Strabo XIII p. 624: Trogus *Prol.* XXXVI: Appian *Mith.* 6: Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 360f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 131f. The Pergamene forces seem to have included the soldiers who, διαβάντες ἐν τῷ ιε' ἔτει εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Χερρόνησον καὶ Θράκην τόπους, made a vow recorded in an inscription found near Thyateira, in which "the 15th year" is evidently that of Attalus II, since it accords with what we know of the time of his Thracian expedition; see *O.G.I.* 330 and Robert *Villes*, p. 76f. Later, when, on the death of Attalus III, the Pergamene garrisons had been withdrawn, Diegylis's son Zibelmius attacked the Greek cities of Thrace, perpetrating horrible

cruelties; see Diodorus XXXIV 12; Valerius Maximus IX 2, *ext.* 4: *O.G.I.* 339, l. 17f., where it is related that because of its danger and especially διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γειτνιώντων Θρᾳκῶν φόβον the city of Sestus sent an envoy to the Roman generals in Asia. See also Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 374.

91. In explanation of the bequest of Attalus, Rostovtzeff offered the suggestion (*Hellenist. World*, p. 807) that it arose from the King's desire to prevent a conflict between the government and the working classes. Mommsen, on the other hand, explained it (*R.G.* II⁷ p. 53 = Eng. Trans. III p. 278) as caused either by an insane hatred of his subjects or by a recognition of the factual supremacy of Rome. The latter explanation was accepted by Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 102. The supposition of Foucart in *Mém. Acad. Inscrs.* XXXVII (1904), p. 302 that Attalus's purpose was to prevent Aristonicus from succeeding to the throne (rejected by Cardinali *Morte di Attalo*, p. 279) and the suggestion of Greenidge (*Hist. of Rome* I p. 175f.) that Attalus was "jealous enough to will that he should have no successor on the throne and cynical enough to see that it made little difference whether the actual power of Rome was direct or indirect" are difficult to accept. A suggestion somewhat similar to that contained in the text was offered by J. L. Ussing *Pergamos* (Copenhagen 1897), p. 70 (cited by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 140).

92. For Ptolemy Euergetes in Rome see Polybius XXXIII 11, 1f. For his will see *Documenti Antichi dell' Africa Italiana* I 1 (Bergamo 1932) = *S.E.G.* IX 7 = *Ann. Ép.* 1932, 80. For the time and purpose of its publication see De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LX (1932), p. 59f.: Wilcken in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1932, p. 317f.: P. Roussel in *R.E.G.* XLV (1932), p. 286f.: F. E. Adcock in *Cambr. Univ. Reporter* 1932, p. 1290. The generalization of Rostovtzeff (*C.A.H.* IX p. 226, note 1) that the will "shows, if compared with the later similar acts of Attalus III, Nicomedes III [IV] and Ptolemy Apion of Cyrene, that the testaments of client kings were for a while a device in the foreign policy of the ruling party in the Roman Senate, a kind of disguised imperialism," was rightly questioned by Frank in *J.R.S.* XXIII (1933), p. 73.

93. Strabo XIII p. 624: Livy *Per.* LVIII and LIX: Valerius Maximus V 2, *ext.* 3: Florus I 35, 2f.: Orosius V 8, 4: Eutropius IV 18: Justin XXXVI 4, 5: Velleius Paterculus II 4, 1: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 148: Plutarch *Ti. Gracch.* 14: Appian *Mith.* 62; *B.C.* V 4: Festus *Brev.* 10, 2: Ampelius 33: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 64, 5. Florus (presumably from Livy) quotes the clause of the will as "*Populus Romanus bonorum meorum heres esto.*" The testimony of these authors, as opposed to the evidently false statement made in a speech attributed to Mithradates VI of Pontus by Sallust (*Hist.* IV 69 Maur.) and repeated by Porphyrio in his *Commentary to Horace Carm.* II 18, 5, namely, that Attalus's will was a Roman forgery, is supported by a decree passed by the *demos* of Pergamum immediately after the contents of the will were made known; see *I.G.R.* IV 289 = *O.G.I.* 338 and Chap. VI note 8. In this decree, providing for measures to be taken "for the common safety" it

was expressly stated that Attalus *ἀπολέλοιπεν τὴ[μ πατρί]δα ἐλευθέραν, προσορίσας αὐτῇ καὶ πολε[ιτικὴγ] χώραν ἣν ἔκρινεν.*

94. Plutarch *Ti. Gracch.* 14: Livy *Per.* LVIII: Orosius v 8, 4: Florus II 3, 2 (where the legislation dealing with the bequest is incorrectly attributed to Gaius Gracchus): *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 64, 5. As Waddington observed (*Fastes* p. 19f.), the will must have arrived in Rome in the early summer of 133, since, according to Appian (*B.C.* I 14), Gracchus was killed about harvest-time; Attalus's death, therefore, must be placed in the spring (so also Cardinali *Morte di Attalo*, p. 285). Carcopino in *Autour des Gracches* (Paris 1928), p. 35f., basing his theory on the statement of Justin (XXXVI 4, 5) that Attalus died as the result of exposure to the sun, held that this could not have happened before midsummer and so not until after the death of Gracchus, and that, consequently, the historical tradition concerning the latter's legislation is incorrect. This view, however, was rightly rejected by Last in *J.R.S.* XVIII (1928), p. 229 and *C.A.H.* IX p. 30, note 3.

CHAPTER II

1. For a general treatment of the geographical configuration and climatic conditions of Asia Minor see Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 599f. and A. Philippson *Das Byzantin. Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leyden 1939), p. 135f.

2. The most important were the Tarsius, the Aesepus and the Granicus. The first of these has sometimes been identified with the Kara Dere Su (Koca Çay), which flows into Lake Manyas, but the identification is exceedingly doubtful; see Leaf *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), p. 67f. and Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2413. A dedication to ποταμῷ Ἐνβείλῳ found on the left bank of the Kara Dere near its mouth (a similar dedication was found at Bandırma, *C.I.G.* 3700) suggested to Hasluck that this was the name of the river; see *J.H.S.* XXV (1905), p. 60f. For the mountainous region between the Aesepus and the Macestus see Philippson I pp. 36f. and 54f. For the region of the upper Macestus see Philippson III p. 4f. The upper valley of this river and the basin of Lake Simav were in Antiquity a part of the region of Abbaïtis, the chief towns of which were Synaus and Ancyra, both near the lake; see Strabo XII p. 576 and XIII p. 625: Hamilton *Researches* II p. 123f.: K. Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 142f.: Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 317f.: Philippson III p. 21f. Abbaïtis probably included Cadi (unless this town was in Phrygia Epictetus, see Chap. I note 56), farther east near the sources of the Hermus, where an inscription was found, erected by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυσῶν Ἀββαειτῶν; see *C.I.G.* 3849 = L.W. 1001 = *O.G.I.* 446 and Buresch, p. 158. The Μυσοὶ Ἀββαειῖται joined in honouring a legate of Lucullus (see *C.I.L.* I² 743 = *O.G.I.* 445 and Chap. XIV note 15), and coins of the Μυσῶν Ἀββαϊτῶν are known from the second or first century before Christ; see *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 1f.: *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 1f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* (Vienna 1898), p. 201f. The region is called Μυσία ἡ καλουμένη Ἀβ[β]αΐτις in a decree of Bargylia; see Foucart in *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* XXXVII (1904), p. 327f. = *R.E.A.* XXI (1919), p. 2f. = Holleaux *Études* II p. 180f. For the region between the Macestus and the Rhyndacus see Philippson III pp. 29f. and 64f. For the Euenus see E. W. Buisson *Die Aeolisch-Ionische Westküste Kleinasiens in Strabos Erdbeschreibung* (Leipzig 1917), p. 24f.

3. The most westerly section of this watershed is the Yünt (Yont?) Dağ, south of Pergamum. It is cut by the deep winding ravine of the river Pythicus; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 26f. The southern portion of this mountain-mass (the Dumanlı Dağ) extends to the Hermus and forms the northern wall of the defile through which the river breaks its way to the sea (see above p. 36). Beyond the low watershed which lies east of the Yünt Dağ a natural boundary between Mysia and Lydia is formed by the Demirci Dağ, often incorrectly called Temnus (see Keil in *R.E.* V A 460), and, still farther east, by the Ak Dağ (near Gedis) and the Murat Dağ (the Lydian Dindymus); see Philippson III p. 1.

4. For Tmolus see Philippson II p. 64f. and IV p. 32f.; for Messogis see *ibid.* II p. 77f. and IV p. 41f.

5. The Maeander is regarded as the boundary between Lydia and Caria in Diodorus XIV 36, 3 (where Tralles is placed in Ionia) and in Strabo XII p. 577 and XIV p. 663. This view was adopted by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 183, note 1), who pointed out that the Romans, at least, so regarded it, for in 188, in their gift of Caria to Rhodes, they made the Maeander the boundary, and the Carian judiciary district of Alabanda (see Chap. VII note 42) extended only as far north as the river. Ptolemy (V 2, 15), on the other hand, included in Caria the cities between Mt. Messogis and the Maeander, and this mountain-range, accordingly, was accepted as the boundary by the Kieperts in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text* p. 1 A and IX *Text* p. 8 B and by Keil in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 241, note 1. Keil suggested (*R.E.* XIII 2163) that *politically* the northern bank of the Maeander was considered sometimes Lydian and sometimes as Carian, but Ruge observed (*R.E.* VI A 2124) that in early times Messogis, but later the Maeander, was regarded as the boundary, an explanation of the apparently shifting character of the line of demarcation which is more convincing than that offered by Bengtson in *Philol.* XCII (1937), p. 132, note 26, namely, that the extension of Caria beyond its true northern boundary arose from the conquests of Maussolus.

6. Strabo XIII p. 628. For descriptions see also Hamilton *Researches* I p. 136f. and II p. 131f.: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 39f.: Philippson IV p. 10f. and in *Pet. Mitt.* LIX 2 (1913), p. 237f. The myth of the fire-breathing monster Typhon, usually localized in Cilicia (see Chap. XI note 19) was connected by some writers with this region; see Strabo XIII p. 626f.

7. The Alaşehir Su, generally identified with the river which appears in the form Κόγαμις on a coin of Philadelpheia (*Ztschr. f. Num.* XV [1887], p. 48f.) and as Cogamus in Pliny *N.H.* V 111; see Hamilton *Researches* II p. 373f.: Buresch *Aus Lydien*, pp. 206 and 211: H. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX: Anderson *Map of Asia Minor*: Keil-Premerstein III p. 15. On the other hand, the Cogamis was identified by Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872, p. 95* with the Sarıkız Çay, a stream which rises on the side of Tmolus above Philadelpheia and flows down south of the city. This view was accepted by R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text* p. 5 B, who held that the Alaşehir Su was the *Phryx* of Pliny *N.H.* V 119 (see below note 8). For the Cogamis-Hermus basin see Philippson IV p. 54f.

8. According to Strabo XIII p. 626, this river was formerly called the Hyllus, and it bears this name in *Iliad* XX 392 and Herodotus I 80. It is called Phrygius in Livy XXXVII 37, 9f. and Appian *Syr.* 30, as well as in an epitaph of a Bithynian who fell in the battle of Corupedium (*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 380f. = *R. Phil.* XXVI [1902], p. 257f., see Chap. I note 5) and on the monument erected in honour of the later Attalus II by Achaean

troops *συναγωνισάμενοι τὴν ἐν Λυδίᾳ παρὰ τὸν Φρύγιον ποταμὸν μάχην*, *i.e.* the battle of Magnesia, see *Ins. Perg.* 64 = *Syll.*[3] 606. Pliny (*N. H.* v 119) lists both the Hyllus and the Phryx among the tributaries of the Hermus, but it would appear that, finding the two names in his sources, he included them both in his list. Kiepert, however, identified the Phryx with the Alaşehir Su (see above note 7).

9. Strabo XIII p. 629; see also Keil-Premerstein III p. 56f. The two communities which inhabited it appear in an inscription of the Roman imperial period as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κιλ[βι]ανῶν τῶν ἄνω and ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Κιλ]βιανῶν τῶν κάτω (see *A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 102f.) and as *Cilbiani Inferiores et Superiores* in Pliny *N.H.* V 120. The Κιλβιανοὶ οἱ ἄνω also appear on coins from Nero onward; see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 55f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, pp. XLVf. and 62f. Their territory was placed by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, p. 174) in the plain of Balyambolu, the ancient Palaeopolis (see Keil-Premerstein III no. 73), which, because of its richness and beauty, was described as a paradise by Philippson (IV p. 42). They also had a centre at Coloë (Keil-Premerstein III p. 57). The chief town of the Lower Cilbiani was Nicaea; see Keil-Premerstein III no. 67, Ephesos II no. 56 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 649.

10. Strabo XIII p. 626, where both it and the plain of the Hermus around Sardis are described as *πάντων ἄριστα πεδίων*.

11. Herodotus VII 26: Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 7f.: Strabo XII p. 577f.: Pliny *N.H.* V 106 and 113. For the sources of the Maeander see also Hamilton *Researches* I p. 497f., G. Hirschfeld in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 17f. and especially Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 397f., whose views were accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 535f. One of the streams which form it is the Marsyas, which pours down through Dinar (Apameia) from a recess in the mountains supposed to cast forth rocks (Pliny *N.H.* XXXI 19) and commonly regarded as the scene of the famous contest between Apollo and the satyr Marsyas. For a general account of the course of the Maeander see Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* I (Paris 1877), p. 1f. and Philippson V p. 34f.

12. According to Strabo XII p. 578, the source of the Lycus is on Mt. Cadmus (Honaz Dağ). This is true, however, of only one branch (the Sağ Su), for the main stream issues from the marsh of Koca Baş, north of Mt. Cadmus; see Weber in *A.M.* XXIII (1898), p. 179f.: Philippson IV p. 96: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2391. Weber showed that the view of Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 210), followed by Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 404f., who identified the underground stream described by Strabo with the Lycus and supposed that this river was a subterranean outlet of Lake Anava (Acı Göl), is incorrect, since this lake is salt and no salt appears in the marsh of Koca Baş. Weber, accordingly, regarded Strabo's underground river as the Cadmus (*ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὄρει*), which, accepting the previous view of Hamilton *Researches* I p. 513 and A. H. Smith in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 224f. (accepted

also by Ruge in *R.E.* x 1460), he identified with the stream variously known as Gökpınar Su and Bağırsak Dere (regarded as the Caprus by Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 785f. and *Berl. phil. Woch.* XVII [1897], 62f.). Weber pointed out that this stream, which unites with the Başlı Çay east of Laodiceia and flows with it into the Lycus, does, in fact, in its upper course flow for a short distance underground, the subterranean channel being its main course and not, as Anderson supposed, a "separate phenomenon."

13. The process was noticed both by Herodotus (II 10) and by Nearchus, Alexander's admiral and explorer (Strabo XV p. 691 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 712, frg. 17); see also Arrian *Anab.* V 6, 6f. For the silting-up of the mouths of the Maeander and the Caÿster see Chap. III notes 79 and 89. The "pebbly" (πολυψήφις) Hermus appears in the oracle cited in Herodotus I 55; in order to prevent the complete blocking up of the Gulf of Smyrna, the river was diverted in 1886 from its ancient course into a new channel, which carries it across the alluvial plain formed by its deposits into the Aegean north of the entrance to the Gulf; see C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford 1938), p. 3f. For the silt carried down by the Caïcus see E. Thraemer *Pergamos* (Leipzig 1888), p. 213; for that of the Scamander see Strabo XIII p. 598f. and Virchow in *Abh. Berl. Akad., Phys. Kl.* 1879, III p. 169f. The observation was made by E. C. Semple in *Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932), p. 128 that only those ports of the Mediterranean have survived which avoided the deltaic plains of rivers and thus have not needed continual dredging.

14. The name of the Morsynus appears in Pliny *N.H.* V 108 as Orsinus, but the correct form is shown by coins of Antiocheia, near which the river flows into the Maeander (see Chap. V note 26), with the legend Μόρσυνος and a representation of the river-god; see *B. M. Cat. Caria*, p. 16, no. 13 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 110, no. 41. For the valley of the (Carian) Marsyas see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 218f.

15. Strabo XIV pp. 651 and 664: Livy XXXVII 22, 3: *T.A.M.* II 163. For the site of Daedala on the Inice Su about five miles from its mouth see Arkwright in *J.H.S.* XV (1895), p. 94f. and Kalinka in *T.A.M.* II p. 53. Arkwright identified the mountain named Daedala, which Strabo regarded as the boundary of Lycia, with the Kızıl Dağ, east of the city. According to Livy XXXVII 16, 13, the Gulf of Telmessus *latere uno Cariam altero Lyciam contingit*. For Telmessus see also below Chap. XXII note 4.

16. The natural boundary between Mysia and Phrygia consists of the mountain-groups south of Mt. Olympus through the region of Dağardı and along the range of Eğrigöz Dağları to the Ak Dağ near Gedis; see Philippson III p. 2. The boundary between Lydia and Phrygia is approximately the western border of the basin of the Banaz Çay (more strictly speaking, of its tributary the Hippurius), extending in a southwesterly direction from the Murat Dağ to the Maeander at Tripolis. This line is

more accurate than the Banaz Çay itself, proposed by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, p. 173f.), since it includes Blaundus (Sülünlü), which is west of this river but is placed in Phrygia (in the incorrect form Βλέανδρος) in Ptolemy v 2, 17; see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX *Text*, p. 8 B and Bürchner in *R.E.* XIII 2130. The river now called Porsuk Çay appears as Tembris and Tembros on coins of Midaeum (*B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. LXXXIV and 335f.), Tenbrogios in an inscription found near the upper course of the river (*Cl. Rev.* X [1896], p. 420=Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 126f., no. 8), and Tembrogius in Pliny *N.H.* VI 4. For other forms of the name see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 433.

17. For the roads of western Asia Minor see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 164f.: M. P. Charlesworth *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Rom. Empire* (Cambridge 1924), p. 76f.: F. Taeschner in *Pet. Mitt.* LXXII (1926), p. 202f.: K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 685f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 860f.: A. Philippson *Das Byzant. Reich, etc.* p. 140f.: E. Gren *Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan i. d. wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* (Uppsala 1941), p. 39f., who pointed out (pp. 13f. and 135f.) that the importance of the southern routes leading to the Ionian ports (see also below note 18) declined during the second and especially the third centuries after Christ, when the centre of gravity shifted toward the north as the increased trade with the Danube region and the frequent passages of troops gave greater importance to the routes leading to the Propontis at Cyzicus (see below note 20) and the Bithynian ports (see Chap. XIII notes 11 and 14). The works of S. Talip *Le Strade Romane in Anatolia* (Rome 1938) and D. Levi *Le Grande Strade Romane in Asia* (Rome 1938) are inaccessible to me. The road from Smyrna to Sardis (about 50 miles in an air-line) led over the pass of Bel Kahve (860 ft.) east of the former to Nymphaeum (Nif or Kemalpaşa) and thence eastward along the Nif Çay and up the valley of the Hermus. For milestones on this road see Keil-Premerstein III p. 7f., to which may be added *C.I.G.* 3180=*I.G.R.* IV 1483 (no. VIII of A.D. 201/2, found at Hacılar). The route from Ephesus to Sardis (540 stades according to Herodotus V 54) led northward from the plain of the lower Caÿster to the Nif Çay by way of the pass of Kara Bel (1575 ft.), on the eastern wall of which is the rock-cut figure regarded by Herodotus (II 106) as the Egyptian king Sesostris but actually the Hittite warrior-god, and below the stronghold of Ak Kaya (see Chap. III note 95); see Keil-Premerstein III p. 5f.: J. Garstang *The Hittite Empire* (New York 1930), p. 177f.: C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford 1938), p. 33f. From Sardis the road led eastward through the plain of the Hermus, diverging from the river near the place where the latter, flowing from the northeast, breaks through the hills. Here, at Adala, a bridge over the Hermus (Keil-Premerstein III p. 9) carried a branch-road running northwest to Daldis (probably Narlı Kalesi, see Keil-Premerstein I p. 64 and Chap. XXIV note 11) and perhaps to Thyateira. A milestone inscribed [Δαλ]διανῶ[ν] μί(λια) . . , found southwest of Daldis (*ibid.* no. 143=*I.G.R.* IV 1364), came either from this road or from a road leading directly from Daldis to Sardis. The main road, continuing through Maeonia (Menye, see Keil-Premerstein II p. 78f.) and across the region of

Catacecaumene (see above note 6), reached the Hermus again above the great bend of the river toward the north. Here a branch, apparently leading northward to Silandus (probably near Selendi, see Keil-Premerstein II p. 121f.), crossed the Hermus by a bridge near Hamamlar (Philippson IV p. 29). From this branch or possibly from its junction with the main road, came milestone no. VIII (moved to Kula, farther to the southwest) erected by the city of Silandus (*I.G.R.* IV 1380). At Sirkeköy, on the Hermus, a milestone has been found, inscribed *ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Βαγηνῶν πόλεως μ(ίλια) εἱ*; see Keil-Premerstein II p. 124f. = *I.G.R.* IV 1530. As Keil and von Premerstein observed (p. 125), Bageis is presumably to be placed at Güre, about fifteen miles farther northeast. From here the road led to Temenothyrae (near Uşak, see Chap. V note 36), and thence either through Islam Köy (near Banaz, an "open door toward which many tracks converge," according to Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 572) and the great opening (five miles in width) at Dumlupınar between the Murat Dağ on the north and the Ahır Dağ on the south, described as a "natural gateway for traffic from the East to the West" (see Philippson IV p. 77), or farther south, through Susuz (Öksüz) Köy (Ceramon Agora, according to Ramsay *ibid.* p. 595) and Acmonia (Ahat, see Chap. V note 36) and across the Ahır Dağ. In either case, it probably led through the Sincanlı Ova to the neighbourhood of Afyon Karahisar. In this section, perhaps at Cidyessus (Küçük Öyük in the Sincanlı Ova, see *R.E.* XI 380 and XIX 401), a road diverged to the northeast, leading to Nacoleia and Dorylaeum in northern Phrygia (see below note 21). From the plain around Afyon Karahisar a route of great importance led down the valley of the Phrygian Caÿster (the Akar Çay) to the road-junction at Ipsus (see Chap. I note 4), there connecting with the Southern Highway to the East (see below note 18).

At least that section of the road which led from Sardis to the neighbourhood of Islam Köy was the line of the Royal Road (*ὁδὸς βασιληίη*), which in the fifth century before Christ led from Sardis across the Euphrates to Susa; see Herodotus V 52f. For various views concerning the course of this road see Kiepert in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1857, p. 123f.: Ramsay *H.G.* p. 27f.; *C.B.* I p. xiv, note 1; *J.H.S.* XL (1920), p. 89f. (retracting his previous belief that Xerxes marched along the Royal Road): Macan *Herodotus* IV-VI (London 1895), Vol. II p. 289f. (p. 299f. by Hogarth): Radet in *Nouv. Arch. d. Missions Scient.* VI (1895), p. 518f.: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), pp. 22 and 41f.: A. Körte in *G.G.A.* 1897, p. 394f.: Calder in *Cl. Rev.* XXXIX (1925), p. 7f.: Charlesworth *ibid.* p. 79. The first section of the Royal Road was described by Herodotus as leading through "Lydia and Phrygia" for a distance of 20 *stathmoi* or 94½ parasangs, equivalent, if the parasang be reckoned at 30 Babylonian-Persian stades (7½ to the Roman mile) or 5.94 km. (see *R.E.* III A 1933 and 1940), to roughly 348 English miles. Kiepert and Körte, in an attempt to retain the distance recorded by Herodotus, supposed that the road led southeastward from Sardis to Synnada and thence *via* Pessinus to Ancyra in Galatia. Ramsay, Radet and Calder, rejecting this circuitous route, maintained with good reason that it ran eastward to the neighbourhood of Islam Köy. From here, however, Ramsay, Radet and

Macan, following Kiepert, believed that the road led to Pessinus and Ancyra. The view that the road ran so far to the north was based on the statement of Herodotus that on leaving "Phrygia," it crossed the river Halys (on which there were fortifications) and thence ran through Cappadocia to the borders of the Cilicians (also fortified), a distance of 104 parasangs (383 English miles). These writers, assuming that the mention of the Halys referred to the famous "bridge" where Cyrus defeated Croesus (Herodotus I 75f.), supposed that the road crossed the river between Ancyra and Tavium. From here, attempting to retain Herodotus's estimates of the distances both for the second section and the third, described as leading "through Cilicia" for 15½ parasangs (57 miles), they brought the road by various devious routes to the Euphrates; Kiepert through Pontus and Cappadocia to the crossing of the river at Izoli (see Chap. VIII note 25 and Chap. IX note 16); Ramsay (in *H.G.*) by way of Mazaca and the Cilician Gates (see Chap. XI note 36) and through Cilicia Campestris (presumably to the crossing at Zeugma), but later (in *C.B.*) through northern Cappadocia along the course of the Tohma Su to the Euphrates; Hogarth through central Cappadocia to Izoli and thence over a pass in the Taurus (which he regarded as the "boundary of the Cilicians") to Samosata on the Euphrates (see Chap. XV note 51), a route accepted by Anderson, who, however, rejected the Taurus pass in favour of the crossing at Izoli. Calder, on the other hand, pointing out the difficulty of supposing that the Persians used a route so circuitous and rejecting the belief that the road crossed the Halys by a bridge west of Tavium, expressed the view that it led over the Ahır Dağ to the Sincanlı Ova (thus far agreeing with Radet) and the neighbourhood of Afyon Karahisar, whence it followed the valley of the Akar Çay to the "bottle-neck" at Ipsus. From here, Calder supposed that the road corresponded to the course of the Southern Highway to the Cilician Gates, the identification of which with the "boundaries of the Cilicians" he regarded as "axiomatic." This view is open to the objection that Calder's estimate of the distance from Sardis to the Gates (511 miles) is much less than Herodotus's estimate of the total distance from Sardis to the "boundaries of the Cilicians" (198½ parasangs or about 731 miles), and his suggestion that Herodotus in his computation of the total distance from Sardis to the Euphrates (by way of the Bahçe Pass in the Amanus) as 214 parasangs (788 miles) "pulled about" the numbers in order to make the road cross the Halys is not wholly convincing. There is, however, no reason to assume that Herodotus supposed that the road led across the bridge west of Tavium. Elsewhere the historian, who, as Macan observed (p. 292), appears to have thought of the Halys as "flowing across Asia Minor from sea to sea" (I 72), mentions the river only as a boundary separating Cappadocia from Paphlagonia or Phrygia or dividing the territory held by the Medes or the Persians from the kingdom of Croesus; see I 6. 28. 72. 103. 130; V 102; VII 26. It seems probable therefore that in his description of the Royal Road also Herodotus regarded the Halys as the boundary of Cappadocia and thought of the middle section of the river (flowing from south to north) as prolonged southward across Lycaonia; this line was centuries later still regarded as the boundary between Cappa-

docia and western Asia Minor (see Chap. I note 55). If we may suppose that Herodotus's "Phrygia" included that part of Phrygia Paroreius which lay northeast of the range of Sultan Dağ (see Chap. XIX note 14) and that the line of the Halys corresponded roughly with the low range of hills running southwestward from the southern end of the salt lake of Tuz Gölü, which appears (see *R.E.* XIII 2253) to have been considered the northwestern boundary of Lycaonia (regarded as part of the satrapy of Cappadocia in Xenophon *Anab.* VII 8, 25, an *addendum* perhaps taken from Sophaenetus), it may even be possible to save Herodotus's estimate of the distance from Sardis to "the Halys"; for the point where the modern railway crosses this range (see Baedeker *Konstantinopel u. Kleinasien*[2], p. 288) is 328 miles (528 km.) from Sardis, a distance strikingly close to the 348 miles (94½ parasangs) of Herodotus. On the other hand, if we suppose that the road led through the Cilician Gates, Herodotus's further estimates must be sacrificed. It is only by supposing, with Hogarth, that the road ran by way of central Cappadocia and Izoli—a difficult route but one much used in later times (see Chap. XXI note 3)—that it is possible to bring the distance into conformity with Herodotus's estimate. For, according to Calder (p. 11, note 5), the distance between Mazaca and Melitene in eastern Cappadocia is 189½ English miles; if additions be made, at the western end, for the distance (perhaps 50 miles) between the line of the "Halys" and Coropassus (at Akhan near the southern end of Tuz Gölü, see *R.E.* XI 1435f.) and between Coropassus and Mazaca (87 miles = 800 stades according to Artemidorus quoted in Strabo XIV p. 663), and, at the eastern end, for the distance (about 20 miles) between Melitene and Izoli and for the "link" between Izoli and the spine of the Taurus (20 miles, or 150-200 stades according to Walker quoted by Macan p. 301, note 1 and p. 303, note 1), a total of about 366 miles is obtained, which does not differ greatly from Herodotus's 383 miles (104 parasangs). The distance, moreover, from the spine of the Taurus to Samosata, regarded by Hogarth as the third section of the road, was said by him to approximate closely the 57 miles (15½ parasangs) of Herodotus. The choice, therefore, seems to lie between the "axiomatic" route through the Cilician Gates, with the sacrifice of Herodotus's estimates for at least the second and third sections of the road, and the retention of these estimates, with a route terminating in the region around Samosata, which, even with the most liberal interpretation of the word, cannot be regarded as in Cilicia.

18. For the road designated in the text as the "Southern Highway" (called by Ramsay the "Eastern Highway") see Strabo XIV p. 663 (from Artemidorus): *Tab. Peutingeriana* IX-X (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 724f.): Ramsay *H.G.* p. 35f. and *C.B.* I p. 747f.: F. Sarre *Reisen in Kleinasien* (Berlin 1896), p. 15f.: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 104f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 861. For Cicero's journey over it in 51 B.C. see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 14-20; *ad Fam.* III 5-6 and XV 2-3: L. W. Hunter in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 73f. For the modern railway from Ephesus to Dinar (Apameia) which corresponds closely to the line of the road see Baedeker *Konstantinopel u. Kleinasien*[2] p. 384f. As described by Artemidorus, the first section of the Highway was

that between Ephesus and Carura on the border of Caria and Phrygia. Leaving Ephesus, the road led southward over the low pass, not over 1000 ft. above sea-level, near Aziziye and across the hills (south of the railway and by a considerably shorter route, see Philippson in *Milet* III 5, p. 24) to Magnesia-on-Maeander. Turning here to the east, it ran up the valley of the Maeander. East of Nysa it crossed the Maeander by a bridge at Antiocheia (see Chap. V note 26). From here a branch-route led up the Morsynus to the cities of eastern Caria (see Chap. V note 26). From Antiocheia the Highway continued along the southern bank of the Maeander to Carura at the eastern end of the Plain of Hierapolis, 740 stades (about 80 miles), according to Artemidorus, from Ephesus. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the stations on this section of the road and the intervals between them appear as follows: Ephesus XXX Magnesia LXVI Antiocheia . . . Carura. These measurements, however, are of little value, not only because the distance between Antiocheia and Carura is lost but also because that between Ephesus and Magnesia is incorrect. In fact, the errors both of the redactors and of the copyists of the *Tabula* and of the *Itinerarium Antonini* (see below note 19), especially in the numbers recording distances, are numerous and often misleading; see O. Cuntz in *Wien. Stud.* XV (1893), p. 262f.: W. Kubitschek in *J.O.A.I.* V (1902), p. 31f.: K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* p. xlix f.: M. Besnier in *Rev. Ét. Latines* VII (1929), p. 90: G. G. Dept in *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* X (1931), p. 1010. Consequently, little reliance may be placed on these numbers and it is hazardous to use them in identifying the sites of unknown places which appear in these itineraries. For the milestones erected along the Highway by Aquilius, nos. V and XXIX from Ephesus (found, respectively, at Aziziye and somewhat west of Tralles) see Chap. VI note 39. Milestone no. XX (of Septimius Severus) was found at Germencik (*C.I.L.* III 13689 = 14202[3]); a stone (of Philip), which bore a number, now erased, reckoned from Ephesus, was found near Magnesia (*C.I.L.* III 12270 = *Ins. Magn.* 257); and no. XXX (*C.I.L.* III 6094, of Gallienus) and no. XXXI (*C.I.L.* III 7206, of Claudius) were found, respectively, two miles and one mile west of Tralles. Somewhat west of Nysa was found a milestone inscribed *ἀπὸ Τράλλεων μί(λια) ιδ'* (*Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX [1893], p. 93, no. 4).

The second (or Phrygian) section of the Highway, as described by Artemidorus, led from Carura up the valley of the Lycus through Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis, and Chelidonia (?) to Holmi (probably at Karacaören, about seven miles by road southwest of Çay, see *R.E.* VIII 2136f.), apparently the junction with the route leading down the Akar Çay which has been regarded above (see note 17) as a section of the Royal Road. The distance was estimated by Artemidorus at 920 stades (about 99½ English miles). This was regarded as "much underestimated" by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 749), who supposed the correct distance to be about 161 Roman miles (145 English miles), an estimate which closely approximates the distance by rail from Sarayköy (east of Carura) to Apameia, 90.7 miles (146 km.), with the addition of the distance by the railway survey (see *C.B.* I p. 747f.) of 74½ miles (probably ten miles less by road) from Apameia to Karacaören. No information for this section can be obtained from the *Tabula* (which

shows the road only as far as Apameia), for between Laodiceia and Apameia not only are the distances confused, but the names of the stations—Trallis (*sic*), Socratu and ad Vicum—are evidently corrupt, and, in spite of the efforts of Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 580 and *Cl. Rev.* XIII [1899], p. 139), Anderson (*ibid.* p. 86) and R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 11 B) to locate them, they cannot be identified; as K. Miller suggested (*Itin. Rom.* 724), by *Trallis* is probably meant Tralles, incorrectly transferred from its proper position in the first section of the road. The course of the road between the headwaters of the Lycus at Koca Baş (see above note 12) and Apameia cannot be determined. Presumably, like the railway, it ran on the northern side of Lake Anava (see note 12), but in a somewhat straighter course. Nevertheless, there is a striking agreement between the distance from Colossae to Celaenae (Apameia), recorded in Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 7 as 20 parasangs = 118.8 km. (see above note 17), and that by rail from Bucalı (the nearest station on the west to Colossae) to Dinar, namely 117 km. From Apameia onward, the course of the road is evident, for it could not have led in any way other than through the great trough in which Metropolis (Tatarlı, see *M.A.M.A.* IV pp. xii and 40f.) is situated, northwest of the high range of Sultan Dağ. Near Armutlu, southwest of Karacaören, where a causeway and bridge carry the modern road over a marsh, a defaced rock-cut inscription (*C.I.L.* III 14192[4]) records that C. Carist[an]i[us] Fronto (perhaps the man who later was governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, probably under Domitian, see Chap. XXIV note 35) "opened" the road. At Karadilli (perhaps Chelidonia) on this section of the Highway, about thirteen miles northwest of Metropolis, a branch-route ran northward by way of Atlı Hisar, where there is a milestone (*C.I.L.* III 14199[10] = *I.G.R.* IV 750, probably not in situ), to Synnada; see Anderson *ibid.* p. 101f. and *M.A.M.A.* IV p. xif. This was evidently the route by which the marble from Docimeium (see below note 96) was transported. Another road, farther west, from Synnada to Metropolis, the cuttings of which, together with an inscription recording the placing of *termini*, were reported by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 752f. and no. 693), was described by Anderson (p. 101f.) as suited to light traffic only. North of Synnada, milestones have been found at Ağzikara (*M.A.M.A.* IV 60 with a defaced inscription) and at Afyon Karahisar (*C.I.L.* 14200 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 9, no. VII *a Synnadis* [.] *Prymnessis*). From Prymnessus (about 6 km. southeast of Afyon Karahisar, see *M.A.M.A.* IV p. x), where it crossed the main road running down the valley of the Akar Çay (see above), this route ran northeastward to Docimeium; belonging to it, probably, are two milestones found east and northeast of Afyon Karahisar, no. III (*C.I.L.* II 7171 of Severus) and no. IV (*C.I.L.* II 7172 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 13, erected by ἡ Δοκιμέων πό(λις) under Constantine).

The third section of the Highway, leading from Holmi around the northern end of the Sultan Dağ southeastward past Philomelium and through Phrygia Paroreius to Tyriaeum (see Chap. XIX notes 14 and 17), measured, according to Artemidorus, "a little more than 500 stades" (about 54 English miles). This corresponds fairly closely to the distance by the Bagdad Railway from Çay to Ilgın (near Tyriaeum) of 109 km. or

67.7 miles (see Baedeker, p. 287f.), the distance by rail being somewhat greater because the line by a curve toward the north avoids the spurs of the Sultan Dağ, over which the ancient (like the modern) road could lead. Beyond Laodiceia Catacecaumene (see Chap. XIX note 17), some thirty miles southeast of Ilgın, the road described by Artemidorus turned eastward through eastern Lycaonia to Coropassus, distant 840 stades from Tyriaeum, and onward through Cappadocia to the Euphrates, a route which was perhaps part of the Royal Road (see note 17). The branch of the Highway, on the other hand, which led to the Cilician Gates continued in a southeasterly direction across Lycaonia to Cybistra, beyond which it climbed the Taurus and descended through the famous Gates into Cilicia (see Chap. XI note 36).

For the march of Xerxes through Phrygia and Lydia see Herodotus VII 26 and 30f., where we are told that, after mobilizing his army at Critalla, the situation of which is unknown (Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1896) but may have been near Cybistra (Ramsay in *J.H.S.* XL [1920], p. 89f.), he crossed the Halys and marched through Phrygia to Celaenae (Apameia) and from here past Lake Anava to Colossae and Cydrara "on the border of Phrygia and Lydia." Here, "at the parting of the road," he turned "to the right" to Callatebus and Sardis. From Apameia to Cydrara, otherwise unknown but evidently in the Plain of Hierapolis (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 174 and Ruge in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 1125), Xerxes marched along the line of the Southern Highway. From the crossing of the Maeander onward, he used the road leading over the mountains to the valley of the Cogamis (see below note 20). Only his route from Critalla through Phrygia to Celaenae is doubtful. Ramsay (*H.G.* pp. 36f. and 41) and Calder (*Cl. Rev.* XXXIX [1925], p. 9), believing that Xerxes, like the elder Cyrus in his campaign against Croesus, crossed the Halys by the bridge between Tavium and Ancyra (see above note 17), supposed that he made a wide detour to the north, marching southward again to Celaenae. It is difficult, however, to believe that he led a large army by this circuitous route. Ramsay, in fact, subsequently changed his view and suggested that he reached Celaenae by a much more direct road from Laranda in Lycaonia to Iconium and thence through northern Pisidia; see *J.H.S.* XL (1920), p. 89f. and Chap. XIX note 19. If, however, we may suppose (as assumed by Ramsay *ibid.* who here rejected entirely the crossing of the Halys) that, as in the case of the Royal Road (see above note 17), by "the Halys" Herodotus meant, not the river itself, but the *line* of the river, the King may have marched through Lycaonia and Phrygia Paroreius and by way of Çay along the course of the Southern Highway to Apameia. The younger Cyrus in 401, marching from Sardis in the reverse direction, used the Cogamis valley route to the Plain of Hierapolis, whence he followed the course of the Southern Highway to Celaenae; see Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 5f. Turning here to the north, he reached the Akar Çay by a long detour through Ceramon Agora and proceeded down the river to Caÿstrou Pedion, evidently around Çay; see H. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX *Text*, p. 8, note 103 and Calder in *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 237f. From here he marched along the Highway through Thymbrium (probably near Philomelium, see

Ziegler in *R.E.* VI A 698 and Chap. XIX note 17), Tyriaeum, Iconium and Tyana to the Cilician Gates. So near, in fact, was his route from Caÿstrou Pedion to Iconium to the modern railway that the total distance, as recorded by Xenophon (I 2, 13f. and 19), of 40 parasangs or 237.6 km. closely approximates that of 227 km. from Çay to Konya by rail (Baedeker *ibid.* p. 287f.).

19. For this road see Broughton, p. 863 and Gren, p. 45f. As indicated on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 696f.), it has the following stations: Abydus, Dardanus, Ilium, Alexandria Troas, Smintheium, Assus, Gargara, Antandrus, Adramyttium, Coriphanium, Elatia, Attalia, Elaea, Myrina, Cyme, Smyrna; the appearance of Temnus between Cyme and Smyrna seems to be due to a later insertion. In the *Itinerarium Antonini* (334, 1f.) the stations are as follows: Abydus, Dardanus, Ilium, Alexandria Troas, Antandrus, Adramyttium, Pergamum. The distances between the stations are not always accurate (see Ramsay, *H.G.* p. 166), but the total mileage from Abydus to Adramyttium which appears on the Tabula (with the insertion of XII in the lacuna between Dardanus and Ilium) as 96 Roman miles is fairly correct, while that of the *Itinerarium*, 72 miles, is clearly too small. The road led along the coast of the Troad as far as the Temple of Apollo Smintheus at Chrysa (Kulaklı, about seventeen miles from Alexandria Troas as opposed to four on the *Tabula*); see Strabo XIII pp. 604f. and 612 and Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 226. From here, avoiding the projecting Cape Lectum, it led directly across the hills to Gargara (at the mouth of the Nusratlı Su, see Leaf, p. 258f.) and thence along the north shore of the Gulf of Adramyttium. Roman milestones from this section of the road have been found at Çanakkale (*C.I.L.* III 7181, no. III, evidently measured from Abydus, with an inscription of Diocletian), near Ilium (*C.I.L.* III 466 and 467, Hadrian and Caracalla), and near Geyikli, five miles northeast of Alexandria Troas (*C.I.L.* III 468 = *Rev. Épigr.* I [1913], p. 307f., Gordian or Philip, Diocletian and Valens). In the fifth century before Christ there seems to have been a shorter road which led from Ophrynium on the Hellespont, north of Ilium, across the spurs of Mt. Ida to Antandrus. This appears to have been used (from south to north) by Xerxes (Herodotus VII 42f., see Judeich in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 533 and p. 540, note 1), by Xenophon (*Anab.* VII 8, 7), and perhaps in 190 B.C. by the Scipios, who, according to Livy XXXVII 37, 3f., marched in six days from Ilium to the *caput Caïci, i.e.* the mouth of the river; see Kromayer and Veith *Ant. Schlachtfelder* II p. 163f., where the distance is estimated at 210 km. (130 miles), an average day's march of 21 2/3 miles. From Adramyttium the *Tabula* shows a road leading southward over the mountains to Pergamum; this is presumably the section which appears in the *Itinerarium* with a distance of 53 miles. It corresponded perhaps to the modern route by way of the Çarpacık Pass (2960 ft.) and the village of Tekkeler; see Murray *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 66, where the distance from Kemer (Burhaniye, near Adramyttium) to Pergamum is estimated at 14 hrs., and Philippson I p. 85f. From Adramyttium roads led

eastward through Pericharaxis to the plain of Balıkesir (see below note 20) and northeastward to Cyzicus; the latter, according to the *Tabula* (K. Miller, 714), ran through Argiza (Balya Pazarköy on the upper Aesepus), where there are ruins of a road-castle, and *Phemenio* (perhaps Poemanenum); see Wiegand in *AM.* xxix (1904), p. 337 and Philippson I p. 43. The great coast road, however, led southwest from Adramyttium. *Coriphanium* on the *Tabula* was evidently Coryphantis, mentioned in Strabo xiii p. 607 (*Coryphas oppidum* in Pliny *N.H.* v 122), probably on a site about five miles southwest of Gömec (see Leaf, p. 266f.) and so about 15 miles from Adramyttium. Near Gömec a milestone (*C.I.L.* iii 469) was found with an inscription of Constantine. From here, the road, leaving the coast to avoid the promontory of Ayvalık, led due south. *Elatia* was perhaps Heracleia (see Strabo *l.c.* and Schuchhardt in *AM.* xxiv [1899], p. 146) and *Attalia* was perhaps Attaea (see Strabo *l.c.*: *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 15f.: *O.G.I.* 335, l. 105) but more probably Atarneus, a powerful fortress in the Hellenistic period, usually placed about three miles northeast of Dikili; see Herodotus I 160 and VII 42: Xenophon *Hell.* III 2, 11 and *Anab.* VII 8, 8: Diodorus XIII 65, 4: Strabo *l.c.*: Schuchhardt *l.c.* and *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 119f.: Leaf, p. 327. Between Dikili and Pergamum, some eight miles east of the former and about ten miles from the latter, a milestone erected by Manius Aquilius in 129 B.C. (see Chap. VI note 40) records a distance of 131 Roman miles; see *C.I.L.* I^2 647=III 6093=7183=*I.G.R.* IV 264=Dessau 27. This distance (=193.6 km.), as Gren pointed out (p. 46), closely approximates that from Ephesus to Pergamum—109 km. by the modern railway from Ephesus *via* Smyrna to Menemen and 82 km. by the path which follows the ancient road from Menemen to Pergamum, see Baedeker *Konstantinopel u. Kleinasien*^{2}, pp. 346, 354 and 373. Since, however, the distance from Ephesus to the present position of the milestone is somewhat shorter than that between Ephesus and Pergamum, the stone has presumably been moved from its original site. Farther south, near Elaea, the port of Pergamum at the mouth of the Caïcus (see Chap. I note 18), the road in Roman times crossed the river by a bridge, the lowest parts of whose piers show workmanship of the second century after Christ; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 30: Philippson I p. 96: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 114f. A road from Elaea to Pergamum appears on the *Tabula* with a distance of 16 miles, apparently slightly underestimated. Milestones nos. III and VI, found, respectively, about 3 and 5½ miles northeast of Elaea, from which the mileage was evidently reckoned (*I.G.R.* IV 1172 and *C.I.L.* III 14201^5 of Diocletian and Licinianus), were probably on this road. A fragment bearing only the letters *M.P.* XVI (A.M. xxiv [1899], p. 209, no. 28), found not more than three miles north of the second of these stones, has presumably been moved from its original position. This road crossed the Caïcus by a bridge, either directly south of Pergamum or farther down the river at Eğrigöl; see von Diest *ibid.* p. 29f. From Elaea the main coast road continued southward through Gryneium with a famous temple of Apollo (see Strabo XIII p. 622 and Chap. III note 126) to Myrina, where, in Roman times, it crossed the Pythicus (Koca Çay) by a bridge; see Sayce is *J.H.S.* III (1882), p. 222f.

On this section of the road (rather than on the road from Elaea to Pergamum) was milestone no. III (evidently reckoned from Elaea) of Aquilius; see *C.I.L.* I² 648 = III 7184 = *I.G.R.* IV 270. Other milestones from it bear inscriptions of Vespasian and Gordian; see Baltazzi in *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 374, nos. 30 and 31 = *I.G.R.* IV 267 and 269 (= 1175). The stone of Vespasian is inscribed *ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου* [.] *πή*, a number which is far too small for the present position. The suggestion of Ramsay in *J.H.S.* II p. 47 and *H.G.* p. 166 that the number is a misreading for *φη΄* was rejected by Baltazzi, who asserted that *πη΄* was actually on the stone, which, therefore, unless an error was made by the stone-cutter, must (despite Ramsay's objection) have been moved for a long distance. South of Myrina, roads ran up the Pythicus, one to Aegae high up in the mountains, whence two routes, part of the pavement of which is visible, led over into the plain of the Hermus, the other past an ancient stronghold with Cyclopean walls (at Uzun Asarlık) and through a depression north of the Dumanlı Dağ to the Hermus near Magnesia ad Sipylum; see Sayce *ibid.* p. 220f.: von Diest *ibid.* pp. 25 and 32f.: Philippson II p. 7. The main road continued southward to Cyme and thence over an imperceptible watershed (Philippson II p. 5) and far to the west of Temnus (Gürece on the southeastern slopes of the Dumanlı Dağ, see Keil in *R.E.* V A 461 and Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII [1933], p. 497f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 90) to the deltaic plain of the lower Hermus near the modern Menemen; for this section see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* II p. 47f. Running through the plain west of Mt. Sipylus, it led around the end of the gulf to Smyrna. Near Bornova (Burnabat) at the end of the gulf a milestone of Claudius has been found, numbered *XXXX . . . ab Eph*[*eso*] (*C.I.L.* III 476), which shows that this was the course of the road. This renders improbable a suggestion of Ramsay (*J.H.S.* II p. 53) that a milestone of Diocletian inscribed *ἀπὸ Σμύρνης μ. η΄* (*m. VII* in Latin) found at Menemen (*C.I.L.* III 6095 = 7201-2 = *I.G.R.* IV 1385) shows that the road ran only to the shore of the gulf (perhaps ten miles from Menemen) and that transportation was made from here to Smyrna by water. It is true that the distance from Menemen to Smyrna (32 km. by rail) is much greater than the number which appears on the milestone, but it seems much more probable that the stone has been moved than that the distance *ἀπὸ Σμύρνης* was reckoned from the northern shore of the gulf instead of from the city.

The road from Smyrna to Ephesus, as described in Strabo XIV pp. 632 and 663 (from Artemidorus), with a total length of 320 stades (somewhat less than the actual distance of about 45 miles, see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 165), appears on the *Tabula*, with the stations Metropolis, Anagome, Ephesus and a branch-road from Anagome to Hypaepa (near Ödemiş on the northern side of the valley of the Caÿster). As the site of Anagome (corrected to *Αὐλίου Κώμη* by Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 216), Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 167) and Buresch (p. 215f.) suggested Koz Pınar, about nine miles northeast of Ephesus. Two milestones of Vespasian recording the repair of this road were found together near Seydiköy, about eight miles south of Smyrna (*C.I.L.* III 7203 [= *I.G.R.* IV 1486] and 7204); and a milestone, probably of Domitian, found at Torbalı, northeast of Metropolis (*I.G.R.* IV 1598),

also recording repairs, although connected by Keil and von Premerstein (III p. 111) with a branch to Hypaepa, may have belonged to the main road. At or near Metropolis was also found a milestone with an inscription of Diocletian, which was read in *I.G.R.* IV 1596 as *ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου α′ μ(ίλιον)* but appears in the original copy (M.κ.B. II$^{2-3}$ [1876-8], p. 94, no. σϘ′) without a numeral. If the reading of the numeral is correct, the stone is evidently far from its original place. At Koz Pınar a milestone, no. XI, evidently from Ephesus, bears inscriptions of Constantine and Jovian (*C.I.L.* III 14201^{10} = 14405). The branch-road which led from here up the Caÿster valley and probably to Hypaepa (see above) was guarded by a stronghold, showing workmanship of all periods, at Kadife (Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 187f.); and a milestone of Aquilius, no. XXIV (from Ephesus), found at Tire (*C.I.L.* I^2 651 = III 14202^4 = Dessau 5814), shows that the road was rebuilt by him. Between Koz Pınar and Ephesus, at Belevi, a stone of Diocletian was found, inscribed *ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου μί(λια) η′*; see *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 205, no. 11. In addition to this main road, there was, in Roman times at least, a more circuitous route leading from Smyrna to Ephesus through the cities of the Ionian coast. The stations, as shown on the *Tabula* (K. Miller *ibid.* 700f.), were Smyrna, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus. A milestone, no. IX *ἀπὸ Τέω*, with inscriptions of Diocletian and Arcadius at Urla near Clazomenae and some remains of ancient paving between Clazomenae and Teos (*R. Phil.* XXVIII [1904], pp. 70f. [= *I.G.R.* IV 1553] and 74) and another milestone of Diocletian, which, although the numeral is obliterated, was numbered from Teos, between Urla and Seferihisar (*I.G.R.* IV 1552), show that the road led along the southern shore of the Gulf of Smyrna to Clazomenae. From here it ran southward to Teos, near which a milestone of Diocletian, no. I *ἀπὸ Τέω*, was found (*S.E.G.* II 585). A fragment of another milestone of the time of Diocletian, but without a numeral (*I.G.R.* IV 1583), was found at Lebedus. From Lebedus the road led eastward to Colophon and from there southeastward to Ephesus through the mountain-region of the Alaman Dağ, perhaps by a route through the Alaman Boğaz, much used in modern times before the construction of the railway (see Philippson II p. 50f.), but possibly by a route farther to the west, where Philippson's map shows the remains of two watch-towers. From Ephesus, according to the *Tabula* (K. Miller *ibid.* 704), a road led to Miletus by way of *Lince*; but as neither the correct form of the name of this place nor its situation can be determined, the course of this road is unknown. A milestone numbered III, with inscriptions of Diocletian and Constantine, found at Sakızburun about five miles southeast of Miletus (*C.I.L.* III 14404 and 14404^a), may have come from this road. From Miletus a road led to Iasus (near which is milestone no. *α′*, see *B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 614f., no. 14) through Didyma and over the spurs of Mt. Grion, where there are remains of ancient watch-towers; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 267f. The *Tabula* shows also a route from Miletus to Loryma *via* Myndus and Cnidus. As only the ends of the peninsulas are mentioned and the distances recorded cannot be made to fit the long circuit which a road

by land would involve, this route, as K. Miller observed (*ibid.* 705), was evidently by sea.

The main route to the south, which may be regarded as the continuation of the coast road from the Hellespont, diverged from the Southern Highway at Tralles whence, crossing the Maeander, it led along the Marsyas through central Caria. This road does not appear on the *Tabula*, but, according to the brief statement in Strabo XIV p. 663 (from Artemidorus), it ran through Alabanda and Lagina to Physcus on the Strait of Marmaris with a total distance from Tralles to Physcus of 1260 stades (about 151 Roman miles), a number, however, which cannot be regarded as accurate, since the distance from Tralles to the Maeander, reckoned at 80 stades, is greatly overestimated. Its course seems to have been through Alabanda, Lagina (see Chap. V note 34), Stratoniceia and Pisye (or perhaps farther east through Mobolla) to Idyma at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cos, whence it led over a pass in the mountains to Physcus; see Philippson v pp. 39, 65 and 87 and von Diest *ibid.* p. 223. A milestone marked *ἀπ' Ἀλαβάνδων μί(λια) ε'* with inscriptions of Diocletian and later emperors was found five miles from Alabanda (*C.I.L.* III 480-1). South of Alabanda the road perhaps ran through Hasanlar, where there are remains of an ancient tower, and the plain of Akça Ova (see Philippson v p. 17 and Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LX [1936], p. 300) and thence over the mountains to Lagina. Another route led toward the southeast above the gorge of the Marsyas; on the left bank of the river there are remains of ancient buildings, including a watch-tower, and of a bridge crossing to the right bank; see von Diest *ibid.* p. 219 and Briot in *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 546. This road, however, may have been a branch leading eastward to Hyllarima; see Laumonier *ibid.* p. 286. Beyond Lagina, on the road to Stratoniceia, were found two milestones, recording the repair of the roads in A.D. 202, one numbered II, evidently reckoned from Stratoniceia, the other without a number; see *C.I.L.* III 12271 and 12272, corrected in *R. Phil.* XX (1896), p. 62f.

20. There seem to have been two routes leading from Cyzicus to the valley of the Caïcus; see Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 335f., Broughton, p. 863 and Gren *ibid.* p. 49f. Of these, the more easterly, and probably the more important, ran southeastward from Cyzicus; see Munro and Anthony in *Geogr. Journ.* IX (1897), p. 162f. and Hasluck *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910), p. 131f. Leading along the eastern side of the Manyas Gölü, it crossed the Debleki Çay, an affluent of the lake, by a bridge near which are road-markers with inscriptions of Severus and later emperors; see Wiegand, p. 296f.: Philippson I p. 46: Hasluck, p. 132: *I.G.R.* IV 132: *C.I.L.* III 13686. Continuing toward the southeast, it reached the river Macestus, and somewhere in this region it was joined by a road from Miletopolis, the course of which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 713) as Appollonia (*i.e.* Apollonia ad Rhyndacum) XX Mileopoli XXXIII Hadrianuteba (*i.e.* Hadrianotherae, see below) VIII Pergamo, obviously with the omission of several stations. Leading up the left bank of the Macestus, the road passed

the site of the modern town of Susurluk, in the neighbourhood of which—perhaps at the Roman bridge somewhat farther south—a branch-road ran southward high above the Macestus by way of the modern Bigadiç to Thyateira; see Philippson I p. 58 and III pp. 3f. and 67 and Wiegand *ibid.* pp. 300f. and 311f. and, for the Byzantine stronghold Achyraus at Bigadiç, pp. 317 and 337. The road to the Caïcus valley, however, turning to the southwest, led over the hills above the left bank of a tributary of the Macestus, where Munro and Anthony saw stretches of ancient pavement, and through the pass of Demirkapı to the broad plain of Balıkesir, in which the city of Hadrianotherae was afterward founded (see Chap. XXVI note 20). This was an important road-centre; see Munro and Anthony, p. 165: Philippson I p. 57: Hasluck, p. 88f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 863. A road running westward through western Mysia led by way of the silver-mines at Pericharaxis (see below note 28) to Adramyttium (Wiegand, p. 337); there seems also to have been a route, corresponding to that of the modern railway, which led to the southwest across the mountains by way of Giresun to Apollonia in the plain of the central Caïcus; see Philippson I p. 78f. and, for Apollonia, Chap. V note 13. The main route, however, continuing southward from the plain of Balıkesir crossed a pass (about 1600 ft.) near the headwaters of the Gelenbe Çay and descended along the course of this stream—the ancient bridges over which may still be seen—to Stratoniceia at the northeastern corner of the broad plain of Kırkağaç; see Philippson I p. 64f. and von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 17f. and, for Stratoniceia, Chap. V note 12. At the northwestern corner of this plain were the pools, formed by springs, which were regarded as the sources of the Caïcus; see Strabo XII p. 572 and XIII p. 616; Philippson I p. 64: von Diest *ibid.* p. 18. Northwest of these pools, the modern road to Pergamum follows the Caïcus through a narrow pass between projecting mountain-spurs. The place, therefore, is of great strategic importance, for it is the natural position for the defence of Pergamum against an enemy coming from the East. For the battle fought here by Attalus I against the Galatians see Chap. I note 20.

The second route from Cyzicus to Pergamum, more direct but perhaps more difficult, led west of the Manyas Gölü, following the general course of the Tarsius to Pericharaxis; see Hasluck, p. 138f. A Roman bridge and the remains of a small fort about an hour's distance northeast of Pericharaxis mark the course of the road; see Wiegand, p. 269f.: Philippson I p. 36: Hasluck, p. 114. South of Pericharaxis the road, passing the Hellenistic fortifications at Dumaniç (Wiegand, pp. 300 and 336) and the site of the modern town of Ivrindi at the headwaters of the Tarsius, followed the course of the Kınık Çay to the pass of Örkütler (1880 ft.) leading over the Akmaz Dağ, whence it descended by way of the hot springs near Paşaköy (with a Roman bath and an ancient bridge) to Pergamum; see Philippson I p. 81f.

From the Plain of Kırkağaç, the main road, leading toward the south, crossed the watershed between the basins of the Caïcus and the Phrygius (Hyllus) to Thyateira; see von Diest *ibid.* p. 19: Philippson I p. 70f. Its course from Pergamum and Germe (perhaps near Soma, see Chap. V note 13) to Laodiceia ad Lycum appears in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (335f.) as

follows: Pergamo XXV Germe XXXIII Thyatira XXXVI Sardis XXVIII Philadelphia XXXIII Tripoli XII Hierapoli VI Laudicia. In the town of Kırkağaç (on the western edge of the Plain) are milestones (without numerals) of Severus and Tacitus (erected by the people of Acrasus) and the sons of Constantine; see *C.I.L.* III 7190 = *I.G.R.* IV 1163 and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 480, no. 61. Milestones no. III and VI from Thyateira, erected by the city, were found at Yaya Köy, some ten miles northwest of Thyateira and so evidently not in situ (*I.G.R.* IV 1165 and 1166). Several milestones numbered I (α′) are now at or near Thyateira, which "repaired the roads," presumably marking the roads leading both northward and southward; see *C.I.L.* III 7191-7195 = *I.G.R.* IV 1194 and 1206 and Keil-Premerstein II no. 35 = *I.G.R.* IV 1208, bearing inscriptions of Domitian, Nerva, Elagabalus and Diocletian, and *C.I.L.* III 470 = *I.G.R.* IV 1193, an unnumbered milestone of Vespasian. South of Thyateira, the road ran through Kenas, where milestones III and IV, of Licinius and Gordian respectively, were found (see Keil-Premerstein I p. 52 and nos. 103 [= *I.G.R.* IV 1315] and 104), and a short distance farther south was a milestone (without number) of the sons of Constantine (*C.I.L.* III 7196). A stone erected by Thyateira under the emperors Carus and Carinus (Keil-Premerstein I no. 121 = *I.G.R.* IV 1305) found at Bey Ova, near Hierocaesareia, was perhaps also from this road, but, if so, it has been removed some distance from its original position. Continuing toward the south, the road passed Marmara and the western end of the marshy Marmara Göl (Coloë) and through a rocky defile to the Hermus; milestones found in this section are Keil-Premerstein I no. 132 (Constantine and Licinius): *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 325f., no. 17 (Gratian): *Ins. Sardis* 84 = *I.G.R.* IV 1751, no. VII from Sardis (Diocletian). Crossing the Hermus, the road reached Sardis. From Sardis it led eastward along the south bank of the Hermus on the line of the ancient Royal Road (see note 17) toward the junction of the river with the Cogamis. Turning here to the southeast, it led up the valley of this stream past Philadelpheia and the modern Inegöl and across the mountains to the Maeander; see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 206f. and Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 81f. (both of whom traversed it from south to north): Sarre *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 5f.: Philippson IV pp. 36f. and 53: Keil-Premerstein III pp. 15f. and 51f. For the march of Xerxes over this road see above note 18; the site of Callatebus, through which the King passed, tentatively placed by Anderson southeast of Inegöl, was somewhere in the upper Cogamis valley; see Keil-Premerstein p. 17. The attempt of Anderson to correct the confused section of the road in the *Tabula Peutingeriana, Philadelfia XXXIII Tripoli XII Hierapoli XV Trallis XXVIII Socratu* (see above note 18), so bringing in Tralla (known only from Hierocles 670, 3 and the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*), which he placed at Derbent Kalesi near the pass (see below), is not wholly convincing (see Keil-Premerstein p. 53). Near the headwaters of the Cogamis the road crossed the range of Mt. Messogis and descended to Tripolis on the Maeander. A milestone, no. XI *a Tripolis* (*sic*), of an emperor whose name ended -ianus was found by Anderson (p. 86, no. 23 = *C.I.L.* III 14201[4]) some five miles below the pass and some ancient pavement was seen by Keil and von Premerstein

(p. 52). At Tripolis the road crossed the Maeander, and leading thence across the Plain of Hierapolis, it crossed the Lycus by a bridge, the remains of which were described by Anderson (p. 89f.), to Laodiceia, where it joined the Southern Highway.

21. The road from Nicaea in Bithynia, connected by a route with the port of Cius on the Propontis (see Chap. XIII note 14), to Dorylaeum in Phrygia (see Chap. V note 36) appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 687f.) with an intervening station called Agrillum. For its importance see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 199f. and Gren *ibid.* p. 54. From Nicaea it seems to have led eastward across the Sangarius, where it turned to the south, running up the eastern side of the river and crossing by a bridge to the Kara Su, up which it led in a course parallel to that of the modern railway; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* cxxv (1898), p. 18f., who recorded stretches of pavement on the right bank of the Sangarius southeast of Lefke (Osmaneli), both below and above the gorge at Paşalar, and the remains of a bridge across the river. Near Bilecik, farther south (23 miles by rail from Lefke), are the remains of an ancient town, which was perhaps Agrillum; see von Diest, p. 21. Continuing southward, the road passed through Lamunia (Bozüyük) in a small but fertile plain (see Philippson III p. 92), where there are remains of ancient road-pavement and an inscription of the Roman period, giving the name of the place; see *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 2f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XII 594. Thence it led over the low watershed (about 3000 ft. above sea-level), to the headwaters of the Sarı Su (probably the ancient Bathys, see Ruge in *R.E.* III 139) in the plain around Inönü; see Philippson III pp. 92f. and 102. Here the road seems to have been joined by a route from Prusa in Bithynia (see Chap. XIII note 17). From Inönü the road led southeastward along the Sarı Su to Dorylaeum, standing on high ground near the junction of this stream with the Tembris in northern Phrygia Epictetus (see Chap. I note 56). From here a road led toward the east along the lower Tembris by way of Midaeum to Ancyra in Galatia; see Ramsay in *H.G.* p. 237f. and Chap. XIX note 9. From Midaeum there was a road to the southeast to Amorium with intervening stations which appear on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as Tricomia, Pessinus and Abrostola; see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 239: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 309f.: K. Miller 688f. and 691. For Pessinus (at Balhısar) see Chap. I note 71. The site of Tricomia (also in Ptolemy V 2, 17), sometimes placed at Kaymaz, is uncertain; see Ruge in *R.E.* VII A 152. Abrostola (known also from Ptolemy V 2, 17, where it is listed next to Amorium) appears a second time on the *Tabula* on a road from Amorium to Congustus (somewhere west of Lake Tatta, see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1312). The double mention of the place suggests that it was the point of divergence of roads leading from Pessinus perhaps to Amorium and Archelais (southeast of Lake Tatta), perhaps to Amorium and Dorylaeum; its site (undetermined) has been placed at Veledler on the right bank of the Sangarius south southwest of Pessinus or somewhat farther north; see Anderson *l.c.* and Körte in *A.M.* XXV (1900), p. 436. Another road seems to have led directly from Dorylaeum to Amorium;

see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 198. With this, Körte connected a milestone of Trebonianus Gallus (no. XII, perhaps from Dorylaeum) found on another Sarı Su some twenty miles southeast of Eskişehir (*A.M.* xxv p. 435, no. 59 = *I.G.R.* IV 534). A milestone of Severus (*C.I.L.* III 14199[9]) found at a village called Manahos, some fifteen miles northwest of Amorium, may have come either from this road or from a route leading from Amorium to Nacoleia (see Chap. V note 36).

Dorylaeum was also directly connected with Nacoleia (a distance of about 25 miles) by a road which appears on the *Tabula* (K. Miller, 720f.); see von Diest *ibid.* p. 39f. From Nacoleia there seems to have been a road leading westward to Cotiaeium (see below); remains of pavement near Damlar, south of the Türkmen Dağ (east of Cotiaeium) were reported by von Diest (p. 25). The road from Dorylaeum, however, led onward from Nacoleia to southwestern Phrygia; it appears on the *Tabula* (K. Miller, 723) with the stations Conna, Eucarpia, Eumeneia, Peltae; see Ramsay *H.G.* pp. 49 and 168f. and *C.B.* I p. 240 and Philippson IV p. 84f. Ramsay listed the stations as Nacoleia, Meros, Metropolis, Conna (perhaps Akviran, north northwest of Afyon Karahisar, see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1318), Cidyessus (in the Sincanlı Ova, see above note 17), Bruzus (near Kara Sandıklı, see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 683 and *I.G.R.* IV 681), Hieropolis (Koçhisar, west of Sandıklı, see *R.E.* VIII 1588), Eucarpia (probably at Kılandıraz or Emirhisar, see *R.E.* VI 995), Eumeneia (Işıklı, see Chap. V note 21), Peltae (somewhere in the great plain at the junction of the Maeander and the Glaucus southwest of Eumeneia, see *R.E.* XIX 401f.). Near Hieropolis, perhaps, a branch-road diverged to the south, leading directly to Apameia. But Meros (Meiros), probably at (Geriz) Malatyası (southeast of Kütahya, see *R.E.* XV 359), was too far north to be on the line of this road, and since it is impossible definitely to determine the site of Metropolis (*R.E.* XV 1496), it cannot with any certainty be placed on this road. The road, accordingly, led southeast from Nacoleia along the upper Parthenius and probably through the plain of Kümbet, near the headwaters of the river, where an inscription of the time of Gallienus (*I.G.R.* IV 592) mentions the *demos* of Nacoleia. Between Conna and Cidyessus it crossed the route leading down the valley of the Phrygian Caÿster (see above note 17). The junction was perhaps near the hot springs of Küçük Hamam, which was connected by a road, perhaps from Cotiaeium, with Prymnessus (see above note 18); see *C.I.L.* III 14200[1] (*a Prymnesso Aquis Ger.*) and Chap. XXIV note 12. A milestone with inscriptions of Carus (?) and Diocletian erected by the city of Hieropolis (*C.I.L.* III 7173 = *I.G.R.* IV 695) has been found near Koçhisar, and a stone of Decius (no. IV, evidently from Eumeneia, *I.G.R.* IV 771 = *J.R.S.* XVI [1926], p. 64, no. 184) at Balçık Hısar, south of Eumeneia. At Apameia the road joined the Southern Highway.

From Dorylaeum still another road led toward the southwest, following in general the course of the upper Tembris, to Cotiaeium and western Phrygia Epictetus (see Chap. V note 36). On the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller, 720) its stations appear as Dorylaeum, Cocleum (?), Acmonia, Aludda, Clanudda, Philadelpheia; see Ramsay *H.G.* pp. 54 and 168: von

Deist in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 48f.: Radet in *Nouv. Arch. d. Missions Scient.* VI (1895), p. 521f.: Philippson IV p. 84. The road seems to have led up the left bank of the Tembris, which it crossed by a bridge of late Roman workmanship (at Kalburcu, reported by von Diest, p. 51), crossing the river again by a bridge near Cotiaeium (von Diest, p. 50). A milestone of Severus inscribed *a Dorylaeo C[o]tia . . .* (*C.I.L.* III 7168), found at Muttalip, north of Dorylaeum (see *M.A.M.A.* V p. xvii), belonged to this section but has obviously been moved. From Cotiaeium this road ran southward, probably following the gorge of the upper Tembris and crossing the northern part of the plain of Altıntaş to Appia (Abiye, west of the plain, see Hirschfeld in *R.E.* II 214f. and Anderson in Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 186f.); see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887) p. 515 and *H.G.* p. 146: Philippson III p. 117f., where there is mention of a partly ancient bridge over a tributary of the Tembris. A milestone of Diocletian (no. ι[γ′] from Appia) has been found at Haydarlar, on the Tembris north of Appia, and there are milestones of Diocletian (no. VI from Appia) and Severus (with lost numeral) at Gökçeler, somewhat farther south; see *I.G.R.* IV 599-601. From Appia this road led in a generally southwesterly direction, presumably through the great natural gateway near Dumlupınar (see above note 17), to Acmonia (see Chap. V note 36). A milestone inscribed *ια′* (*C.I.L.* III 7170), five miles northeast of Islam Köy (see above note 17), perhaps belongs to this section of the road. This section may have passed through Siocharax, whose site is uncertain (see Ruge in *R.E.* III A 261); it was supposed to be Ὧρακα (known from *Not. Episc.* X 432 and XIII 282) by Zingerle in *Klio* XXI (1927), p. 425f., who pointed out that the collector of the epigrams *Anth. Pal.* VII 330-332, placed by the *Corrector* (Didot, p. 454f.) at Dorylaeum, Ὧρακα and Acmonia, respectively, evidently followed this road. For some distance this section may have coincided with the road leading up the Hermus valley through eastern Lydia (the Royal Road, see above note 17), but, in any case, it soon diverged to the south to Aludda and Clanudda. Aludda (known from Ptolemy V 2, 13) was placed by Ramsay (*J.H.S.* IV [1883], p. 414, *H.G.* p. 138 and *C.B.* I p. 586f.), followed by Hirschfeld in *R.E.* I 1709, at Hacımlar in the Banaz Ova, but by Radet (*ibid.* p. 522f.) at Hisar, between Acmonia and Hacımlar. Clanudda (known from its coins inscribed Κλαννουδέων, see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 650) was placed by Ramsay at Beyşehir (*J.H.S. l.c.*) or near Inav (*H.G.* p. 127), by Radet (p. 525f.) at Kalınkilise (west of Hacımlar), and by Buresch (*Aus Lydien*, p. 202f.) followed by Philippson (IV p. 84) at the ruins of Hacet Kalesi on the Kışla Dağ, about five miles south of Beyşehir; the actual site was regarded as uncertain by Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 589 and Keil-Premerstein III p. 50. It may in any case be assumed that both were south of the line of the Royal Road. At Philadelpheia there was a connexion with the great route which led up the Cogamis and across the mountains to the Maeander (see above note 20).

22. See Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 365f. It may be questioned, however, whether the author is justified in inferring from Homer's men-

tion of horses at Abydus (*Iliad* IV 500) and Alexander's stock-farms near Mt. Ida (Plutarch *Eum.* 8) that the Pergamene kings raised horses in the Troad.

23. Strabo XII pp. 572 and 574: Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 2, 5: Cuinet *Turquie* IV pp. 95 and 257: Philippson III p. 64f.: G. B. Ravndal *Turkey, a Commercial and Industrial Handbook* (Washington 1926), p. 121. According to Theophrastus V 2, 1, the wood from the valley of the Rhyndacus was used for carpentering purposes and ranked immediately after the Macedonian and Pontic. For the region called Πίτυα see Strabo XIII p. 588. According to Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 87, the pine-tree is "still to be seen, though not in abundance."

24. Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 8, 2 and 9, 1: Pliny *N.H.* XVI 48: Cuinet *Turquie* III p. 705f. For the vallonia-oak, the acorn-cups of which are used in tanning, found along the coast of the southern Troad see Leaf *ibid.* p. xx and Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 102. Somewhere, probably on the northeastern end of the range of Mt. Ida, perhaps on the watershed between the Scamander and the Aesepus, was the giant pine described by Strabo (XIII p. 603) on the authority of Attalus I and said to be 180 stades north of Adramyttium. A fir-tree regularly appears on the coins of Scepsis, northwest of Mt. Ida; see *B. M. Cat. Troas*, p. 80f.

25. Strabo XIII p. 606. Fleets were built at the neighbouring Antandrus by fugitive Lesbians in 424 and by Pharnabazus in 411/0 B.C.; see Thucydides IV 52, 3 and Xenophon *Hell.* I 1, 25. Aeneas also is represented as having built a fleet here after his flight from Troy; see Vergil *Aen.* III 5f. For walnut-wood at Antandrus see Pliny *N.H.* XVI 223. According to Leaf *ibid.* p. 265, a trade in timber is still carried on here.

26. They are placed at Cremaste in Xenophon *Hell.* IV 8, 37 and at Astyra in Strabo XIII p. 591 and XIV p. 680. There are remains of ancient gold-mines in this neighbourhood, which have been reopened in modern times, but the statement of Strabo that these mines were exhausted in his day seems to be borne out by the lack of success attending the venture; see Calvert quoted in *R.A.* XIV (1889), p. 126: Judeich in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 532f.: Cuinet *Turquie* III pp. 704 and 708f.: Leaf *ibid.* p. 134.

27. Strabo XIII p. 603. The mines were identified with those at Karaaydın by Fabricius in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1894, p. 904 and by Leaf in *B.S.A.* XXII (1916-18), p. 30 and *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 212. See also Philippson I p. 38 and Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 151.

28. Galen *de Simpl. Med. Temp.* IX 3, 22 (vol. XII p. 230 Kühn), where it is called Ergasteria (*i.e.* "Works"). Pericharaxis has been identified with the modern Balya Maden by means of an inscription of the Roman imperial period in which its "Council and People" conferred honours on a citizen;

see *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 541 = *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 236f. = *A.E.M.* XVIII (1895), p. 228f. Another inscription, erected by a Περιχαραξεῖτις, has been found at Balıkesir (Hadrianotherae) farther east; see *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 269. Coins of the Roman period from 133 B.C. to the time of Augustus, found at Balya Maden, show that the mines were exploited by the Romans (*A.M.* XXIX p. 271f.), and it is probable that they were also used by the kings of Pergamum. The income from certain ἐργαστήρια was granted by one of the Pergamene monarchs to a priest, with the provision that he was to lease them out (*Ins. Perg.* 40 = *Syll.*[3] 1018), but whether these were the mines at Pericharaxis is not known. The town was on one of the roads which led from Cyzicus to Pergamum (see above note 20). For the modern mining-operations, producing both silver and lead, see Cuinet *Turquie* IV p. 17f.: Philippson I p. 34f.: Ravndal *Turkey*, pp. 149 and 151.

29. Strabo XIII 610, apparently taken from Theopompus, who, together with Strabo, is cited as an authority for the description of the process by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀνδειρα. Remains of ancient mines in this neighbourhood (in the mountains south of the Scamander and east of Cebren) were mentioned by J. T. Clarke in *A.J.A.* IV (1888), p. 317, note 76, but the nature of the mineral produced was not specified. The accuracy of Strabo's description of the smelting-process of zinc and, in fact, the acquaintance of the Ancients with metallic zinc have been frequently questioned; see H. Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* III p. 96f. It was shown, however, by Leaf in *B.S.A.* XXI (1914-15), p. 22f. and *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 287f. that the burning of ore, as described by Strabo, yields zinc oxide, as well as iron oxide also (for iron in Mt. Ida see Diodorus XVII 7, 5), and that the certain "earth" with which the former was heated in a crucible was probably lignite coal; the process would yield a certain amount of metallic zinc (ψευδαργύριον), although doubtless much of the liquefied metal, on contact with the air, would again become zinc oxide. Lignite coal, now used at Balya Maden, is found at Mancılık on the Orhanlar Çay, a tributary of the Kara Dere Su (Koca Çay); see Philippson I p. 39 and Ravndal, p. 135. Zinc in the form of calamine was found by Philippson (I pp. 36 and 38) in the ancient mines at Argyria and Pericharaxis.

30. For deposits of copper with "tailings of ancient workings" at Kilise Alan north of Mt. Ida see Ravndal, p. 140. For a mine in the interior back of Cisthene (on the Aegean coast) see Strabo XIII p. 607. For its situation north of Pergamum and its reopening in modern times see Schuchhardt in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1887, p. 1207 and *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 71. The valuable deposits of chrome in the region around Harmancik near the eastern border of Mysia (see Ravndal, p. 146f.) were presumably unknown to the Ancients.

31. Alexander Polyhistor quoted by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ἄσσος = frg. 137 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 239) = frg. 96 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* III p. 218): Pliny *N.H.* II 211 and XXXVI 131f.: Dioscurides V 124 Wellmann: Lucian *Tragoedop.* 162: *Anth. Pal.* XI 296. The stone gave its name to the well-known type of

coffin, great numbers of which were seen at Assus by Leaf (*Strabo on the Troad*, p. 294). The supposed power of the stone to consume the body was explained by Virchow in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Physik.-Math. Kl.* 1884, 2, p. 7f. as perhaps due to a hastening of decay caused by the seeping of moisture through the porous stone, but Leaf doubted whether the hard stone of the coffins had any such quality.

32. Strabo XIII p. 588f.: Pliny *N.H.* V 151: *C.I.G.* 3268, 3282 and 3386 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1464) and *I.B.M.* 1026=*I.G.R.* IV 1465 (coffins from Smyrna). It was used for buildings in Cyzicus, for the palace of Mausollus at Halicarnassus and for a temple at Heracleia Pontica; see Strabo XIII p. 589: Vitruvius II 8, 10: Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 47: Memnon 25, 1: Paulus Silentiarius II 159f. and 250. See also Blümner *Technologie* III p. 36f. and Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 30f., and, for the operation of the quarries in modern times, Cuinet *Turquie* IV p. 281.

33. See Philippson I pp. 48 and 52: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 205f. For the *irinum* from Cyzicus see Pliny *N.H.* XIII 5: Athenaeus XV 38, p. 688 E: Pausanias IV 35, 8. The agricultural character of the region around **Θρᾳκία Κώμη** near Bandırma (see Chap. III note 41 and Chap. XIV note 17) is shown by a dedication to **Ζεὺς Χαλάζιος Σώζων** by the villagers ***ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν***; see *J.H.S.* XXIV (1904), p. 21f., no. 4. It was pointed out by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. IV note 348) that a series of dedications to Zeus Olbios (or **Θεὸς Ὄλβιος**), the peasants' protector, originally from the God's sanctuary at Kavak west of Lake Manyas (Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 58f. and *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 190, no. 8), shows that this also was an agricultural region.

34. Strabo XIII p. 602. The Caresus is described (*ibid.* p. 603) as a tributary of the Aesepus, and the region of Caresene was regarded by Leaf (p. 203) as the whole upper basin of the Granicus together with that of an unnamed stream (a tributary of the Aesepus) which Leaf believed to be the Caresus.

35. Thucydides I 138, 5: Demosthenes Bithynus quoted by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* **Λάμψακος**=frg. 14 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 386): Strabo XIII p. 587. Lampsacus was given by Artaxerxes I of Persia to Themistocles in order to supply him with wine; see Chap. III note 81.

36. The cultivation of vines at Scepsis, northwest of Mt. Ida (see Chap. III note 122), was inferred by Judeich from the appearance of grapes and the head of Dionysus on the coins of the city; see *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert* (Berlin 1898), p. 235. For a variety of small grape (the "currant-grape") and a so-called "fig" (in reality the amelanchier) from Mt. Ida see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 17, 5f.: Pliny *N.H.* XV 68: Athenaeus III 11, p. 77 A-B.

37. Strabo XV p. 735. The rich harvests of the neighbouring Gargara were

proverbial (Vergil *Georg.* I 103, Ovid *Ars Am.* I 57 and Macrobius *Sat.* V 20, 9f.). For the fruit of the region see W. Judeich in *J.O.A.I.* IV (1901), p. 118f.

38. Herodotus I 149. For the fertility of Mysia see also Vergil *Georg.* I 102 and Galen *de Vict. Atten.* 40 (*Corp. Med. Graec.* V 4, 2, p. 439). For the figs from the promontory of Canae, north of the mouth of the Caïcus, see Athenaeus III 9, pp. 75-6. The coast region from Adramyttium southward and also around Elaea is said to be still rich in olives; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 30f.: Philippson I p. 29: Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 100. For the *oenanthinum* (from the *οἰνάνθη* or *vitis silvestris*, see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* V 9, 6 and Pliny *N.H.* XII 132) from Adramyttium see Pliny *N.H.* XIII 5 and Athenaeus XV 38, p. 688-9. For a description of the coast of northern Aeolis see also Philippson I p. 93f.

39. *Iliad* I 366; II 691; VI 397f.; XXII 479f.: Strabo XIII pp. 584f. and 611f.: Livy XXXVII 19, 7. It was said to be the home of Andromache. Its site was probably that of the modern Edremit on the northern edge of the plain; see Leaf *ibid.* p. 322f. and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 1596f. For the plain of Thebe see also Philippson I p. 30f. and Leaf, p. 307. For its sack by Philip V of Macedonia in 201 and by Antiochus III in 190 B.C. see Chap. III note 124.

40. Strabo XIII p. 624. For the grain from the region around Pergamum see Galen *de Alim. Fac.* I 13, 18 (*Corp. Med. Graec.* V 4, 2, p. 239). See also Philippson I p. 98f.

41. See *I.G.* XII 2, 76-80=*I.G.R.* IV 109-113, fragments of land-registers of the Roman imperial period. Olives, as well as apples, pears, pomegranates and figs are mentioned in Longus *Past.* IV 2. For the great numbers of olive-trees in modern times see Bürchner in *R.E.* XII 2118. The land-registers contain entries of *σπόριμος γῆ*, but in early times Lesbos was at least partly dependent for grain on the neighbouring mainland and the valley of the Caïcus and even the Euxine coast; see Herodotus VI 28 and Thucydides III 2, 2. It was probably for this reason that as early as the fifth century the city of Mitylene took possession of some of the neighbouring coast of Aeolis, which it still held in the time of Strabo; see Chap. III note 125.

42. Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 44; XXXVII 141 and 171. The marble is called *κατηφὴς . . . καὶ μέλας* in Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 1, 19. For a *τράπεζα λίθου Λεσβίου* as a votive-offering to Apollo at Smyrna see *Syll.*[3] 996.

43. See O. Davies *Roman Mines in Europe* (Oxford 1935), p. 256.

44. Strabo XIV pp. 637 and 657: Athenaeus I 51f., pp. 28 E-F, 29 C, 30 B, 32 F; II 24, p. 45 E; IV 4, p. 129 D: Plautus *Poen.* 699: Vitruvius VIII 3, 12: Horace *Epod.* 9, 34; *Odes* I 17, 21: Galen *Meth. Med.* XII 4 (vol. X p. 832 Kühn); *de Antid.* I 5 (XIV p. 28 Kühn). For Lesbian wine in Egypt see *Pap. Soc.*

Ital. IV 413, and *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59684, and for its sale on the western side of the Balkan Peninsula see below note 60. It was served by Caesar at a public banquet in 46 B.C. (Pliny *N.H.* XIV 97), and it was recommended by physicians; see Pliny *N.H.* XIV 73: Galen vol. XI p. 604 and XIII p. 405 Kühn. According to Phanias of Eresus, quoted in Athenaeus I 58, p. 32 A = frg. 32 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. 301), a variety called *ἀνθοσμίας* was made by adding sea-water to the juice in the proportion of one part to fifty. *Ἄμπελοι* appear prominently in a list of properties owned by citizens of Mitylene in the third century before Christ (*I.G.* XII 2, 74 = *Syll.*[3] 968), and in the late land-registers (see above note 41) the *ἀμπ(έλων) ἰούγ(ερα)* are always listed first.

45. Pliny *N.H.* XIV 123; XXVI 104. For its use in Egypt see L. C. West in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 52.

46. Herodotus I 93; V 101; VI 125: Strabo XIII pp. 591 and 625f.; XIV p. 680: Athenaeus V 36, p. 203 C: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 66: Dionysius Periegetes *Orb. Descr.* 831f. (*G.G.M.* II p. 155). The statements of the authors are borne out by the discovery, near the Pactolus, of a vein of quartz, which seems to have been worked in Antiquity, and of the remains of a conduit, which may well have served for gold-washing; see Collignon in *C.R.A.I.* 1903, p. 73 and Philippson II p. 72f.

47. An antimony-mine was seen by Philippson (IV p. 43) on the northern side of Mt. Messogis, about nineteen km. southeast of Ödemiş (see also Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 154), which is presumably the mine reported by Gaudin in *Bull. Soc. Antiq. de France* 1900, p. 144f. as at "Çinili Kaya 20 km. from Ödemiş" and containing galleries going back to the Greek period. Gaudin found antimony in amounts varying from 23.1 per cent to 24.9 per cent in three bronze mirrors obtained, respectively, at Philadelpheia, Ephesus and Smyrna. Philippson reported also a closed antimony-mine on the southern side of Mt. Messogis, north of Nazilli (IV p. 41) and another on the northern slope of Mt. Dindymus in northeastern Lydia (III p. 114); see also Ravndal *l.c.* Emery is mined in modern times in the range of Messogis above Tripolis and near Tire, as well as farther west in the Gümuş Dağ west of Magnesia-on-Maeander and in the Alaman Dağ, north of Ephesus; see Philippson IV p. 65 and II pp. 82f., 92f. and 51, and Ravndal, p. 144.

48. Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 58: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 114 and 117: Vitruvius VII 8, 1f.; 9, 4: Philippson IV p. 42. For cinnabar near Manastır at the northern end of the Peninsula of Erythrae see Philippson II p. 40 and Ravndal, p. 152.

49. See *C.I.L.* III 7146 = *L'Antiq. Class.* II (1933), p. 74f. from Tralles, mentioning an [*ἐπίτροπ*]ος *λατομε*[*ίων*] ([procurator lapicaedin]arum), and L.W. 1666 C from the mountain above Mastaura, mentioning *λατόμοι*. The "Lydian" marble, red with yellowish spots, mentioned in Paulus

Silentiarius II 215f., has never been identified. It is impossible to suppose that it was the grayish stone from Teos (see below note 52), as was suggested by Blümner (*Technologie* III p. 51).

50. Strabo XIV p. 645: Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 6f.: Cicero *de Div.* I 23 and II 49: Pliny *N.H.* V 136 and XXXVI 46: Statius *Silv.* II 2, 93; IV 2, 28. It has been identified with the marble now called "Africano," a brilliantly coloured variety with patches of black, white and red, but the identification is very doubtful; see Blümner *Technologie* III p. 51, note 3 and J. H. Middleton *Remains of Ancient Rome* (London 1892) I p. 19. Quarries of rose-coloured marble near the modern town of Kastron (ancient Chios) were reported by Fustel de Coulanges in *Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* V (1856), p. 482 = *Questions Historiques*[2] (Paris 1923), p. 216, and both a bluish-gray marble and a fine red and yellow stone were seen in the island by Teller; see *Denkschr. Wien. Akad., Math. Kl.* XL (1880), pp. 343 and 351f. According to Theophrastus (*l.c.*), the Chian marble was black, and it has been suggested that this was the black variety which, according to Pliny (*N.H.* XXXVI 49f. where the text is corrupt), was brought to Italy by Lucullus; see Bruzza in *Ann. d. Inst.* XLII (1870), p. 143f. As was pointed out, however, by Blümner (III p. 45, note 3), various other emendations of the text are possible.

51. The building-accounts of the Temple at Didyma contain mention of a quarry at Marathe, the marble from which seems to have been brought down to the port of Ioniapolis on the Gulf of Latmus (see Chap. III note 82) and shipped thence to Panormus on the coast near Didyma; see Haussoullier in *Cinquantenaire de l'École prat. d. Hautes Études* (Paris 1921), p. 88f. (= *S.E.G.* II 569) and *R. Phil.* XLIII (1919), p. 212f. and L (1926), pp. 67f. and 84f. Since blocks of marble of which the columns of the Temple were made—white, often with a light gray or bluish tint—have been found at Panormus (Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* II p. 70), Haussoullier observed that this marble may have come from Marathe and not, as previously supposed, from the islands of Corassiae southwest of Samos; see also *Milet* II 2, p. 20. In fact, ancient quarries of marble, light blue and white, have been found on the southwestern corner of Mt. Latmus; see *Milet* III 5, p. 15. This is perhaps the marble from Heracleia mentioned in Vitruvius X 2, 15. The dark marble from Miletus, described by Pliny (*N.H.* XXXVI 62) as *ad purpuram tamen magis aspectu declinante*, must, if the description is correct, be some other variety not otherwise known.

52. Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* LXXIX 2. Blocks have been found at Teos, bearing the names of the Consuls of A.D. 163, 165 and 166, as well as the number of the *locus* worked by the contractor and the name of the freedman to whose charge (*ratio*) the quarrying was committed; see L.W. 112 = *C.I.L.* III 419 and Béquignon in *R.A.* XXVIII (1928), p. 189f. For a θυμιατήριον πέτρας Τηΐας in the temple of Apollo at Smyrna see *Syll.*[3] 996.

53. Strabo XIV p. 645: *J.O.A.I* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 51f., ll. 17f. and 24 (λίθος Φωκαϊκός at Ephesus): *Syll.*[3] 996 (a βωμὸς Φωκαϊκός at Smyrna).

54. Vitruvius VII 7, 4 and Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 37, both referring apparently to the same substance (*creta viridis* or *theodotion*); see Blümner *Technologie* IV p. 474, note 1 and p. 511f.

55. Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 62f. and Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 37. Jars of it were exported to Egypt; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59012, l. 45. Davies (*Roman Mines in Europe*, p. 265) suggested that it was an ore of lead. For the legend that the finder was led to the deposit by a sheep and thereupon dedicated votive-offerings in the Temple of Hera see Aristotle frg. 572 Rose and Ephorus frg. 161 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 276) = frg. 59 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 58).

56. See above p. 36. The farm-lands around Apollonis in the basin of the Phrygius were described by Cicero (*pro Flacco* 71) as *natura perboni et diligentia culturaque meliores*. For the present fertility of the region see Philippson II p. 15f. and for the production of wheat and barley see G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 93.

57. For the figs from Magnesia and Tralles see Polybius XVI 24, 9 = Athenaeus III 15, p. 78 F: Athenaeus III 19, p. 80 C. For the dried figs from Antiocheia-on-Maeander see Strabo XIII p. 630. The Milesian olive-oil which was exported to Egypt (*Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59015, l. 17f.) probably came from the Maeander valley. For the great quantities of figs and olives still grown in the lower Maeander valley, especially around Tralles and Antiocheia, see Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* I pp. 11, 34f. and 119: Philippson II p. 96; IV p. 40; V pp. 14 and 37: Ravndal, pp. 100 and 103: Robert *Ét. Anat.*, p. 416f.

58. Strabo IX p. 440; XIII p. 628; XIV pp. 637 and 650: Vergil *Georg.* II 98: Vitruvius VIII 3, 12: Ovid *Metam.* VI 15: XI 86: Pliny *N.H.* V 110 and XIV 74f.: Galen vol. X p. 835f.; XI p. 604; XIII p. 405; XIV p. 28f. Kühn: *C.I.G.* 4286 = *T.A.M.* II 417 (Τμῶλος ἀμπελόεις). The grapes, apples and pomegranates of Mt. Tmolus are mentioned also by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* IV 5, 4).

59. Strabo XIV p. 637: Varro *Res Rust.* I 7, 6: Athenaeus I 57f., pp. 31 D and 32 B: Pliny *N.H.* XIV 54 and 73f.; XVI 115. For the wine of Colophon in Egypt see L. C. West in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 52 and Wilcken in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* VI (1920), p. 400, note 4. For the raisins now produced around Smyrna see Ravndal, p. 104. For olive-oil at Clazomenae see Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1348 B.

60. Theopompus quoted in Athenaeus I 47, p. 26 B-C = frg. 295 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 328) = frg. 276 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 595): Strabo XIV pp. 637,

645 and 657: Plautus *Curc.* 78; *Poen.* 699: Varro *Res Rust.* II *Praef.* 3: Vergil *Georg.* II 98: Horace *Sat.* I 10, 24; II 3, 115; *Epod.* 9, 34; *Odes* III 19, 5: Pliny *N.H.* XIV 25, 73 and 96: Athenaeus I 51f., pp. 28 E, 29 A and E, 32 F and 33 A: Ausonius *Epist.* XIII (XVIII), 32: Galen vol. X p. 832 and XIII p. 405 Kühn. The best variety came from Ariusia in the northern part of the island. The mention by Theopompus quoted in Strabo VII p. 317 = frg. 129 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 566) of the finding of κέραμός (presumably wine-jars) τε Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος in the river Naro (Neretva) in Dalmatia and the statement in Ps.-Aristotle *De Mir. Auscult.* 104, p. 839 B that there was a market near Mt. Delphium μεταξὺ τῆς Μεντορικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰστριανῆς (*i.e.* in Liburnia, see *R.E.* XV 967) where the merchants from the Euxine sold wine from Lesbos, Chios and Thasos show that these wines were exported to the western side of the Balkan Peninsula; see Francotte in *R.E.* IX 1410 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 120. Chian wine was also exported in large quantities to Egypt in the third century before Christ; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59012, ll. 17 and 22; 59110, l. 29; 59548, l. 43; 59680f.; 59695, l. 2: *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 413, 428, 535 and 862. Like Lesbian, it was served by Caesar at banquets given to the public; see Pliny *N.H.* XIV 97.

61. Pliny *N.H.* XV 68: Varro *Res Rust.* I 41, 6: Athenaeus III 8, p. 75 F: Columella X 414: Martial VII 25, 8; XII 96, 9f. Chian fig-trees were planted in Egypt in the third century before Christ; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59033, l. 12.

62. Pliny *N.H.* XII 72; XXIV 121: Isidorus *Origg.* XIV 6, 30 and XVII 8, 7. For its production in modern times see Fustel de Coulanges in *Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* V (1856), pp. 486f. and 518f. = *Questions Historiques*[2], pp. 221f. and 259 and Philippson II p. 59.

63. Strabo XIV p. 637. For the importation of grain into Samos in the late fourth and the third centuries see *S.E.G.* I 361 and 366. For the purchase by the city in the early second century of grain grown on the lands of Hera at Anaea on the mainland see *Syll.*[3] 976. Samos is described as ἐλαιόφυτος in Aeschylus *Pers.* 884. For the olive-oil see Athenaeus II 74, p. 66 F and Apuleius *Flor.* 15 (Pease in *R.E.* XVII 2002). It was exported to Egypt in the third century; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59015, l. 18f.

64. See B. Büchsenschütz *Die Hauptstätten d. Gewerbefleisses im Kl. Alt.* (Leipzig 1869), p. 64f.: Kroll in *R.E.* XII p. 607: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 817f.: Gren *ibid.* p. 71f.

65. Athenaeus XII 57, p. 540 D. The sheep and goats raised, apparently by the Milesians, on Mt. Mycale are mentioned in *Ins. Priene* 362 (of the first half of the fourth century before Christ). In the third century before Christ there were "Milesian sheep" in Egypt, where their wool was manufactured into textiles; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59142, 59195, 59430.

66. Strabo XII p. 578: *Septuagint, Ezekiel* XXVII 18: Cicero II *Verr.* I 86: Vergil *Georg.* III 306f. and IV 334: Pliny *N.H.* VIII 190 and XXIX 33: Athenaeus XII 17, p. 519 B; 78, p. 553 B; XV 42, p. 691 A: Columella VII 2, 3: Aelian *Nat. Anim.* XVII 34: Martial VIII 28, 10. See also J. Röhlig *Der Handel von Milet* (Hamburg 1933), pp. 22 and 39f. and W. Ennslin in *Phil. Woch.* LV (1935), 861f.

67. Aristophanes *Ran.* 543 and Scholium: Theocritus XV 125f.: Athenaeus I 50, p. 28 B: Horace *Epist.* I 17, 30f.: Plutarch *Alcib.* 23; *de Alex. Fort.* I 8, p. 330 C: Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 823 (*G.G.M.* II p. 362). For the export of textiles from Miletus see *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 616.

68. *Edictum Diocletiani* 24, 6f., p. 39 Blümner: Servius *Comment. in Georg.* III 306.

69. *J.O.A.I.* XII (1909), p. 142f. = XIV (1911), *Beibl.* 52 (from Erythrae rather than Chios). The wool of Erythrae is described by Pliny (*N.H.* VIII 191) and Columella (VII 2, 4) as reddish in colour. For the textiles of Percote and Palaescepsis in the Troad and Gambreium in the fifth century see Athenaeus I 54, p. 29 F.

70. *B.C.H.* XLVI (1922), p. 307f., no. 1 = *S.E.G.* II 579 (for the probable date see Chap. III note 64), mentioning χλάνδια ἢ ἀ[μπέχονα ἐρίνεα] ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐξ ἐρίων Μιλησίων.

71. *R.E.G.* IV (1891), p. 269 = Keil-Premerstein I no. 203, as interpreted by Vollgraff in *Mnem.* XLVII (1919), p. 68f.

72. See the inscriptions of the λανάριοι, Wood *Ephesus* App. VIII no. 4 = *Herm.* VII (1873), p. 31, no. 2, reprinted in *O.G.I.* 510, note 9; the ἐριοπῶλαι, *J.O.A.I.* XXIV (1929), *Beibl.* 31 = *S.E.G.* IV 541; the εἱματιοπῶλαι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πραγματ[ευ]όμενοι, *Ephesos* III p. 146, no. 63.

73. Ovid *Metam.* VI 9: *Expositio Totius Mundi* 47 (Riese *Geogr. Lat. Min.* p. 117).

74. Theocritus XV 125: Athenaeus I 50, p. 28 B; XII 55, p. 539 F: Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 823 (*G.G.M.* II p. 362).

75. Pliny *N.H.* VII 196, where the invention of spindles for wool-weaving is attributed to Closter, the son of Arachne, who, according to the myth as extant in its later, Alexandrian, form, was the daughter of a dyer from Colophon; see Ovid *Metam.* VI 5f. Βάμμα Σαρδιανικόν (perhaps only a trade-name) is mentioned in Aristophanes *Ach.* 112 and Clemens Alexandrinus *Paed.* II 10, 108.

76. Athenaeus XII 8, p. 514 C: Plato Comicus, cited in Athenaeus II 30, p. 48 B.

77. Athenaeus II 30, p. 48 B and VI 67, p. 255 E: Varro, cited in Nonius Marcellus XIV 542 M. Sardian cushions, presumably covered with tapestry, were used in Egypt (*Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59092 and 59609), and a type of chiton was known as "Sardian" (Pollux VII 77).

78. *C.I.G.* 3422=L.W. 648=*I.G.R.* IV 1632 (ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν) and an inscription of a εἱματιοπώλης, *C.I.G.* 3433.

79. *I.G.R.* IV 1252 (λανάριοι). The supposed guild of ἱματευόμενοι in *C.I.G.* 3480=*I.G.R.* IV 1209 has been shown to be [πρα]γματευόμενοι by Robert in *R. Phil.* LV (1929), p. 136. There was also a guild of λανάριοι at Saittae in northeastern Lydia; see Keil-Premerstein II no. 217.

80. *C.I.G.* 3496, 3497 and 3498=*I.G.R.* IV 1250, 1213 (=Dessau 8853) and 1265: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 100, no. 23=M.κ.B. VI (1886), p. 56, no. φμγ′: Keil-Premerstein II, no. 118: *R. Phil.* XXXVII p. 296f., nos. 3 and 4 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1242 and 1239) and 315, no. 10.

81. Lydus *de. Mag.* III 64. "Lydian chitons" (presumably embroidered) appear in a list of sacred articles in the temple of Hera at Samos; see *S.G.D.I.* 5702 (346/5 B.C.).

82. They are described in Pliny *N.H.* VIII 196, where their "invention" is attributed to *Attalus rex* (see also XXXIII 63). Later writers explained the name by the statement that they were found in the palace of Attalus III; see Servius *Comment. in Georg.* III 25 and *Aen.* I 697: Isidorus *Origg.* XIX 26, 8. *Aulaea Attalica* are mentioned in Cicero *II Verr.* IV 27, Propertius II 32, 12 (see also II 13, 22 and IV 5, 24), Valerius Maximus IX 1, 5 and Silius Italicus XIV 659, and *vestes Attalicae* (an article of great luxury) in Propertius III 18, 19 and Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 115 and XXXVII 12 (where they are said to have been carried in the triumphal processions of Scipio and Manlius). It was supposed by Rostovtzeff (*Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 380f. and *C.A.H.* VIII p. 611) that these fabrics were manufactured in Pergamum, but, except for their name, there is no real evidence for this belief. Marquardt pointed out (*Privatleben d. Römer*[2], p. 534f.) that gold-woven fabrics were used by the Persians, as well as by Alexander and his successors, and, as the term "Attalic" does not seem to be applied to textiles of this kind by any Greek writer, it seems highly probable that it was a trade-name used in Rome, where the name of Attalus became associated with wealth or luxury; see *e.g.* Horace *Odes* I 1, 12 and II 18, 5. The Romans also used the terms *phrygio* and *phrygionius* to denote an embroiderer in gold and his work (see Plautus *Aul.* 508 and *Men.* 426: Nonius Marcellus I 3 M: Pliny *N.H.* VIII 196: Isidorus *Origg.* XIX 22, 22) but without any necessary connexion with Phrygia. On the other hand, the Ἀτταλιανόν mentioned in a papyrus of the second century after Christ (*Pap. Giessen*, no. 21, l. 6) was, as Rostovtzeff observed (*ll. cc.*), not gold-woven but probably made of plain wool.

83. Strabo XII p. 578: Pliny *N.H.* VIII 190. Various kinds of clothing called "Laodicean" are listed in the *Edict* of Diocletian (19f. and 26f., p. 35f. Blümner) and are mentioned also in the *Expositio Totius Mundi* 42 and the *Totius Orbis Descriptio* 42 (Riese *Geogr. Lat. Min.* p. 115 and *G.G.M.* II p. 522). A *εἱματιοπώ[λη]ς* appears in *I.G.R.* IV 855 and a guild *τῶν γναφέ[ων καὶ] ἀπλουργῶν* (perhaps makers of the garments called *ἁπλαῖ*) in *C.I.G.* 3938=Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 74, no. 8=*I.G.R.* IV 863, corrected by Buckler in *J.H.S.* LVI (1936), p. 78f.; see also Ramsay, p. 40f. The colour of the wool was attributed by Vitruvius (VIII 3, 14) to the character of the water which the ewes drank at the time of conception.

84. For the *ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν* see *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 40=Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 118, no. 26=*I.G.R.* IV 821, and for the *συνέδριον τῶν καιροδαπισ[τ]ῶν* and the *προεδρία τῶν πορφυραβάφων* see *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 342=*C.B.* I p. 545, no. 411. For the *πορφυραβάφοι* and *βαφεῖς* see also *Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 41 and 42 (=*I.G.R.* IV 822 and 816), 133, 195 and 227 (=*A.J.A.* III [1887], p. 348=L.W. 1687 with corrections); see also *C.I.G.* 2924 b=L.W. 742=*Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 50 (=*B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 519, no. 16, said to have been found at Tralles). For a *πορφυροπώλης* see *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 156. For a *πορφυρᾶς* (dealer in purple) at Aphrodisias in Caria see *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX (1893), p. 10, no. 6, corrected by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXX (1944), p. 53.

85. See Büchsenschütz *ibid.* p. 61f. and V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere*[7] (Berlin 1902), p. 163f.

86. Around Lake Simav in Abbaïtis; see Philippson III pp. 21 and 66, and above note 2. The attribution (Pliny *N.H.* VII 196) of the invention of linen-weaving to Arachne (see above note 75) is perhaps an indication that the industry was one of long standing.

87. *R.A.* XXVIII (1874), p. 112f. (*τὸ οἰκουμενικὸν καὶ σεμνότατον συνέδριον τῶν λινουργῶν* at Miletus): *C.I.G.* 3504=*I.G.R.* IV 1226 (*οἱ λινουργοί* at Thyateira): L.W. 606=*A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 319f., no. 3=*P.A.S.* I p. 97, no. 3 (*ἡ συντεχνία τῶν λινύφων* at Tralles). A *συμβίωσις* (or *συνεργασία*) *τῶν συπτινάδων*, which appears in an inscription from Smyrna (*C.I.G.* 3304 as revised by Buckler in *J.H.S.* LIV [1934], p. 75f.), has been regarded by the reviser as a guild of flax-workers, on the theory that *συπτινάδων* (a correction for the earlier, unknown, *συπτιννάλων*, see *R.E.* IV A 1170, *s.v.* *συμπιλεαδεῖς*) is to be connected with *σίπτιον*, a form of *στυππεῖον* (on which see *R.E.* VI 2458) which is found in papyri (see *Greek-Engl. Lex.* p. 1600). The *κανναβάριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Σερβειλείου στοᾷ* (or *Σερβειλίου στοᾶς*) at Ephesus, mentioned in *S.E.G.* IV 539 and 541, were presumably a similar guild, since, as was observed by P. Wahrmann in *Glotta* XXII (1933), p. 42f. and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 203f., we find *κανναβάριος=stupparius* in *C.G.L.* II p. 338.

88. Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 160f. Evidence for the manufacture of pottery at Tralles is otherwise lacking unless we accept the suggestion of Broughton *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 831 that fragments of red-glazed ware from Notium inscribed ἐκ Καισαρήας (*B.C.H.* XLVII [1923], p. 385, no. 2) came from Tralles, which bore the name Caesareia in the first century after Christ (see Chap. XX note 7). Pottery made of a whitish-yellow clay with a dark red glaze which seems to have been widely used throughout the East, has often been regarded as "Pergamene," but the connexion is very doubtful; see F. O. Waagé in *Hesperia* II (1933), p. 285f.: J. H. Iliffe in *J.H.S.* LVI (1936), p. 234: Broughton *l.c.*: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 651f. and 1639f. (Waagé). Roofing-tiles stamped with the royal title were probably made in Pergamum in potteries owned by the kings; see *Ins. Perg.* II p. 399f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 602: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 200, note 339.

89. Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 160: Isidorus *Origg.* XX 4, 3. For pottery found at Priene but presumably made at Samos see Zahn in Wiegand and Schrader *Priene* (Berlin 1904), pp. 430f. and 447, and for pottery found at Samos itself see W. Technau in *A.M.* LIV (1929), p. 48f. and R. Eilmann in *A.M.* LVIII (1933), p. 47f. See also F. O. Waagé in *Hesperia* II (1933), p. 291f. and *Antiquity* XI (1937), p. 46f., who observed that while the early Samian pottery was dark, the later, widely exported, thin ware was made of a "cinnamon-coloured" micaceous clay with an orange-red glaze. The term *vas Samium* (or *testa Samia*) is found widely in Roman authors; see Plautus *Bacch.* 202; *Capt.* 291; *Men.* 178; *Stichus* 694: Lucilius l. 445 Marx: *Auct. ad Heren.* IV 64: Cicero *pro Mur.* 75; *de Rep.* VI 2: Tibullus II 3, 47: Lactantius *Inst.* I 18, 21: Tertullian *Apol.* 25: Ausonius *Epigr.* 2. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 831. As denoting a cheap ware, used by the poor or those who lived simply, the term was applied, as Waagé observed, to easily broken pottery vessels in general, as opposed to those made of metal and hence more durable. The sherds were famous for their sharp edge; see Lucilius l. 280f. Marx: Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 165: Martial III 81, 3. For Samian ware found at Naucratis and at Alexandria see Prinz *Funde aus Naukratis = Klio, Beiheft* VII (1908), p. 39f.

90. Pliny *N.H.* XIII 70: Isidorus *Origg.* VI 11, 1. For the library see Chap. I note 73. It was observed by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 564 and note 331 that the manufacture of parchment at Pergamum long antedated the time of Eumenes.

91. *I.G.* XII 2, 109 (οἱ τὴν σκυτι[κ]ὴν τέχνην ἐργα[ζ]όμενοι).

92. *C.I.G.* 3499 = *I.G.R.* IV 1216 (οἱ βυρσεῖς at Thyateira): *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 421f., no. 31 = *I.G.R.* IV 1169 (οἱ σκυτοτόμοι, probably at Attaleia but perhaps at Thyateira): L.W. 656 = M.κ.B. I (1873-5), p. 131, no. ν′ (ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων at Philadelpheia). Two inscriptions at Apameia in Phrygia set up by οἱ ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ Πλατείᾳ τεχνεῖται (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 461, nos. 294 and 295 = *I.G.R.* IV 790) show that here also the industry was

an important one. For a guild of cobblers (*ταυρεινάδαι*) at Ephesus see *Ephesos* II p. 183f., nos. 80 and 81.

93. Pollux VII 90: Hesychius *s.v.* Κολοφώνια.

94. Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 156 and XXXIV 85 (Ariston and Eunicus of Mitylene): *C.I.G.* 3154 = *Syll.*[3] 1263 (*ἡ συνεργασία τῶν ἀργυροκόπων καὶ χρυσοχόων* at Smyrna): *I.G.R.* IV 1259 ([*χα*]λχεῖς χαλκοτύποι at Thyateira): *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 133 (καλκεῖς at Hierapolis). For the probable existence of a silver-working industry at Pergamum see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 650f.

95. Pliny *N.H.* XXXI 94, where it is said that the *garum* from Carthage—the best variety—cost 1000 sesterces for two congii (6½ litres).

96. Strabo IX p. 437 and XII p. 577: Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 3 and XXXVI 102: Horace *Odes* III 1, 41: Tibullus III 3, 13: Statius *Silv.* I 2, 148; 5, 37f.; II 2, 87f.: Martial VI 42, 13; IX 75, 8: Juvenal XIV 307: Pausanias I 18, 8f.: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* LXXIX 2: *Script. Hist. Aug., Vit. Gord.* 32, 2: Claudian *in Eutrop.* II 272f.: Paulus Silentiarius II 205f.: *C.I.G.* 3148 = *I.G.R.* IV 1431, l. 41f. (columns at Smyrna). See also Blümner *Technologie* III p. 52f. and J. H. Middleton *Remains of Ancient Rome* I p. 18. The quarries are described as having four or five large openings, 80-100 metres in depth; see Ramsay in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* II (1882), p. 294f. Blocks have been found at the quarries bearing inscriptions containing the date (ranging from A.D. 69 to A.D. 164), the *officina* (workshop) of the foreman under whom the block was quarried, the number of the *bracchium* or vein of marble, and the *locus* or number of block in the vein; sometimes the name of the official who supervised the *caesura* or actual quarrying is also recorded; see *C.I.L.* III 356-358; 7005-7040 (7024, 7027 and 7029 = Dessau 8722[a]-8722[c]); 14402, g, h, i = Dessau 8721[a]-8721[c]. Columns have been found in Rome in the *emporium*, or wharf where the marble was landed, on the Tiber below the west side of the Aventine Hill; these bear inscriptions containing not only the record of the *officina, locus* and *caesura* but also a number, the name of the imperial procurator under whose *cura* the columns were quarried and mention of the *ratio urbica*, the branch of the city-administration which received the marbles; see Bruzza in *Ann. d. Inst.* XLII (1870), p. 190f., nos. 258 and 259 = Dessau 8716[a] and 8716[b]. See also Ramsay in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 482f.: Monceaux in *Bull. Soc. d. Antiq. de France* 1900, p. 330f.: O. Hirschfeld *V.B.* pp. 164f., 168f. and 177. For the route by which the marble was transported from Synnada to the Southern Highway see above note 18.

97. *Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 113, 178, 312 and 339 (= *C.I.G.* 3915 = *I.G.R.* IV 829). For the marble of Thiunta see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 125, who observed that it was probably the marble regarded by Strabo (IX p. 437) as coming from Hierapolis and described as *ποικίλη*.

98. Phrygia is called *ἱππόβοτος* in Dionysius Periegetes *Orb. Descr.* 813 (*G.G.M.* II p. 154). For the wine of Apameia see Pliny *N.H.* XIV 75 and 113. For the vineyards on the left bank of the upper Maeander see *M.A.M.A.* IV 297 (near the sanctuary of Apollo Lairmenos).

99. For the fertility of the basin of the Cybersus around Mylasa see Philippson V pp. 37, 39 and 50, and for the region around Caunus see Strabo XIV p. 651 and Philippson V p. 80. Vines and olive and fig-trees are mentioned frequently in inscriptions from Mylasa and the neighbourhood; see Robert *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* I (Paris 1945), p. 78f.

100. Ovid *Fasti* I 185; *Metam.* VIII 674: Athenaeus III 9, p. 76 A: Celsus V 21, 1: Columella X 414. For the dried figs from Caunus exported to Egypt see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59110, ll. 24 and 35; 59548, l. 41; 59680, l. 23. The street-vendor's cry "Cauneas," *i.e.* figs from Caunus, was regarded as a bad omen ("Cave ne eas") when Crassus was setting forth on his ill-fated campaign against the Parthians in the winter of 55-54 B.C.; see Cicero *de Div.* II 84 and Pliny *N.H.* XV 83.

101. Athenaeus I 59, pp. 32 E and 33 B, where it is said that, as at Lesbos (see above note 44), some sea-water was added. For the rich orchards and gardens now in the small plain around Halicarnassus see Philippson V p. 50.

102. See *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59012, l. 28 and 59680, l. 12. A decree of Theangela ordered that two jars of honey should be given as *ξένια* to a man honoured by the city (see *Cl. Rev.* III [1889], p. 236f., no. 3 = Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 90), and there is mention of a tax on beehives (*ζμήνη*) in the treaty of capitulation concluded between Theangela and the dynast Eupolemus in the late fourth century; see *R.E.A.* XXXIII (1931), p. 8f. = Robert *ibid.* p. 69f., no. 52 and p. 78 and Chap. III note 55.

103. Strabo XIV 637: Pliny *N.H.* XIV 75: Athenaeus I 59, pp. 32 E-F. It was made by allowing the juice to flow without pressure (*πρότροπος*). A bunch of grapes appears frequently on the coins of Cnidus; see *B. M. Cat. Caria*, p. 92f., nos. 55, 84f. and 97. Cnidian wine was also used for making vinegar; see Athenaeus II 76, p. 67 C. Wine from Cnidus appears in the expense-accounts for the festival of the Posideia at Delos in the early second century before Christ; see *Ins. Delos* 401, l. 22; 440 A, l. 62; 445, l. 4. For Cnidian wine and vinegar in Egypt see *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 428 and *Pap. Oxy.* 1158 and L. C. West in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), pp. 46 and 51, who pointed out that the use of the term *cnidium* as a liquid measure indicates a wide familiarity with the wine-jars of Cnidus. In addition to those known from Egyptian documents, a wine-jar labelled *cnidium* has been found at Pompeii (*C.I.L.* IV 5535). Fragments of jars from Cnidus have also been found in Corinth (*A.J.A.* VII [1903], p. 35f.), in Athens (*Hesperia* III [1934], p. 241f.), and in South Russia and Thrace (Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 107 and p. 1334, note 55).

104. Pliny *N.H.* XVI 157: Ausonius *Epist.* XIV (IV) 77 and XV (VII) 50. Cnidus is called *arundinosa* in Catullus 36, 13.

105. Pliny *N.H.* XII 132 (bryon); XIII 114; XV 28; XXIII 89 (*granum Cnidium*, i.e. *Daphne mezereum*); XXVII 70 (where it is misleadingly called *coccus*).

106. See Paton and Myres in *Geogr. Journ.* IX (1897), p. 50f. and Ravndal, p. 142 (Sakar Kaya). For the marble from Mt. Latmus see above note 51.

107. See Paton and Myres *ibid.* p. 46f. and in *J.H.S.* XVI (1896), p. 204: Philippson V p. 52, note 2.

108. Paulus Silentiarius II 213f., the only mention of it. On the basis of the colours it was identified by Bruzza (*Ann. d. Inst.* XLII p. 148) and Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome* I p. 18f.) with the "Porta Santa" marble used in several buildings in Rome.

109. Strabo XIV p. 658. See also Paton and Myres *ibid.* p. 44, note and Philippson V p. 20; the former reported that the stone is not marble but a fine compact white limestone.

110. Strabo XIV p. 657 and Pliny *N.H.* XVII 133. In the nineteenth century fruit was one of the chief exports of the island; see Rayet in *Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* III (1876), p. 64f. In recent years, however, it has declined greatly; see K. Sudhoff *Kos u. Knidos* (Munich 1927), pp. 15 and 22. For the raisins see Pliny *N.H.* XV 66.

111. Strabo XIV pp. 637 and 657: Varro *Res Rust.* II *Praef.* 3: Pliny *N.H.* XIV 78; XXIII 19; XXVII 44: Horace *Sat.* II 4, 29; 8, 9: Athenaeus I 59, pp. 32 E and 33 B. The *οἶνος ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ* mentioned in an inscription of the first century before Christ is perhaps wine to which sea-water had been added; see *Syll.*[3] 1000, l. 5 and Toepffer in *A.M.* XVI (1891), p. 420f. A recipe for a wine of the Coan type is given in Cato *de Agri Cult.* 112, referred to in Pliny *N.H.* XIV 79. For wine-jars at Pompeii labelled *coum* see *C.I.L.* IV 2565 and 5536f. For the use of Coan wine at the festival of the Posideia at Delos in the early second century see *Ins. Delos* 406 B, l. 74; 440 A, l. 66; 464, l. 9. For the exportation of Coan wine to the Crimea in the fourth century see Ps.-Demosthenes XXXV 31 and 35 and Paton-Hicks, p. xlv.

112. See Paton-Hicks, no. 37 = *Syll.*[3] 1025, l. 54f. Coan pottery is highly praised in Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 161. According to Davies *Roman Mines in Europe*, p. 265, there are traces of ancient mines on Cos and a little copper has been found.

113. The "invention" of the art of weaving the thread from the cocoons was attributed to a woman of Cos by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*

v 19, p. 551 B), quoted in Pliny *N.H.* xi 76. For the breeding of the worms see Pliny xi 77f. For this Coan fabric the wild silkworm (a different species from the Chinese *bombyx mori*) was used, and the threads were carded instead of unwound as in China; see H. Blümner *Technologie* 1^2 p. 202f. and in *R.E.* II A 1724f., where it is observed that there is no mention of Chinese silk in the Graeco-Roman world before the time of Augustus. Coan silk is called *delicatior* by Varro, quoted in Pliny *N.H.* iv 62 (=Solinus 7, 20), where Cos and Ceos are confused, and *tenuis* in Tibullus II 3, 53 and Propertius I 2, 2 and IV 5, 54; Horace (*Sat.* I 2, 101f.) describes it as semi-transparent, and it is probably the silk similarly described in Seneca *de Benef.* VII 9, 5. According to Tibullus II 3, 54, it was sometimes interwoven with gold threads. For its purple colour see Horace *Odes* IV 13, 13: Propertius II 1, 5: Juvenal VIII 101. It is not necessary to suppose that the μανδύη of Coan purple which, according to Lydus *de Mag.* II 13, was worn by the Praetorian Prefect was made of silk. For an inscription of M. Spedius Naso, a πορφυροπώλης see *C.I.G.* 2519=Paton-Hicks no. 309=*I.G.R.* IV 1071. If the Κοιακός (*i.e.* Κῳακός) which is mentioned in a papyrus (*Pap. Soc. Ital.* 36 A, l. 13) was a Coan garment, the fabric was exported to Egypt.

114. See Philippson v p. 36f. and Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 122 and, for the forests in the extreme south around Caunus and the Indus, *Reisen* I p. 146f. and Philippson v p. 79. The deposits of chrome near Muğla (Cuinet *Turquie* III p. 649 and Ravndal, p. 147) were unknown in Antiquity, as were also the deposits of emery now operated in various parts of the district; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 221: Philippson v pp. 8, 21f., 113f.: Ravndal, p. 144.

CHAPTER III

1. For the settlement of Mitylene see Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1412 and for the migration of the Ionians see Lenschau in *R.E.* IX 1871f. and Judeich in *Rh. Mus.* LXXXII (1933), p. 305f., who dated it (p. 312f.) about 1000 B.C. The beginning of the migrations was dated by Ed. Meyer (*G.d.A.* II² 1, p. 550f.), D. G. Hogarth (*C.A.H.* II p. 547f.) and Lenschau (*Klio* XXXVI [1944], p. 221f.) in the twelfth century, by Beloch (*G.G.*² I 1, p. 139) in the thirteenth. For the general distribution of the early settlers see Beloch I 2, p. 96f. and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 28.

2. For the Aeolic dialect on Lesbos see *S.G.D.I.* 213f. and Bechtel *Griech. Dialekte* (Berlin 1921f.) I p. 7f.; at Cebren and Thymbra in the Troad see *S.G.D.I.* 307 and 308; at Aegae, Cyme and Gryneium, *S.G.D.I.* 309, 311f. and 315; at Myrina, Pottier and Reinach *Nécropole de Myrina* (Paris 1887), pp. 113f. and 206f. and *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 370f., no. 21. It was observed by E. Szanto *Die Griech. Phylen* in *Ausgew. Abh.* (Tübingen 1906), p. 250f. that, as there were no national tribes (analogous to the ancient Ionian and Dorian tribes, see below notes 3 and 4) in Boeotia and Thessaly, so also none appear in the Aeolian cities of Asia Minor; the only known tribe, the Αἰολίς in Methymna (*I.G.* XII 2, 505), is evidently of late origin.

3. The diverse character of the Ionians was pointed out by von Wilamowitz in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1906, pp. 51 and 73=*Kl. Schr.* V 1, pp. 144 and 168, who showed that the term "Ionian" had its origin in the federation of the twelve cities which took this name (see below notes 47 and 48). For their diversity see also Lenschau *ibid.* p. 225f. For the Ionic dialect see Bechtel *ibid.* III p. 33f. According to Herodotus I 142, there were four different dialects spoken in the Ionian cities. Bechtel, however, observed (p. 31f.) that on the basis of extant inscriptions it can be said only that the dialect of Chios, Erythrae and Phocaea forms a distinct group, in which there are Aeolic elements. For the Ionic dialect at Miletus see *S.G.D.I.* 5493f.; at Priene, *S.G.D.I.* 5581f.; at Ephesus, *S.G.D.I.* 5589f.; at Clazomenae, *S.G.D.I.* 5608f.; at Colophon, *S.G.D.I.* 5611f.; at Smyrna, *S.G.D.I.* 5616f.; at Phocaea, *S.G.D.I.* 5621f.; at Teos, *S.G.D.I.* 5632f.; in Chios and Erythrae, *S.G.D.I.* 5653f.; in Samos, *S.G.D.I.* 5698f.; at Magnesia-on-Maeander, *S.G.D.I.* 5737f. The Γελέοντες, Αἰγικορεῖς, Ἀργαδεῖς and Ὅπλητες, which were the early tribes of Attica and were regarded by Herodotus (V 66 and 69) as "Ionian," were supposed by Bolkestein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 430f. to have been brought over to Asia Minor by the original "Ionian" settlers. As Szanto observed (*ibid.* p. 267f.), however, these four tribes do not appear in any Asianic city as comprising the whole body of citizens. They are found together with the Οἰνῶπες and the Βωρεῖς at Cyzicus (a colony of Miletus, see below note 115); see *C.I.G.* II p. 928. The Ὅπλητες (Ὁπλῆθοι), together with the Οἰνῶπες and the Βωρεῖς, appear at Miletus (*Milet* I 3, p. 277f., no. 133=*Syll.*³ 57, ca. 450 B.C.), and the Γελέοντες at Teos (*C.I.G.* 3078 and 3079) and at Colophon (*A.J.P.* LVI [1935], p. 380, no. 6). None of

the Ionian cities, however, except Cyzicus was restricted to these original tribes. At Miletus we find the additional tribes Αἰαντίς, Ἀκαμαντίς, Οἰνηίς, Πανδιονίς, Athenian tribe-names; Θησεῖς, evidently from Attica; and Ἀσωπίς, suggesting a group of Boeotian settlers; see *R. Phil.* XXI (1897), p. 38f., nos. 6, 8, 12 and 13; XXII (1898), p. 128f.: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 66f., no. 1: Milet I 7, p. 341, no. 271. The Athenian tribes Αἰγηίς, Λεοντίς and Πανδιονίς and tribe-heroes Αἴας, Ἀκάμας, Ἱπποθῶν and Κέκροψ are found at Priene; see *Ins. Priene* 18, 21, 108 (ll. 51, 79 and 89), 109 (l. 141), 182, 248 and 249. At Ephesus, on the other hand, there were the local names Βεμβιναῖοι, Εὐώνυμοι, Ἐφέσιοι, Καρηναῖοι and Τήϊοι; see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), p. 245f. Names of deities were used at Magnesia, *i.e.* Ἀπολλωνιάς, Ἀρηίς, Ἀφροδισιάς, Διάς, Ἑρμηίς, Ἑστιάς, Ἡφαιστιάς and Ποσειδωνιάς (see Kern in *Herm.* XXXVI [1901], p. 512), and at Smyrna, *i.e.* Ἀμμωνίς, Ἀρτεμισιάς, Μητροῖς and Λητῶς as well as Ἀλβηίς (*C.I.G.* 3264 and 3266: *R.E.G.* XII [1899], p. 385f., no. 11 = *B.C.H.* LI [1927], p. 394f., no. 20: *R.E.G.* LIV [1941], p. 230). At Samos the tribes of the Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς and the Χησιεῖς (Michel 901: *S.E.G.* I 362: *A.M.* LI [1926], p. 33, no. 3: *Syll.*[3] 976, note 15), and later the Δημητριεῖς (*S.E.G.* I 355, see Chap. IV note 1) are known, and at Phocaea only the Τευθαδεῖς (*I.G.R.* IV 1325). In the Hellenistic period the Σελευ[κεῖοι?] were added at Colophon (*A.J.P.* LVI [1935], p. 380, no. 6) and the Σελευκίς and Ἀτταλίς at Magnesia (*Ins. Magn.* 5, 89 and 98 [= *Syll.*[3] 589]), and under the Roman emperors the Σεβαστή, Ἀδριανή and Ἀντωνινιανή at Ephesus (Keil *l.c.*) and the Ἰουλεῖς and Σεβαστεῖς at Cyzicus (*I.G.R.* IV 153 and 155). It was observed by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 158 and note 4) that the number of the tribes bore no relation to the size of the city; for whereas Samos had only two tribes (*Syll.*[3] 976, l. 40) and Ephesus only five, Priene had ten (*Ins. Priene* 114, l. 26) and Ilium twelve (*O.G.I.* 212, l. 14f.).

4. See Bechtel *ibid.* II p. 560f. For the use of the Doric dialect at Cnidus, Cos and Rhodes see *S.G.D.I.* 3500f., 3611f. and 3749f. It was also used on the islands of Anaphe, Astypalaea, Telos, Nisyros (*S.G.D.I.* 3430-3499), Calymnos (*S.G.D.I.* 3555f.) and Thera (*S.G.D.I.* 4693f.). The national Dorian tribes Ὑλλεῖς, Δυμᾶνες and Πάμφυλοι (Herodotus V 68) existed at Rhodes, Cos, Thera and Calymnos; see Szanto *ibid.* pp. 224f. and 236: Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI, p. 42: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VIII-IX (1925-6), p. 324f. For the Δυ[μᾶν]ες at Cedreae in Caria see *S.E.G.* IV 178. Halicarnassus was presumably Dorian in origin, for according to tradition it was founded by settlers from Troezen; see *C.I.G.* 2655 = *Syll.*[3] 1020 (of the second or first century before Christ): Herodotus VII 99: Strabo VIII p. 374; XIV p. 656: Pausanias II 30, 9: Vitruvius II 8, 12. The famous agreement, however, between the two Greek communities in the city and the tyrant Lygdamis concerning the property-rights of the former (*I.B.M.* 886 = *Syll.*[3] 45), passed shortly before 454 B.C., is in Ionic. The unconvincing theory has been propounded that the use of Ionic was due to a migration from Troezen before the place was seized by the Dorians; see H. Kiepert

Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr. p. 121: Gilbert *Griech. Staatsaltertümer* II p. 167: Bürchner in *R.E.* VII 2255.

5. Herodotus I 144: Dionysius of Halicarnassus IV 25: Aristides of Miletus cited in the Scholia to Theocritus XVII 69 = frg. 23 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 324); see also Busolt-Swoboda *Griech. Staatskunde* II³ (1926), p. 1281f. The sanctuary of Apollo Triopius was at Cnidus; see below note 137. According to Herodotus, the Hexapolis originally included Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus, the three cities on the island of Rhodes (see below note 68), and Cnidus, Cos and Halicarnassus, but the other cities later expelled Halicarnassus in anger at the action of one of its citizens, who, after winning a tripod at their common festival, took it to his own house instead of leaving it in the sanctuary of Apollo according to the agreement. As was pointed out, however, by G. Jürgens (*de Rebus Halicarnassensium* I [Halle 1877], pp. 8 and 12f.), it is much more probable that the expulsion was due to the predominance of the Ionian element, whose dialect, by the middle of the fifth century, prevailed in the city (see above note 4).

6. See Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 230f.: A. Gwynn in *J.H.S.* XXXVIII (1918), p. 88f.: F. Bilabel *Die Ionische Kolonisation* = *Philol., Suppl.* XIV (1920), 1, p. 3f.: J. Hasebroek *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece* (London 1933), p. 105f.: H. Michell *The Economics of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1940), p. 222f. The general view that the colonies were founded as sources of supply for raw materials and as markets for the manufactured products of the mother-city was rejected by Beloch, Gwynn, Hasebroek and Michell, who attributed their founding to a surplus population and a lack of land, which drove men away to find scope for their energies overseas. According to this view, the colonies were originally agricultural in character, and commerce developed later because their sites were natural centres of trade. The chief colonizers were the Ionians. For the colonies of Miletus see Strabo XIV p. 635. They numbered ninety according to Pliny *N.H.* V 112, and seventy-five according to Seneca *Cons. ad Helv.* 7, 2. The list given by Bilabel (p. 13f.) contains forty-five, some of which, however, may be considered doubtful; see also A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 36. For the title of Miletus in the second and third centuries after Christ *μητρόπολις πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πόλεων ἔν τε τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Οἰκουμένης* see Chap. XXVII note 19. Samos established colonies at Nagidus and Celenderis in Cilicia (see Chap. XI note 21) and Phocaea on the coasts of Italy and Gaul (Bilabel, p. 239f.), the most notable of which was Massalia (Marseilles). For a possible attempt to found a colony on Corsica see Chapot in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 400f. It was supposed by Lenschau in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 176f. that the founding of the Ionian colonies was due to the expansion of the power of Lydia, which, by barring the coast cities from the interior, forced them to develop trade by sea. While this might apply to Phocaea, it is harder to believe in the cases of Miletus and Samos, for their situations were unfavourable for land-commerce but eminently adapted for sea-trade.

7. Herodotus IX 96f.: Diodorus XI 34f. For the scene of the battle, on the southern side of the promontory, see the slightly differing views of Wiegand in *Priene* (Berlin 1904), p. 17f. and Kromayer and Veith in *Antike Schlachtfelder* IV p. 171f. The former placed it near Thebae, about nine miles southwest of Priene, the latter about five miles farther east.

8. For this "alliance" see H. Nesselhauf *Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. Delisch-Attischen Symmachie=Klio, Beih.* XXX (1933), p. 1f. For the "contributions" paid in 454-426 by the member-communities see *I.G.* I^2 191-218 and 222, republished with corrections by B. D. Meritt and A. B. West in *S.E.G.* V 1-29, and Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I (Cambridge, Mass. 1939), p. 127f., containing the percentages—one sixtieth—of the total φόρος which were assigned to the treasurers of the Temple of Athena Parthenos at Athens. For the φόρος actually paid by the cities in 425 see *I.G.* I^2 63-65 as reconstructed by Meritt and West in *The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* (Ann Arbor 1934), p. 43f. Of the Asianic cities, Chios, Samos and the communities on Lesbos do not appear in the lists. Of these, Chios and Mitylene on Lesbos seem to have continued to contribute ships; see Thucydides I 117, 2 and VII 57, 4: Diodorus XII 27, 4 and 28, 2. Samos also probably contributed ships until its capture by an Athenian army under Pericles in 439, when the Samians agreed to demolish their walls, surrender their ships and pay an indemnity (Thucydides I 117, 2f.: Diodorus XII 28, 3f.: Plutarch *Per.* 28, 1). After this they seem to have paid no "contribution" to Athens; see B. D. Meritt *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (Cambridge, Mass. 1937), p. 35f. and A. W. Gomme in *Cl. Rev.* L (1936), p. 8f.

9. Xenophon *Hell.* V 1, 31: Diodorus XIV 110, 3: Plutarch *Artax.* 21, 5: Isocrates *Pan.* 115f.: Polybius IV 27, 5. See R. von Scala *Staatsverträge d. Altertums* I (Leipzig 1898), p. 110f. According to the version of Xenophon as restored by von Scala (p. 114), the Greek cities other than those on the mainland of Asia Minor and Clazomenae and Cyprus were declared ⟨ἐλεύθεραι καὶ⟩ αὐτόνομοι (so also Polybius); see Wilcken in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1929, p. 292f., note 2. Before the conclusion of the treaty, about 390, Struthes, the Persian satrap of Ionia, rendered a decision in a territorial dispute between the cities of Miletus and Myus; see *Milet* I 2, p. 112f., no. 9=*Syll.*^{3} 134. This cannot be regarded, however, as evidence of Persian supremacy, for after the people of Myus refused to abide by the verdict of a court composed of the representatives of several Ionian cities, the two contestants appealed to the Persian King, who deputed Struthes to act in his stead.

10. For Alexander's general recognition of the cities' independence see Arrian *Anab.* I 18, 1f., (Aeolis and Ionia): Diodorus XVII 24, 1 (Caria, ποιῶν αὐτὰς αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφορολογήτους, see below note 13). See also P. Julien *Zur Verwaltung d. Satrapien unter Alex. d. Gr.* (Weida 1914), p. 76f.: Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*^{2} I pp. 344f. and 502: Ed. Meyer *Kl.*

Schr.[2] (Halle 1924), p. 276f.: Wilcken in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1922, p. 105f. and *Alex d. Grosse* (Berlin 1931), p. 82f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VI p. 370f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 14f.: H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich* (Munich 1926), p. 249f. Recognition is known in the case of the following cities: Ephesus (Arrian *Anab.* I 17, 10); Miletus, where Alexander held the office of stephanephorus in 334/3 B.C. (Arrian I 19, 6 and *Milet* I 3, p. 254f., no. 122 = *Syll.*[3] 272); Ilium (Strabo XIII p. 593f.); Priene and its port Naulochum (*Ins. Priene* 1 = *O.G.I.* 1, see also *Ins. Priene* 2 and 3 [= *Syll.*[3] 278 and 282], 4, 6 and 7); Erythrae (*O.G.I.* 223 = Welles, no. 15, see below note 59): Colophon (*A.J.P.* LVI [1935], p. 359f., no. 1, see below note 59). It has been widely assumed that the Asianic cities, on their liberation, became members of the organization usually called the "Corinthian League," which, established by Philip II in 338/7 (Diodorus XVI 89: Arrian *Anab.* I 1, 2: Ps.-Demosthenes XVII *pass.*: Justin IX 5), assured the supremacy in Greece to Philip, its *ἡγεμών*, subsequently elected its *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* against the Persians; see Kaerst I[2] p. 344f.: Wilcken in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1922, p. 105f. (retracted in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1938, p. 302, note 5): Berve I p. 250: Tarn *ibid.* 371 (with reserve): P. Zancan *Il Monarcato Ellenist. nei suoi Elementi Fed.* (Padua 1934), p. 12f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 102 and p. 316, note 14. The opposite view was expressed by *Lenschau* in *Jahresber.* CCXLIV (1934), p. 90 and CCLIII (1936), p. 151 and *Klio* XXXIII (1940), p. 215f., and also by Bikerman in *R.E.G.* XLVII (1934), p. 347f., although on the questionable ground that the Asianic cities, unlike those of Greece, derived their freedom from Alexander's favour (see below note 12) and so had a status wholly different from the members of the Corinthian League. Bikerman's arguments were accepted by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 153 and by V. Ehrenberg *Alex. and the Greeks* (Oxford 1938), p. 2f., who demonstrated convincingly the insufficiency of the grounds for the view that these cities became members of the League. There seems, in fact, to have been no reason for making them members, for with the deliverance of Asia Minor from the Persians one of the main purposes of the League had been accomplished and Alexander's position was so firmly established that the organization was no longer of use to him as an instrument of power; see Miltner in *Klio* XXVI (1933), p. 43f. and XXVIII (1935), p. 13, note 1 and Heuss in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 186f., note 1. With regard to the islands, especially Lesbos (Mitylene and Methymna), Tenedos and Chios, which appear as allies of Athens in the second naval league in 378/7 B.C. (*I.G.* II[2] 43 = *Syll.*[3] 147) but in 333 were forced to surrender to the Persians (Arrian *Anab.* II 1-2: Diodorus XVII 29), Ehrenberg supposed (p. 19f.) that Mitylene, which in 333 destroyed *τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρόν σφισι γενομένας στήλας* (Arrian II 1, 4), and Methymna did not belong to the League, but that Tenedos, which had *στήλας τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας* (Arrian II 2, 2), and Chios were members in 334. The existence of the *stelae* at Mitylene, however, and the subsequent payment of a contribution to the expenses incurred during the war (Curtius Rufus IV 34) seem to show, as Bikerman observed (*R.E.A.* XLII [1940], p. 33, note 4), that the city was a member;

so also Lenschau in *Klio* XXXIII p. 214f., who regarded the other Lesbian cities and also Samos as members. The membership of Chios, as Ehrenberg and Lenschau (p. 204f.) pointed out, is shown by the "letter," in reality, an order sent by Alexander before the city's surrender to his general Hegelochus in 332 (*Syll.*[3] 283, see Arrian III 2, 3 and Curtius Rufus IV 23), commanding that those who "had betrayed the city to the barbarians" (*i.e.* surrendered to the Persians in 333) and had escaped should be exiled from the territory of the League and by "decree of the Hellenes" become liable to seizure, while those who, remaining at home, were captured should be tried "in the *synedrion* of the Hellenes" (*i.e.* before the League). It is questionable, however, whether Ehrenberg was justified in inferring that the subsequent punishment of the pro-Persian leaders by Alexander himself (Arrian III 2, 5f.), instead of by the *synedrion*, and the order in the "letter" that disputes between the citizens and the returning exiles should be referred to Alexander show that Chios after its surrender to Hegelochus received only a "precarious autonomy" (see below note 12) and that both its status and that of other island-states which surrendered were "approximated" to that of the Asianic cities "after Alexander was able to claim the rights of a victorious conqueror." Ehrenberg's view that the membership of Chios in the League was not continued after the reconquest was challenged by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 316, note 14), but apparently only on the insufficient ground that "the Hellenes" (*i.e.* the members of the League) are mentioned in Alexander's "letter."

11. Arrian *Anab.* I 17, 10 (Ephesus); 18, 2 (cities of Aeolis and Ionia). Alexander later expelled the tyrants at Mitylene, Eresus and Methymna; see Arrian III 2, 4f.: Curtius Rufus IV 24 and 34. In his "letter" to the Chians (*Syll.*[3] 283, see above note 10) he ordered that "the exiles" (*i.e.* the members of the anti-Persian faction) should be restored and that henceforth the δῆμος should constitute the πολίτευμα, for which νομογράφοι were to draw up laws ὅπως μηδὲν ἐναντίον ᾖ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ μηδὲ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων καθόδῳ. The further command that these laws when drawn up should be submitted to Alexander himself, as well as his restoration of the exiles, and his orders to Mitylene and Eresus regulating the disputes between the inhabitants of the former and the exiles restored in 324 and providing for the return of the descendants of the tyrants of the latter (see *I.G.* XII 2, 6 and 526 = *O.G.I.* 2 and 8) have sometimes been regarded as instances of interference in the internal affairs of the cities; see, *e.g.* Kaerst *ibid.* I p. 383 and II p. 353 and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 107. The restoration of the exiles, however, was in conformity with his general order to this effect (Diodorus XVII 109, 1; XVIII 8, 2: *Syll.*[3] 306, see Bikerman in *R.E.A.* XLII [1940], p. 25f.), and the maintenance both of a democratic form of government and of harmony between the factions may be regarded as the conditions upon which the cities' freedom was recognized rather than any infringement on their liberty. For a later, fragmentary, letter of Alexander to Chios, forbidding trials ἐπὶ βαρβαρίσμῳ see Lenschau, p. 207f. In fact, δημοκρατία and ὁμόνοια became the two most important

watchwords in the Hellenistic city-states; the oath taken by the ex-soldiers settled at Magnesia-near-Sipylus on becoming citizens of Smyrna (*O.G.I.* 229, l. 60f., see below note 95) contained the clauses, *πολιτεύσομαι μεθ' ὁμονοίας ἀστασιάστως* and *συνδιατηρήσω τήν τε αὐτονομίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν.*

12. For the status of the Greek city-states of Asia Minor under Alexander and his successors and under the early Seleucids see P. Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), p. 69f. and p. 90, note 2: G. Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* L (1922), p. 20f.=*Studi Ellenist.* (Turin 1929), p. 209f.: Bikerman in *Herm.* LXVII (1932), p. 57f. and *R.E.G.* XLVII (1934), p. 346f.: P. Zancan *Il Monarcato Ellenistico, etc.* pp. 15f., 19f. and 49f.: A. Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher d. Hellenismus=Klio, Beih.* XXXIX (1937), p. 216f. and in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 133f.: V. Ehrenberg *Alex. and the Greeks*, p. 13f.: A. H. M. Jones in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 103f. and *Greek City*, p. 95f.: D. Magie in *The Greek Political Experience, Studies in Honor of W. K. Prentice* (Princeton, N.J. 1941), p. 173f., where some of the material included in this chapter was presented. For Alexander's professed purpose in invading Asia *τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερώσεως ἕνεκα* see Diodorus XVII 24, 1. The view was held by Ghione and Corradi that the status of the cities was one of recognized subjection and that their freedom was not regarded by the kings as a right but as dependent on the royal favour and a grant which must be made afresh at the accession of a new monarch. Evidence for this view was found in the sending of missions, respectively, to Antigonus by the federated cities of the Troad *ὑ[πὲρ] τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ αὐτονομίας* (*Syll.*[3] 330, l. 24f., see below note 53) and to Antiochus I by the Ionian Federation requesting permission to institute a festival on his birthday and to found a sanctuary in his honour and at the same time urging him *[ἐπιμ]έλειαν ποιεῖσθαι* that the Ionian cities *[τὸ λοιπὸ]ν ἐλεύθεραι οὖσαι καὶ δημο[κρατούμεναι βεβαίως ἤδη πολι]τεύωνται κατὰ τοὺς πατρί[ους νόμους]* (*O.G.I.* 222, see Chap. IV note 24). Neither of these documents, however, proves the contention of these two scholars. As will be shown below (note 56), Antigonus had already committed himself to maintain the cities' independence, and the purpose of this mission (soon after 306 B.C.), whatever may be meant by the somewhat vague *ὑπέρ*, can have been nothing more than a request for the confirmation of his previously announced policy; it is possible, as Haussoullier suggested (*Études*, p. 22), that the cities' anxiety concerning their freedom may have been due to measures taken by Phoenix, who had been made *epistates* of the Hellespontine satrapy by Polemaeus, the nephew of Antigonus (see below note 56), now a rebel and in Cassander's service; see Diodorus XX 19, 2f. As for the Ionians' mission to Antiochus, its purpose was to announce the bestowal of honours, and the request made to the King to cooperate in maintaining the cities' freedom as an already existing status was merely incidental. In no case may this request be used as evidence that it was necessary to renew the grant of freedom at the accession of each

new monarch, for the document must be dated after 268 B.C., twelve years after Antiochus came to the throne.

The view that the status of a city must be recognized by every new monarch was held also by Bikerman in *Rev. d. Études Juives* c (1935), p. 23, but the cases cited may not be used to prove this contention; for Alabanda, which obtained "democracy and peace" from Antiochus III (*O.G.I.* 234), had been a subject city (see Chap. V note 31), and Iasus, whose "democracy and autonomy" Antiochus promised to protect (*O.G.I.* 237), and Amyzon, whose privileges he agreed to maintain (Welles, no. 38), were evidently ready to accept the terms which he offered at the outset of his aggressive campaign in Asia Minor (see Chap. IV notes 48 and 49) and which other cities, notably Lampsacus and Smyrna, subsequently refused (see Chap. IV notes 51-53). Bikerman also maintained (see above) on strictly legalistic grounds the theory that the freedom of the cities depended solely on the King's grace. He rejected the view that Alexander's purpose in coming to Asia was to make the Asianic Greeks his allies, supposing that it was founded on the failure to see that ἐλευθερία was merely a synonym for δημοκρατία (which cannot be established, see below note 13) and on a confusion between the *de facto* status of the Asianic cities and their *de jure* status as depending on the right of conquest. Distinguishing between the liberty of the cities of Greece (the members of the Corinthian League) as "original" and that of the Asianic cities as "secondary," Bikerman held that the liberation of the latter was based on the right of Alexander to dispose as he wished of conquered territory (χώρα δορίκτητος) and that it was therefore merely a *precarium*, which, granted by a unilateral act, was revocable by the sovereign. He repeated this theory in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 348, where he applied it to all "villes d' obédience" in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and in *Inst. d. Séleucides* (Paris 1938), p. 136f., where he maintained that the cities, having obtained their liberty only by "the grace of the prince," a revocable act, were "states under the suzerainty of the king and directly dependent on the central government." Bikerman's view was accepted by H. Bengtson (*Die Strategie in d. Hellenist. Zeit* 1 = *Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusforsch.* XXVI [1937], p. 35f.), who also attempted to show (*Philol.* XCII [1937], p. 137f.) that Alexander, although he adopted a compromise which enabled him to exercise supremacy over the cities and caused his rule to seem a liberation by giving them a status which was "reichsunmittelbar," placed them under the supervision of an official stationed in Sardis (see below note 46). It was also accepted by Ehrenberg, who, refusing (p. 36f.) to believe that the liberation of the Greek cities of Asia was "the determining, ideal motive of Alexander's campaign," used Bikerman's theory to prove his contention that these cities were not members of the Corinthian League, and by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 153 and note 25 and p. 525f.), who supposed that "the Diadochi regarded themselves legally as masters not as allies, of the Greek cities." On the other hand, the view that the Greek cities were subjects of Alexander and his successors and that their freedom depended merely on the King's grace was rejected by Zancan, who, although sup-

posing that the relationship between Alexander and the cities was not one of equals but was based on the King's φιλία and ἐνέργεσία, held that the cities did not form part of his actual conquest and that their liberty was restored to them as a right which was preserved by his successors. It was also rejected by Lenschau in *Jahresber.* CCXLIV (1934), p. 90 and CCLIII (1936), p. 151f. and *Klio* XXXIII (1940), p. 218f., by Tarn in *Cl. Rev.* LII (1938), p. 234, and by Heuss, who, although he refused to accept (*Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 183, note 1) the theory of Zancan (p. 147) that the relationship between king and city was "a federation based on a compact, which was the συμμαχία" (see below note 15), denied (p. 223) that the liberation of the Greek cities was a unilateral act and pointed out (*Herm.* LXXIII p. 186, note 1) that the supposition that a revocable freedom existed in Greek political theory is an unwarranted assumption. A similar point of view was taken by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 315, note 8), who showed that the arguments on which Bikerman's theory was based prove only that Alexander conquered the Asianic cities before freeing them and that his treatment of them was often arbitrary. Bikerman's theory, in fact, fails to take into consideration that prior to the treaty of Antalcidas the Greek cities of Asia were free city-states, enjoying the same status as the cities of Greece, which by the treaty continued to be free and autonomous (see above note 9), and that, therefore, a clear distinction must be drawn between these ancient cities which had been free before they became subject to Persia, and those native communities and royal foundations to which the monarchs gave a limited autonomy and a semblance of freedom. This distinction, unfortunately, was sometimes neglected by Jones, who, although he noted the difference between the "old Greek" or "genuinely free" cities, on the one hand, and "the royal foundations and Hellenized barbarian cities," on the other (*Greek City*, pp. 101 and 110f., and p. 315, note 8), did not always, in his use of his material, distinguish between the two types of city and indeed went so far as to assert (p. 102) that the position of a city with regard to the kings "differed very little whether it was free or not." It is also difficult to accept the view of Jones (p. 98) that "the doctrine (of the freedom of the cities) was not only useless but embarrassing to the kings in dealing with cities which were genuinely free" and that "to a city which was independent and thought that it required no champion to protect its liberty, proclamations that all the Greeks should be free made no appeal."

While it may be admitted that Alexander, as conqueror of the Persians, was in a position to declare that their empire and all their subjects, including the Greek cities, were χώρα δορίκτητος and to treat all accordingly, there is no reason to suppose that he regarded the ancient cities as on the same footing as the "barbarians." Apart from his proclamation that he had undertaken the war "for the sake of freeing the Hellenes" (see above), both his desire to unite all the Greeks against their common, ancestral foe and his actual need of the assistance, in ships, men and money, which they were able to furnish him, naturally impelled him to recognize the ancient Hellenic communities as free and autonomous states. Each of them

was bound to him by a special agreement (Lenschau *Jahresber.* CCLIII p. 151 and *Klio ibid.* p. 219), which, although not necessarily based on a treaty and doubtless "elastic" (so Heuss, p. 182) and, in the case of many of the later rulers, liable to be used for political purposes, was in theory an alliance formed for the purposes of war (see below note 15). The liberation of these cities, as Heuss (*ibid.* p. 222f.) observed rightly (despite the criticism of Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 343), was the recognition of freedom based on a previously existing status which had been merely suspended by recent events. This, in theory at least, was the view taken by Alexander's successors, for, as Heuss pointed out, the verbs used in their statements concerning the recognition of the cities' freedom, namely, the usual *ἀποκαθιστάναι* and *ἀποδιδόναι* and the less common *συνδιατηρεῖν* (*O.G.I.* 223 = Welles, no. 15), *διαφυλάσσειν* or *συνδιαφυλάσσειν* (*O.G.I.* 5 = Welles 1, ll. 54 and 62 and *O.G.I.* 237) and *βεβαιοῦν* (*O.G.I.* 229, l. 11) all express the *restoration* of a previous status or the *safeguarding* of an existing condition.

13. *Ἀφρούρητοι, ἀφορολόγητοι, ἐλεύθεροι ὄντες, πολιτείαις καὶ νόμοις χρώμενοι τοῖς πατρίοις*, Polybius IV 25, 7 (220 B.C.), an offer made by the Achaeans to cities compelled to join the Aetolians. Similar statements are: Polybius IV 84, 5 (offer of Philip V to Elis in 218); XV 24, 2 (terms made by Thasos with Philip's general Metrodorus); XVIII 46, 5 and 15 = Plutarch *Flam.* 10 (proclamation of Flamininus in 196). Less complete are: *ἐλεύθεροι, ἀφρούρητοι, αὐτόνομοι* (Diodorus XIX 61, 3, proclamation of Antigonus in 315); *αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἀφορολόγητοι* (Diodorus XVII 24, 1: *O.G.I.* 223); *ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀφορολόγητος* (*O.G.I.* 228); *ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἄφορος* (Strabo XIII p. 593). The combination *ἐλευθερία καὶ αὐτονομία*, which appears in the treaty concluded by Athens and Chios in 384/3 B.C. (*I.G.* II^2 34 = *Syll.*^{3} 142) and in the Athenian decree concerning the naval league of 378/7 B.C. (*I.G.* II^2 43 = *Syll.*^{3} 147, see above note 10), was customarily used in the inscriptions of the Hellenistic period and occurs also in Polybius XXI 19, 9; 22, 7; XXV 5, 3. Frequently, however, either of these two words was used alone by the authors to denote the status of freedom; see *e.g.* Polybius XVIII 47, 1; XXI 22, 4; XXV 2, 13: Diodorus XIX 62, 1; 105, 1; XX 19, 3: Strabo XII pp. 542, 545, 547 and 576. The fact that they were thus used interchangeably suggests that often no clear distinction was made between them. Heuss, accordingly, following F. Nolte *Die Hist.-polit. Voraussetzungen d. Königsfrieden v. 386 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt 1923), p. 11f., maintained (*Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 221, note 2) that *αὐτονομία* used alone expressed the whole concept of freedom. The fact, however, that *δημοκρατία* appears sometimes in conjunction with *ἐλευθερία*, evidently as a synonym for *αὐτονομία* (*O.G.I.* 222 and 226: *Syll.*^{3} 442), and sometimes in conjunction with *αὐτονομία* (*O.G.I.* 229, ll. 11 and 65; 237 (?): *I.G.R.* IV 179 = *Syll.*^{3} 591, l. 34) suggests that in the Hellenistic period, at least, the right to frame laws was not regarded as constituting complete freedom. For the differentiation in meaning between *ἐλευθερία* and *αὐτονομία* given in the text see P. Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), pp. 90f. and

96f.: B. Keil in Gercke-Norden *Einleitung*[3] III p. 318: Wilcken in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1929, p. 292f., note 4. A somewhat different distinction was suggested by Mommsen (*R. St. R.* III p. 658), namely, that ἐλευθερία emphasized the sovereign power of the body of citizens and αὐτονομία the enforcement of the city's own law. Jones, maintaining that while the term ἐλευθερία as used in the royal proclamations included the various rights enumerated in Polybius IV 25, 7 (cited above), in practice it rarely meant any of them—a generalization which seems very questionable—suggested (p. 315, note 8) that the kings, believing it to be to "their interest to maintain the ambiguity of the term ἐλευθερία," never gave it "precise legal formulation." There seems to be no reason, however, to suppose that the cities felt any "ambiguity," and it is perhaps more probable, as Jones suggested elsewhere (p. 95), that the difficulty of determining more accurately the nature of the relationship between the kings and the cities arose from a conflict between two points of view, namely, the tendency of the kings to regard their dominions as a "complex of territories" containing "privileged communities" and the desire of the cities to appear as "sovereign states in alliance" with the rulers.

14. For Alexander's declaration that the cities in Aeolis and Ionia, as well as those in Caria, should be exempt from tribute see Arrian *Anab.* I 18, 2 and Diodorus XVII 24, 1 (see above note 10). For Ephesus see Arrian I 17, 10. It has, nevertheless, been frequently maintained that under the Hellenistic kings the free cities paid a φόρος, *i.e.* a regular fixed tribute to the monarch, who, of course, might at his pleasure remit it; see *e.g.* H. Francotte *Finances d. Cités Grecques* (Liège 1909), p. 86: H. Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer* = K. F. Hermann's *Lehrbuch d. Griech. Antiquitäten* I 3[6] (Tübingen 1913), p. 166f.: Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* L (1922), p. 35, note 1 = *Studi Ellenist.* p. 221f., note 3: Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 230, note 1: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 148: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 525 and 528 (reversing *Kolonat*, p. 243). The opposite view, however, has also been held; see *e.g.* Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*[2] II pp. 348 and 356: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 2, pp. 342, 599 and 672, where, however, it was supposed that the ἀφορολογησία which the cities enjoyed under Alexander and Antigonus was *restored* by Antiochus II (see Chap. IV note 22): Lenschau in *R.E.* IX 1890. A somewhat modified position was taken by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), pp. 71 and 104, namely, that while it was evidently Alexander's intention that the liberated cities should be exempt from tribute, the commutation into money of the contribution of ships demanded from each soon resulted in the payment of a regular tribute. The proponents of the view that the cities as a rule paid a fixed tribute to the Hellenistic kings cited instances of a remission of the φόρος in certain specific cases as evidence for their position. Thus Antiochus I wrote to Erythrae (*O.G.I.* 223 = Welles, no. 15, see Chap. IV note 23), ἀφορο[λογ]ήτους εἶναι συγχωροῦμεν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἁπάντων καὶ [τῶν εἰς] τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγομένων, and a decree of Delphi (*O.G.I.* 228) relates that Seleucus II ἐπικενώσηκε δὲ τοῖς [Σμυρ]ναίοις τάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐλευθέραν εἶμεν καὶ

ἀφο[ρο]λόγητον. Seleucus II (?) was said also to have offered to make the inhabitants of Ilium *ab omni oneri immunes* (Suetonius *Claud.* 25). In fact, however, little proof can be obtained from these cases. The letter of Antiochus contains no mention of *φόρος*, for the payment called [*τὰ εἰς*] *τά Γαλατικὰ συναγόμενα* was evidently a contribution either to the war-chest for campaigns against the Galatians or to the "blackmail" collected to avert their depredations (see below note 108), and there is no way of determining the nature of *τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων*. Seleucus's grant of *ἀφορολογησία* to Smyrna, moreover, is only part of the *ἐλευθερία* conferred by him on the city, previously subject (see Chap. IV note 29); that it was not a special grant seems apparent from the decree of Smyrna enacted on the same occasion (*O.G.I.* 229), in which, although the guarantee of *αὐτονομία καὶ δημοκρατία* is mentioned (l. 11f.), nothing is said about *ἀφορολογησία*. With regard to Seleucus's promise to Ilium, the genuineness of the statement is too doubtful to permit it to be used as evidence; see Chap. IV note 40. The exemption of the free cities from taxation, moreover, appears (expressed in Roman terminology) in the speech before the Senate in 193 B.C. attributed to the ambassador of Antiochus III (Livy XXXIV 57, 10), where a distinction is made between *urbes liberae et immunes* and *urbes stipendiariae*. The money-payment into which the contribution of ships or troops was commuted was the *σύνταξις* which was due from Priene but was remitted by Alexander; see *Ins. Priene* 1 = *O.G.I.* 1. In this decree a clear distinction is made between the *σύνταξις* and the *φόρος*. The latter, in contrast to what was due from the city, was the tribute paid by the inhabitants of the "villages" in the country declared by Alexander to be his own. This use of the word is found also in the letter of Antigonus concerning the union of Teos and Lebedus (*Syll.*[3] 344 = Welles, no. 3, see below note 64), where (l. 83) the royal domain, as distinguished from the two cities, is called *ἡ φορολογουμέ[νη χώρα]*, and in the letter of Attalus II to Amlada, a city subject to the Pergamene kings (*Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* 74 II = *O.G.I.* 751 = Welles, no. 54, see Chap. I note 77), where it denotes a fixed payment made by the city to the ruler. In contrast to *φόρος*, *σύνταξις*, as referring to the "contribution" expected from an ally for the purpose of war, was used in the arrangement made by Athens with her allies in the naval league of 378/7, where a *φόρος* was forbidden (*I.G.* II[2] 43 = *Syll.*[3] 147, l. 23) but a *σύνταξις*, determined by the *συνέδριον* and available only for the purposes of the league, was contributed by the several members; see Francotte, p. 79f.: Kaerst, pp. 348 and 356f.: A. M. Andreades *Hist. of Greek Public Finance* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1933), p. 80: Schwahn in *R.E.* IV A 1453f. We may regard as similar "contributions" the *χρήματα εἰς τὸμ πόλεμον* demanded by Antipater about 320 (*O.G.I.* 4, l. 10f.) and the *δαπανήματα* for the war, with which, according to Antigonus's letter to Scepsis (*O.G.I.* 5 = Welles, no. 1, l. 44f., see below note 58), the Scepsians and "the other allies" were "burdened," as well as the payments of Erythrae [*εἰς*] *τὰ Γαλατικά* mentioned above. Another form of contribution was the golden "wreath" presented by a city to a king as a mark of signal honour or on some festal occasion, as by Cos to Antigonus

(*I.B.M.* 247, as restored), by Erythrae to Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 223), and by Samos and Halicarnassus to Ptolemy II (*S.E.G.* I 366 and *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59036, see Chap. IV note 25). As the gold in such a wreath was usually of a stated amount, the bestowal became in time merely a cash payment; see Welles, p. 363. A considerable part of the difficulty in differentiating between φόρος and σύνταξις is due to the fact that, in our various texts, as Heuss pointed out (p. 106), the distinction between the two terms is not always strictly observed. Thus, as M. Segre showed, in the reply of Eumenes II to the petition of the inhabitants of the village of the Cardaces in Lycia (*Clara Rhodos* IX [1938], p. 190f., see Chap. V note 69) σύνταξις denotes the poll-tax. Moreover, in the parallel passages in Polybius XXI 24, 8 and 46 (48), 2, containing the clause of the arrangements made in 188 B.C. which dealt with the payment of tribute by the subject cities to the Pergamene kings (see Chap. IV note 60), the words φόρος and σύνταξις were used synonymously to denote this tribute. These passages, accordingly, cannot be used to show that tribute was paid by the free cities. Nevertheless, Schwahn, failing to notice that Polybius used the two words synonymously, supposed (*ibid.* 1455) that the Greek cities paid tribute and not a σύνταξις to the Pergamene kings, and Heuss (pp. 110f. and 187) denied the distinction during the Hellenistic period between tribute and contribution.

Evidence for the payment of taxes by a free city to the kings has been sought also in the expression ἀτέλεια ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστιν, which appears among other privileges in decrees of Iasus conferring proxeny or citizenship on citizens of other cities who had deserved well of Iasus (*C.I.G.* 2673, 2675, 2676 and 2677: *J.H.S.* IX [1888], p. 340, no. 2=Michel 463), the inference being that there were certain other taxes from which exemption could not be granted by the city since they were paid to a king; see Andreades I p. 159: Heuss, p. 113: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 55f. and *Greek City*, p. 108 and note 25: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 643. These decrees are probably to be dated in the late fourth and early third centuries; see Robert in *Coll. Froehner* I p. 73f. (repeated from *L'Ant. Class.* IV [1935], p. 164f.), who, on the theory that a free city did not pay τέλη to an outside power, inferred (*ibid.* p. 76, note 2) that Iasus, since it paid τέλη *into a "treasury other than that of the city, doubtless that of* the king," was not fully independent. The similar expressions ἀ[τ]έλεια ἀπάν[τ]ων [ὧ]ν Μυριναῖοι [κ]ύριοί εἰ[σ]ιν and ἀτέλεια ὧν εἰσιν κύριοι Ἐλευσίνιοι are found, respectively, in a decree of Myrina on Lemnos, conferring proxeny on a certain Polymnestus of Acrathoi on Mt. Athos and his descendants, which was dated by the editor on the basis of the lettering in the early fourth century (*B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 46f., no. 1=*I.G.* XII 8, 2), and in a decree of Eleusis of about 350 B.C. conferring privileges on a Theban (*I.G.* II² 1186=*Syll.*³ 1094). Ἀτέλεια πάντων ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστιν is enumerated in a decree of Tralles among the privileges granted to a foreign "benefactor" and in a decree of Pergamum (passed soon after the death of Attalus III) among the perquisites of the Priest of Asclepius; see *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 411, no. 2=Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, p. 57, no. 92 and *Syll.*³ 1007. Also a piece of land bought by the city of Teos, probably

in the second century, as a gift to the society of the Artists of Dionysus was declared *ἀτελὲς ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν* (*S.E.G.* II 580, see below note 114). We may not, however, infer from the restricted exemption granted at Iasus—as also at Myrina and Eleusis—that there were *τέλη* over which the city had no control because they were paid to the king. It seems to have escaped the notice of the proponents of this view that in all these cases the men who received *ἀτέλεια* were aliens—members of other communities who were honoured with the privileges of a *proxenos* or of a citizen. The exemption which the city could grant was restricted to those charges (such as customs-duties and sales-taxes, possibly property-taxes, see below note 39) which it could itself impose; obviously, it could not grant a complete exemption from taxes from other sources to which the recipient of this privilege might be liable. The restrictive clause, accordingly, meant, not that there were *τέλη* paid by the city to an outside power, but that the city could not free a member of another community from *τέλη* over which it had no control. In the case of Tralles, no inference may be drawn, for not only was the recipient of the privilege a foreigner but it is not known whether the city was independent at the time or whether it had merely a restricted local autonomy (see Chap. V note 54). The clause was evidently regarded as a mere formula; for in another decree of Iasus, conferring proxeny and citizenship on two Athenians (Michel 465), *ἀτέλεια* is used without it to denote the same privilege. It is clearly used as a formula in the decree of Pergamum, where the priest in question was a citizen of the city; for at this time, when there was no king or outside power to impose *τέλη*, the only charges for which the incumbent of the office was liable were those exacted by the city. It is similarly used in the treaty between Miletus and Pidasa, concluded in 176/5 B.C., in which the olive-oil of the latter was declared *ἐπιτελὴς τῶν τελῶν ὧν καὶ Μιλήσιοι τιθέασιν* (*Milet* I 3, p. 350, no. 149, l. 18f., see Chap. IV note 78); for in this period Miletus was independent and there was no king who could have imposed taxes on the city. We may suppose also that the purpose of the restriction in connexion with the purchase of land at Teos was to forestall any possible levy by the city (see below note 39). There is therefore no ground for maintaining that the liberated cities of Asia paid a regular tribute to Alexander or Antigonus or the Seleucids.

15. The relationship between a city and the ruler under Alexander and Antigonus was regarded as a *συμμαχία*, based on *φιλία* on the part of the city and *εὐεργεσία* on the part of the king, by P. Zancan *Il Monarcato Ellenist.* pp. 15f. and 19f. Zancan's view that this relationship was founded on a federative system based on definite treaties, and especially her statement (p. 147) that it was "una federazione positivamente pattuita" were criticized by Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher* p. 183, note 1, who pointed out (p. 179f.) that a *symmachia* was not necessarily based on a formal treaty. Heuss's argument (*l.c.*), however, was founded on the theory that had the *symmachia* been the basis of royal rule, it would have lost its original purpose of establishing a partnership between equals (which it did not

lose). This was perhaps applicable to the king's rule over subject cities, but it does not apply to his relationship with free city-states. There is evidence to show that in many cases a *symmachia* existed. It is indeed true, as Ehrenberg observed (*Alex. and the Greeks*, p. 31), that, with the possible exception of Mitylene, which had *πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον στήλας* (Arrian *Anab.* II 1, 4, see above note 10), *i.e.* some sort of agreement, and had contributed money for the war (Curtius Rufus IV 34), we do not know of any arrangement between Alexander and any of the Asianic cities which might be regarded as a *symmachia*. Antigonus, however, professed to regard Cyzicus as a *σύμμαχος* (Diodorus XVIII 52, 3, see below note 56) and in his letter to the Scepsians (*O.G.I.* 5, see below note 58) Scepsis and the other cities appear as *σύμμαχοι* (l. 43). See also Lenschau in *Klio* XXXIII (1940), p. 219f. Moreover, in the letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus and the decree of the city passed in connexion with it (*Milet* I 3, p. 300f., no. 139, see Chap. IV note 21) and the letters of Antiochus I concerning his gift of land to Aristodicides of Assus (*O.G.I.* 221, see below note 40) the relationship between king and city is described as a *συμμαχία*; the Milesians bound themselves by an oath (l. 45f.) *διαφυλάξειν τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα*, κ.τ.λ. A (fragmentary) sworn treaty of *φιλία καὶ συμμαχία* concluded between Philip V of Macedonia and the city of Lysimacheia in Thrace in 202 B.C. (Polybius XV 23, 9) contained a clause (evidently among other provisions) that neither party should make any alliance in opposition to this one; see G. P. Oikonomos *Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας* I (Athens 1915), p. 2, no. 1, reprinted by Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 249. The Rhodians, on the other hand, refused to make a formal alliance with any of the monarchs; see Polybius XXX 5, 8. The relationship of *symmachia* was necessarily formed by two parties who in theory were equals. It is therefore difficult to accept the frequently expressed view that the cities were subjects of the king; see Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXV p. 346f.: Ehrenberg *ibid.* pp. 21f. and 51: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 525f. While it is true that the foreign relations of a city were limited by the agreement which bound it to support the king in time of war, it can hardly be supposed (with Bikerman) that the obligation to follow the call of its "suzerain" reduced it to the position of a subject, or (with Ehrenberg) that its *symmachia* resulted "in a state of affairs that vacillated between autonomy and subjection," or (with Rostovtzeff) that it was "forced to submit to the overlordship of the kings" and that its freedom, granted by the monarch, "did not imply general political independence nor any right of independent action in international relations, except in some rare cases when the Seleucids were forced to refrain from insisting on their right of suzerainty." Rostovtzeff's view that "all the cities in the empire" were regarded by the Seleucids as under their dominion (*ὑποτασσόμεναι*) is supported only by Polybius XXI 43, referring to the (Trans-Tauric) cities retained by Antiochus III after the conclusion of the Treaty of Apameia; by *O.G.I.* 231, l. 25, which contains the promise of Antiochus III to give instructions to *τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις* to recognize the Leucophryena at

Magnesia, a recognition which was accorded by the *free* cities separately (see Chap. IV note 38); and by Welles, no. 21, containing a promise of Ptolemy II (?) to give similar instructions to [τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς τασσομένοι]ς concerning the Asclepieia at Cos (see Chap. IV note 30). Rostovtzeff's further argument that the monarch might appoint an "*epistates* as his own governor of a free city" is based on equally doubtful evidence, namely, *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 135, which mentions an *epistates* in Priene sent by Egypt (see Chap. IV note 31), and *Syll.*[3] 426, l. 46, a decree of Bargylia which ordered that the sending of envoys to Antiochus I to announce the fulfilment of his request to Teos to send a *dikastes* to Bargylia (see Chap. IV note 22) should be reported to τῷ [καταλ]λειμμένῳ ὑπὸ [τοῦ Β]ασιλέως. For the general policy of Antiochus I and Antiochus II toward the cities see Chap. IV note 22.

16. For Chios see *Syll.*[3] 283 and above note 10. For ships furnished in 333 by Rhodes, the Lycian cities and Soli and Mallus in Cilicia see Arrian *Anab.* II 20, 2. For Priene see above note 14.

17. See Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer* p. 114f.: G. Busolt *Griech. Staatskunde*[3] I (Munich 1920), p. 442f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 164f.

18. Βουλευταί were elected at Chios about 600 B.C. (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II, p. 68). On the other hand, in the government of Erythrae as reorganized by the Athenians about 460 B.C. (*I.G.* I[2] 10 = *Syll.*[3] 41) they were to be chosen by lot. The βουλή was chosen for six months at Rhodes (*I.G.* XII 1, 53, 94 and 95 [= *I.G.R.* IV 1127]: *J.O.A.I.* IV [1901], p. 159f. = *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II [1916], p. 142f., no. 11: *R.E.G.* XVII [1904], p. 203f.), apparently at Tarsus in the late first century after Christ (Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXIV 35 and Wilhelm *Beiträge*, p. 119), and, probably in imitation of Rhodes, at Stratoniceia in Caria (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 85f., nos. 10 and 11; XXVIII [1904], p. 49, no. 36 and p. 248f., nos. 59 + 60 B and 87; XLIV [1920], p. 77f., nos. 7 and 10; LI [1927], p. 68, no. 8 = *S.E.G.* IV 264). There were to be 120 βουλευταί at Erythrae in 460 (see above). At Halicarnassus 92 votes were cast in the βουλή in the decree recorded in *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 95, no. 3 and 100 votes in *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 211f., no. 6 = Paton-Hicks, no. 13. For the division of the βουλή into committees which, according to the Athenian system, were composed of the members of a single city-tribe serving in rotation, and from which the presiding officer was chosen see Busolt *Griech. Staatskunde*,[3] I p. 476f. and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 165f. This system was used in 380 at Miletus in the constitution modelled after that of Athens (*S.G.D.I.* 5496 and J. H. Oliver in *T.A.P.A.* LXVI [1935], p. 187, Κεκροπὶς ἐπρυτάνευεν) and, also in the fourth century, at Cyzicus (Michel 533, Ἀργαδεὶς (ἐ)πρυτάνε[υεν]), where in the second century after Christ the βουλευταί, still divided into similar committees, ἐπρυτάνευσαν (or οἱ πρυτανεύσαντες) μῆνα; see *C.I.G.* 3661, 3663 and 3664: *I.G.R.* IV 153 and 155: *A.M.* VI (1881), p. 44f., nos. 21 and 211 B: F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 251f. The *prytaneis* at Cyzicus in the third cen-

tury before Christ (*C.I.G.* 3655=Michel 534) were presumably a similar body. Committees of *prytaneis* also held office for a month during the third and second centuries before Christ at Halicarnassus (*Syll.*[3] 1015, οἱ πρυτανεύοντες τὸμ μῆνα τὸν Ἡράκλειον), at Samos (*Syll.*[3] 976, ο[ἱ τὸ]ν μῆνα τὸν Ἀρτεμισιῶνα πρυτανεύοντες) and at Phocaea (*Ins. Priene* 64, οἱ πρυτανεῖς οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ Μαιμακτῆριος καὶ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισιῶνος καὶ Ἡραιῶνος). It seems probable that the ἐπιμήνιοι τῆς βουλῆς at Smyrna about 235 B.C. (*O.G.I.* 229, l. 30, see below note 95) and at Lampsacus, also in the second century (*C.I.G.* 3641 *b*=Laum *Stiftungen*, no. 66=*S.E.G.* IV 668, l. 85) were committees of this kind; perhaps similar to these were the ἐπιμήνι[οι] at Notium (*B.C.H.* XXXIX [1915], p. 36f, no. 1), the ἐπιμηνιεύοντες at Mylasa (*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CXXXII [1895] 2, p. 14, no. 6) and the ἐπιμήνιος at Ilium (*C.I.G.* 3595=*O.G.I.* 219), Nesos (*I.G.* XII 2, 645=*O.G.I.* 4, l. 85f.) and Cius (L.W. 1140 [=Michel 539] and 1143). At Chalcedon (as at Megara, see *Syll.*[3] 642) there were αἰσυμνῆται, who, ten in number, held office for a particular month; see *C.I.G.* 3794 (αἰσιμνῶντες) and *J.H.S.* VII (1886), p. 154f. (ἔλαχον αἰσιμνῆν)=*S.G.D.I.* 3054 and 3053. At Magnesia-on-Maeander single tribes acted as πρόεδροι (presumably in the βουλή) and from their number was chosen the ἐπιστάτης; see *Ins. Magn.* 2, 4-6, 9-11, 14, 15, 89, 90 and 98 (=*Syll.*[3] 589). The πρόεδροι at Ephesus in 86 B.C. (L.W. 136 a=*Syll.*[3] 742) seem to have had a like executive position in the βουλή.

19. See Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 136f.: Busolt *ibid.* p. 480f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 162f. For the eponymous officials see also C. Gnaedinger *De Graecorum Magistratibus Eponymis* (Strassburg 1892), p. 3f., since whose time, however, the material has been greatly increased.

20. For the eponymous βασιλεύς at Chalcedon see *C.I.G.* 3794 and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 296, no. 1=*S.G.D.I.* 3054 and 3055. For the μόναρχος at Cos see *e.g. Syll.*[3] 793, 1012 and 1023: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI, p. 20f., no. 8, p. 37, no. 14 and p. 45. For the ἱππάρχης at Cyzicus from the middle of the fourth century (Michel 596) onward see J. H. Mordtmann in *A.M.* X (1885), p. 202f.: Smith and de Rustafjaell in *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), p. 199f.: Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 255f. For the δημιουργός (a title especially frequent in the cities of the Peloponnese, see von Schoeffer in *R.E.* IV 2858f.) at Samos see *C.I.G.* 3091=*Diss. Philol. Halenses* VII (1886), p. 207, no. 100: *Ins. Priene* 42 I and 67: *Syll.*[2] 666: Curtius *Inschr. u. Stud. z. Gesch. v. Samos*, p. 10f., no. 6 and p. 31, no. 9. (=Michel 368) and at Cnidus see *C.I.G.* 2654: *Syll.*[3] 953, l. 57: *S.G.D.I.* 3549 *pass.* The δημιουργός was eponymous also on the island of Astypalaea (*I.G.* XII 3, 168 and 174=*Syll.*[3] 722 and 780 [=*I.G.R.* IV 1031 A]), Nisyros (*I.G.* XII 3, 89, 91 [=*Syll.*[3] 572] and 104) and Amorgos (*I.G.* XII 7, 241), as well as in cities in Pamphylia and Cilicia (see Chap. XI notes 9, 31, 32, 33 and 35).

21. It was observed by Swoboda (*Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 88, note 1) that the eponymous *prytanis* had no connexion with the *prytaneis* who

formed the committees of the *βουλή* (see above note 18), and this is borne out by the decrees of Magnesia (*Ins. Magn.* 2, 4 and 5) which are dated *ἐπὶ—πρυτανεύοντος* and *φυλὴ—προήδρευεν* (or *φυλῆς—προεδρευούσης*). There was probably no connexion between this *πρύτανις* and the board of elected *πρυτάνεις* which existed in certain cities (see below note 26). The eponymous *πρύτανις* is found in the following cities: Ephesus (*e.g. J.O.A.I.* XVI [1913], p. 233f., nos. 1f. and II A-D: *Syll.*[3] 364: *Ephesos* III p. 95, no. 4; IV 1, p. 82, no. 2: L.W. 136 *b*=*A.E.M.* XX [1897], p. 61); Chios (*e.g. Syll.*[3] 283, 959, 986 and 987, all of the fifth or fourth century: *R. Phil.* LXIII [1937], p. 337f., no. 10, *ὁ πρύτανις ὁ στεφανηφ*[*όρος*], of the third century, see below note 23); Notium (*J.O.A.I.* VIII [1905], p. 166f., nos. III 1 and 3; V 2-4 [=*I.G.R.* IV 1589, 1587 and 1586]; XV [1912], p. 54, no. 26=*I.G.R.* IV 1588: *B.C.H.* XXXIX [1915], p. 36f.), where Apollo was *prytanis* in several years in the second century after Christ (see below note 24); Lebedus (*C.I.G.* 2909=*Ins. Priene* 139); Teos (*C.I.G.* 3065: *S.E.G.* II 579 and 580; IV 598); Priene (in the fourth century, see below note 23); Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 2, 4, 5 and 8, all of the early third century, see below note 23); Cius (*C.I.G.* 3723 and L.W. 1140); Cyme (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 36of., nos. 4 [=Michel 511] and 6=XXXVII [1913], p. 168f., nos. 4 and 5; LI [1927], p. 375, no. 1: *I.G.R.* IV 1302: *J.O.A.I.* XIV [1911], *Beibl.* 135f., where the *prytanis* is Cyme the Amazon, after whom the city was supposed to have been named, see Strabo XI p. 505 and XIII p. 623); Temnus (*O.G.I.* 265: Keil-Premerstein 1 p. 95f., no. 202); Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 5 A, 6, 74 [=*Syll.*[3] 968], 75, 96 and 112); Methymna (*I.G.* XII 2, 498 and 500); Eresus (*I.G.* XII 2, 526=*O.G.I.* 8 VI).

22. For the eponymous Priest of Helios at Rhodes see Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 769 and 834f. For the *ἱεροποιός* at Erythrae see *I.G.* XII 1, 6: L.W. 1541: *Syll.*[3] 410 and 1014: *Ἀθηνᾶ* XX (1908), p. 231f., no. 42=*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII (1921) 3, p. 68 (to be combined with *J.O.A.I.* XII [1909], p. 133). For the *νεωποίης* at Halicarnassus see *Syll.*[3] 1015: *O.G.I.* 16, *ν*(*εωποιοῦντος*): *B.C.H.* IV (1880), p. 395, no. 2=*S.G.D.I.* 5728, *νε*[*ωποιοῦντος*]. Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 57f. observed that the eponymous *νεωποίης* was the Priest of Apollo, elected yearly and thereby created head of the board of *νεωποῖαι*, and that for this reason the eponymous official was often called simply *ὁ ἱερεύς*.

23. For the *στεφανηφόρος* see Busolt *ibid.* p. 499: Stier in *R.E.* III A 2343f.: J. Vanseveren (Mme. L. Robert) in *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 344f. Stier listed the following places where a stephanephorus is known to have held the eponymous office: Miletus, Priene, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Phocaea, Smyrna, Gambreium, Iasus, Mylasa, Heracleia ad Latmum, Nysa (in the Roman period), Calymnos, Minoa on Amorgos (in the Roman period). To these should be added Chios and Bargylia (see below) and Myndus (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 277f., nos. 1 and 2). For the lists of stephanephori at Miletus see *Milet* I 3, p. 254f., nos. 122-128, covering the years 525/4-260/59, 232/1-184/3 B.C. and 89/8 B.C.-A.D. 31/2 (from 334 to 216 reprinted in

Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 102f.), and (for the years 183/2-159/8 or 156/5) Rehm in *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923 VIII. For the stephanephori from Sulla to Tiberius see Rehm in *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939, VIII p. 24f. For fragments of lists at Priene and Heracleia see *Ins. Priene* 141-2 (s. I B.C. and A.D. 9/10-41/2) and *O.G.I.* 459 (probably 17/6 B.C.-A.D. 4/5), and for what is perhaps a similar list at Antandrus see Michel 668. At Miletus the society of the μολποί is known from its "sacred law," dating from 450/49 B.C. but containing additions from earlier and later times; see *Milet* I 3, p. 277f., no. 133=*Syll.*³ 57 and (most recently) Luria in *Philol.* LXXXIII (1928), p. 113f. and Poland in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 509f. This society, presumably composed of members of the aristocratic families, was originally a private organization, but it early received official recognition as a public *collegium.* Its senior members were called στεφανηφόροι, and it was headed by a board consisting of an αἰσυμνήτης and five προσέταιροι. The former, with the designation of στεφανηφόρος, became the *eponymus* of Miletus, evidently appointed, whatever may have been the original method of his election, by the *demos.* In the earlier lists of the stephanephori (*Milet* I nos. 122-127) the old title is used in the superscription οἵδε μολτῶν ᾑσύμνησαν; the latest (no. 128) is headed στεφανηφόροι οἱ καὶ αἰσυμνῆται. The title appears in inscriptions of the third century as μολπῶν αἰσυμνήσας; see *Milet* I 3, p. 353f., nos. 157, 159 and 160. The occasion of the appointment of the president of the society to the eponymous office was perhaps the result of the transformation of the power of the earlier πρύτανις into a tyranny (Aristotle *Pol.* V 5, p. 1305 A) and a desire to substitute a less dangerous official for the earlier "ruler"; see De Sanctis in *Studi in Onore di P. Bonfante* (Milan 1930) II p. 671f. and J. H. Oliver in *T.A.P.A.* LXVI (1935), p. 186f. A somewhat similar change seems to have taken place at Priene under Alexander; for in a decree of the city to be dated probably in the summer of 334 (*Ins. Priene* 2=*Syll.*³ 278) the prytanis appears as *eponymus*, whereas in another, enacted only a short time later (*Ins. Priene* 3=*Syll.*³ 282), the *eponymus* was the stephanephorus, and he continued to hold this title through the third and second centuries down to Roman times; see A. Asboeck *Das Staatswesen v. Priene in Hellenist. Zeit* (Munich 1913), p. 90f. This change also took place during the third century at Chios, where a decree (*R. Phil.* LXIII p. 337f., no. 10) mentions the πρύτανις ὁ στεφανηφ[όρος]; in this case, as Vanseveren pointed out, the title of this prytanis seems to have been abbreviated and the old designation supplanted by the newer one, which appears regularly in Hellenistic and Roman times as the title of the *eponymus*; see Ἀρχ. Δελτ. XI (1927-8), Παρ. 27, no. 7, restored by Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 535: *B.C.H.* XXXVII (1913), p. 221, no. 29: *I.G.R.* IV 941. This official, however, seems to have been originally one of a board or of a committee of the βουλή (see below note 26), for πρυτάνεις οἱ ἐνεστῶτες are mentioned in a decree of Chios of about 300 B.C.; see *B.S.A.* XLI (1940-45), p. 45f. Also at Magnesia-on-Maeander about the middle of the third century the eponymous prytanis (see above note 21) was replaced by a stephanephorus. At Phocaea in the

Roman imperial period the two offices were sometimes combined; see *I.G.R.* IV 1322, 1323 and 1325.

It was supposed by Gnaedinger (*ibid.* p. 3f.) that the eponymous stephanephorus was a priestly official, and this view has found wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Th. Sauciuc in *A.M.* XXXVI (1911), p. 161: Asboeck, p. 91: Busolt *ibid.* p. 499: P. Stengel *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*[3] (Munich 1920), pp. 40 and 46f.: Vollgraff in *Mnem.* XLVI (1918), p. 421f.: Stier *ibid.* 2344. It was believed that in Miletus the stephanephorus was a priest of Apollo Delphinius (Rehm in *Milet* I p. 241) and that at Magnesia he was associated with the priestess of Artemis Leucophryene in the cult of the Goddess (Kern in *Arch. Jahrb.* IX [1894], *Arch. Anz.* p. 124 and De Sanctis *ibid.* p. 676). Gnaedinger, however, based his view on Boeckh's change in the text of the Milesian inscription *C.I.G.* 2855, which actually reads *ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ τρίτου* ([Ἰθ]ν[κ]ρίτου, Boeckh) *τοῦ μετὰ Μηνόδωρο[ν]*, *i.e.* the third stephanephorate of Apollo (see below note 24) after that of Menodorus (dated by Rehm in 178/7 B.C.). This inscription, therefore, does not afford any evidence for connecting the stephanephorus with the cult of Apollo. At Magnesia, moreover, the only connexion of the stephanephorus with the cult of Artemis consisted in his participation with the former priestesses of Artemis in the conduct of a sacrifice and a procession at the festival of the Isiteria, in the fact that both he and the priestess were elected on the same day (*Ins. Magn.* 100=*Syll.*[3] 695, A, l. 31f. and B, l. 30f.), and in his appearance, together with the priest and priestess of Artemis and other officials, at the yearly festival of Zeus Sosipolis (*Ins. Magn.* 98=*Syll.*[3] 589, ll. 15f., 22f. and 31f.). Similarly, at Priene the participation of the stephanephorus in the offering of certain sacrifices (*Ins. Priene* 108, l. 256f.; 109, ll. 179f. and 194f.; 113, ll. 39f. and 69f.: Asboeck, p. 93f.) does not show that the office was a priestly one. At Chios also there seems to be no reason for regarding the *πρύτανις στεφανηφόρος* as a priest or a priestly official. It is true that at Priene in the early first century before Christ the holder of the office of stephanephorus was described as *λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου στέφανον* (*Ins. Priene* 114, l. 23f.), and there seems to have been a similar ceremony at Istrus in Thrace, where about 100 B.C. the priest of Apollo was described as *τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς πόλεω[ς] Ἀπόλλωνος ἀναδεξά[μενο]ς στέφανον* (*Syll.*[3] 708, l. 21f.). But whatever significance this ceremony of investiture with the "eponymous wreath" of the God may have had, it cannot be regarded as proving that the wearer was made a priest. On the other hand, at Bargylia, when, soon after 129 B.C., the office of eponymous stephanephorus (see also *J.H.S.* XVI [1896], p. 218, no. 8A) was created, the measure provided that it should be held by the annually elected Priest of Apollo (see Holleaux *Études* II p. 180, l. 6f. and commentary). At Pergamum (where, however, as Corradi observed in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX [1911], p. 504f.=*Studi Ellenist.* p. 349f., the *eponymus* was the *πρύτανις* or, in two instances, *O.G.I.* 267 and 338, a *ἱερεύς*) the *στεφανηφόρος τῶν Δώδεκα Θεῶν καὶ Θεοῦ Βασιλέως Εὐμένου*, who appears in a decree honouring Attalus III (*O.G.I.* 332, l. 27f., see Chap. I note 88), was evidently a priest, but the *στεφανηφόρος*

who was ordered to burn incense, in this decree (l. 12f.) with ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Βασιλέως καὶ [ἀ]γωνοθέτης, and in a decree of about 129 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 694, l. 40f.) with [οἱ ἱ]ερεῖς καὶ αἱ ἱ[έρειαι] καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες, did not necessarily have a priestly office. In Delos, to be sure, where the archon was eponymous, the holder of the title is described in a metrical inscription (*I.G.* XI 1139) as σὸς (*i.e.* Ἑστίας) καὶ Φοίβου στεφανηφόρος; but in other Delian inscriptions (*I.G.* XI 1140 and 1141) he appears as ἄρξας τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχήν, and it was supposed by Roussel in *B.C.H.* XXXIV (1910), p. 392 that the archon stephanephorus was identical with the archon eponymous. In Tenos (ὁ ἄρχων τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχήν, *I.G.* XII 5, 804 and 820f.), in Paros (ἄρξας τὴν στεφανηφόρον τοῦ πολεμάρχου ἀρχήν, *I.G.* XII 5, 282), and in Melos (ἄρξας δὶς τὴν στεφανηφόρον τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀρχήν, *I.G.* XII 3, 1116) it seems highly probable that the title was also borne by the chief magistrate and had no religious significance. This was also the case in the island of Syros, where, in the second century after Christ, this magistrate bore the title ὁ στεφανηφόρος ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος or στεφανηφόρος καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἄρχων; see *I.G.* XII 5, 659 and 662-667. This examination of the known instances of the eponymous stephanephorus bears out the observation of Vanseveren that the title might be attached to a magistracy as well as to a priesthood. In Miletus it was given to the head of a society who obtained official standing, in Chios and apparently in Priene and Magnesia it was given to the prytanis, and on the islands it was borne by the chief magistrate, the archon. Only at Bargylia is it certain that a priest was the holder of this office, and here, in the difficult time which followed the revolt of Aristonicus, it may have seemed expedient, in creating the office, to appoint the already existing Priest of Apollo as the incumbent. In the imperial period, on the other hand, there was a stephanephorus of Apollo at Stratoniceia in Caria; see *S.E.G.* IV 263 and *Reisen* I no. 134.

24. For the holding of the eponymous office by a deity see Gebhard in *R.E.* III A 2349f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, pp. 167f. and 234f.: Robert *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 51f. The stephanephorate was held at Miletus, at Iasus and at Antandrus by Apollo; at Magnesia by Artemis Leucophryene; at Priene by Zeus Olympius, by Apollo and by various "heroes" (*Ins. Priene* 18, ll. 20 and 28; 21, l. 9; 44, l. 31f.; 108, ll. 51, 79 and 89; 109, l. 141); at Heracleia ad Latmum by a god, presumably Apollo (*S.E.G.* II 536, corrected by Robert in *Istros* II [1935-36], p. 2, and *Milet* I 3, no. 150 [treaty with Miletus] = *Syll.*[3] 633, l. 26f.); at Panamara in Caria by Zeus Panamaros. Similarly, the office of eponymous hipparch at Cyzicus was held by Poseidon (*O.G.I.* 748, l. 15) and that of eponymous prytanis at Lampsacus by Aphrodite and Priapus. During the imperial period the office of eponymous stephanephorus was held at Stratoniceia by Apollo, that of μόναρχος at Cos by Asclepius and Apollo Calymnius and that of prytanis at Notium by Apollo Clarius and at Cyme by the Amazon Cyme. The connexion between the holding of the stephanephorate at Miletus by the god and a period of financial stringency is shown by the fact that during the war-years 276/5-260/59 B.C. Apollo was stephanephorus seven times, in 229/8-226/5

four times in succession and in 196/5-184/3 eight times, while during the period 180/79-159/8 (or 156/5), which followed the defeat of Antiochus III, he held the office twelve times (*Milet* I 3, p. 258f., nos. 123 and 124 and Rehm *l.c.*).

25. The πρυτάνεις at Rhodes (see below note 26), the στρατηγοί at Cnidus (*C.I.G.* 2654), and the ἄρχοντες at Cos (*Syll.*² 940) held office for six months. At Erythrae the nine *strategoi* and the *agoranomos* (see *Syll.*³ 410 and 442, *I.G.* XII 1, 6 and L.W. 1541 and H. Gaebler *Erythrae* [Berlin 1892], pp. 118 and 122), at Chalcedon the *strategoi* (*Syll.*³ 645, l. 73f.) and at Magnesia-on-Maeander the *agoranomos* (*Ins. Magn.* 164 [=*O.G.I.* 485] and 179) held office for four months. It was supposed by Keil and von Premerstein (I p. 96) on the basis of a decree (no. 202, ἀρχόν[των τῶν με]τὰ Ἡγήτορ[α Μ]ητρᾶ [καὶ]ο[ν ΙΙ]απᾶ) that the *archontes* at Temnus also held office for less than a year, but the inscription is too fragmentary to afford convincing evidence.

26. For the πρυτάνεις at Rhodes see H. van Gelder *Gesch. d. alten Rhodier* (Hague 1900), p. 239 f. and Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 767; the latter showed in *Herm.* XXXVIII (1903), p. 147f. that the board consisted of five members. In the later fourth century the *prytaneis* seem to have been a board of officials at Miletus, where they were ordered to carry out the provisions of the decree safeguarding the interests of the Sardians in Miletus (*Milet* I 3, p. 286f., no. 135=*Syll.*³ 273, see Chap. V note 5). Later, they rendered decisions in cases involving freedom (*ibid.* no. 140 A), enrolled, sometimes in conjunction with the ᾑρημένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ (see below note 29), new citizens in the city-tribes (*ibid.* p. 182f., nos. 37, l. 64 and 38 and p. 312f., nos. 141, l. 39; 142; 143, l. 28; 146, l. 37), managed the revenues accruing from the portico built by Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 213), expressed the thanks of the city for a loan made by Cnidus (*Milet* I 3, p. 294f., no. 138, l. 16), and, also with the ᾑρημένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ, were made responsible for the safe departure of envoys (*ibid.* p. 318f., no. 143, l. 44f.), took part in a sacred ceremony (*ibid.* p. 182f., no. 37, l. 43), acted for the city in taking an oath to abide by a treaty (*ibid.* p. 350f., no. 149, l. 51f.), proposed measures to the Assembly (*ibid.* p. 334f., nos. 147, 149 and 150 [=*Syll.*³ 633] and *Milet* I 9, p. 150, no. 307) and addressed a formal letter to Elis (*Syll.*³ 683, l. 29). In the Roman imperial period the board consisted of an ἀρχιπρύτανις and five other members; see *C.I.G.* 2878: *Milet* I 2, p. 119f., no. 20 (A.D. 136) and I 7, p. 310f., nos. 227, 228 and 233f. At Iasus, which boasted of having been colonized in part by Milesians (Polybius XVI 12, 2), the *prytaneis*, five in number (*C.I.G.* 2677 B, perhaps six in *B.C.H.* XIII [1889], p. 23, no. 1, l. 26f.), were included in a decree of the mid-fourth century (*Syll.*³ 169, l. 12f.) among the officials ordered to sell confiscated property. They may have been an elected board at Ilium, where they took part in a sacrifice to Athena in honour of Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 219, ll. 20 and 29), imposed fines (*C.I.G.* 3598 and Michel 1342=*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 451), and are mentioned (*C.I.G.* 3600) together with the

στρατηγοί (see below note 29); at Scepsis, where four men ἐπρυτάνευον and one man ἐπεστάτει (*J.O.A.I.* III [1900], p. 54f.); and perhaps at Smyrna, where there is a dedication by a πρυτανεύων [τ]ὸ δεύτερον καὶ οἱ παραπρυτάνεις (*C.I.G.* 3168). On the other hand, it might be supposed (so Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 73 and Brandis in *R.E.* v 2182) that the *prytaneis* were elected officials at Samos, where they were five in number (*Ins. Priene* 37, l. 29f.) and where they were ordered to convene an Assembly, impose small fines for disobedience and inscribe in the public records the guarantees of the candidates for the office of μελεδωνός and the names of those elected (*Syll.*[3] 976, see above note 18), and also, in conjunction with the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, to assign a new citizen to a tribe (Michel 368). Since, however, they appear definitely as a committee of the Samian βουλή (see above note 18), this evidence is misleading. Since they also formed a similar committee at Halicarnassus (see above note 18), no inference that they were elected officials may be drawn from the fact that they were ordered in a decree of the city to proclaim the bestowal of a wreath (*B.C.H.* v [1881], p. 211f., no. 6 = Paton-Hicks no. 13, see Robert in *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 163f.). For the most part, however, the *prytaneis* of the Asianic cities appear in the formula γνώμη πρυτάνεων (γνώμα πρυτανίων), signifying that the decree in question was a proposal made by them to the Council or Assembly; see Busolt *ibid.* p. 312, note 2. This formula is found at Iasus (*e.g. C.I.G.* 2674 (?) and 2677 B: Michel 464, 468 [= *Ins. Priene* 53], 469 and 470: *B.C.H.* VIII [1884], p. 454f., no. 1 = XIII [1889], p. 34f.) and at Erythrae (where the στρατηγοί were ordered in *I.G.* XII 1, 6 to refer to the πρυτάνεις the erection of a statue) in the combination στρατηγῶν πρυτάνεων ἐξεταστῶν γνώμη; see *Syll.*[3] 285, 412, 413 and 442: *Ins. Priene* 50: Ἀθηνᾶ XX (1908), p. 231f., no. 42 = *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII (1921), 6, p. 67f., to be combined with *J.O.A.I.* XII (1909), p. 133. The formula is also found in the following cities: Halicarnassus (*Syll.*[3] 1015: *S.G.D.I.* 5728 = Michel 454: *J.O.A.I.* XI [1908], p. 56f., no. 2); Samos (Michel 368: *O.G.I.* 41: *S.E.G.* I 363-367); Bargylia (*Ins. Priene* 47: C. Curtius *Inschr. u. Stud. z. Gesch. von Samos* [Lübeck 1877], p. 34f., no. 13, from Bargylia, see Swoboda, pp. 83 and 262); Astypalaea (*I.G.* XII 3, 169, 170 and 173, l. 51). The *prytaneis* also proposed decrees at Calynda in Caria (*Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59341 A, l. 23). The combination at Erythrae of the *prytaneis* with the boards of *strategoi* and *exetastai* (see below notes 29 and 30) led Swoboda to believe (pp. 88 and 130) that they were a similar board. It is true that proposals were normally made not merely by the *strategoi* but by other boards as well (see Schulthess in *R.E.* VII 1485f.), and it might be supposed that in all those cases where they were made by *prytaneis* the latter were officials. But the fact that at Samos and Halicarnassus the *prytaneis* were committees of the βουλή shows that no such inference may be drawn from the presence of the formula γνώμη πρυτάνεων in the decrees of these two cities. In fact, it is impossible to determine from the mere use of this formula and without further evidence whether the *prytaneis* who proposed a decree were a committee of the βουλή or a board of officials.

27. For the τιμοῦχοι see Busolt *ibid.* p. 357f.: Schulthess in *R.E.* VI A 1367f.: Robert in *B.C.H.* LII (1928), p. 165f. Originally the word seems to have been used as a term to denote officials in general; so τιμοχέοντες at Teos in the fifth century (*Syll.*³ 38, see Bannier in *Rh. Mus.* LXXIV [1925], p. 285f.) and τιμουχία at Olbia and Sinope (Ionian settlements) in the late fourth and the third centuries (*Syll.*³ 286 and 1017). It was observed by Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XII (1909), p. 136f. that the expression ὅτεο δὲ [π]ατὴ[ρ ἢ π]αλαιότερος [τ]ιμὰς ἴσ[χ]εν in a law of Erythrae of the early fourth century (Ἀθηνᾶ XX [1908], p. 190f., no. 5 β, l. 25f.) also has this meaning. At Massalia the Council of 600 continued to bear the name τιμοῦχοι (Strabo IV p. 179). In certain cities during the Hellenistic period, however, the *timouchoi* had definite functions. At Teos in the second century they were ordered to pronounce a curse on anyone who diverted an endowment-fund, they acted with the *strategoi* (see below note 29) in proposing a γνώμη and announced the honours conferred thereby, and, also in company with the σ[τρατηγοί], they were ordered to provide for the annual celebration of a festival; see *Syll.*³ 578, l. 60: *Ins. Magn.* 97, ll. 30 and 40f.: *O.G.I.* 309, l. 12. At Priene in the late fourth century they proposed γνῶμαι and seem to have had certain judicial functions, and they had a γραμματεύς and a τιμούχιον; see *Ins. Priene* 4, l. 19; 6, l. 5; 8, l. 2; 10, ll. 17 and 28; 12, l. 4: Asboeck *Staatswesen v. Priene*, p. 78f. At Lebedus also they appear to have proposed a γνώμη; see M.K.B. III¹ (1878-80), p. 174, no. τνδ΄ as restored by Robert *l.c.* ([γνώμη τιμού]χων). At Methymna they proposed a decree in the βουλή honouring *dikastai* from Miletus and τῶν τιμώχων καὶ πρεσβεντέρων οἱ παρίοντες acted as sponsors for it in the Assembly; see *Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152 = *R.E.G.* XXXVIII (1925), p. 29f., and B. Keil in *Ber. Sächs. Ges. Wiss.* LXXI (1919), 8, p. 73, note 105. It was supposed therefore by Busolt and by Schulthess, following Dittenberger in *Syll.*³ 1007, note 11, that the *timouchoi* were a board of officials, but while this is indeed suggested by their association with the *strategoi* at Teos, our knowledge of their activities scarcely permits of a definite conclusion, and it may be that, like the *prytaneis* in certain cities, they were a committee of the βουλή.

28. At Cos the προστάται are known chiefly from proposals (γνώμα προστατᾶν) made to the Assembly; see Paton-Hicks 2 and 13 (= Michel 426): Maiuri *N.S.* 432, 436 and 465: Herzog *K.F.* p. 124f., no. 188: *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1905, p. 980f.: *Historia* VIII (1934) p. 429, no. 1. They had, however, certain administrative functions. They were ordered to enroll a new citizen (*I.B.M.* 247 = *S.G.D.I.* 3611 = *R. Phil.* XXVI [1902], p. 314f. = *Rend. Pontific. Accad. Rom. d. Arch.* XVII [1940-41], p. 21f.), to receive the testimony of witnesses (*Syll.*³ 953, ll. 25 and 34, with an additional fragment in *Riv. Fil.* LXX [1942], p. 1f.), to estimate the value of a bull offered to Zeus (*Syll.*³ 1025, l. 27), to provide for the recording and proclamation of honours conferred by popular decree (*I.B.M.* 260 = *Riv. Fil.* LXX [1942], p. 9f., no. 4), and to offer sacrifices in Cos in celebration of the deliverance of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi from the Gauls and arrange for the payment of the money appropriation for the θεωροί sent to Delphi (*Syll.*³ 398). They also

received orders to act with the priest in opening the sacred treasury (Maiuri *N.S.* 441, l. 22f.) and, in conjunction with the ταμίαι and the ἱεροφύλακες to file a statement of the money deposited in this treasury (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI p. 37, no. 14, l. 13f.), and the cost of a sacrifice was to be paid to them by the [ναπο]ῖαι (*Syll.*[2] 597). It was shown by M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* LXI (1933), p. 368, in opposition to the hypothesis of Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928, VI p. 46, that the *prostatai* at Cos numbered five and not six. At Cnidus the *prostatai* are known only from their γνῶμαι; see *Syll.*[3] 187 and 978 and *Ins. Magn.* 15. The fifteen *prostatai* at Cnidus who appear in *I.B.M.* 796 (probably of the fourth century), as was observed by the editor, Hirschfeld, following Kaibel (*Epigr. Graeca* 783) and Hicks in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 107, note 1, had nothing to do with this board. *Prostatai* appear also in other communities of Caria and the adjacent islands. At Theangela, where likewise a decree was passed as a [γνώμη] προστατῶν (*I.G.* XI 1054 A = *S.E.G.* III 666), they may perhaps have had administrative functions, for they were ordered to designate a place for the erection of a statue to a benefactor and to furnish the ταμίας with a part of the cost; see *R.E.A.* XXXIII (1931), p. 214f. = Robert *Coll. Froehner* I 54, l. 10f. On the island of Calymnos, where, as at Cos, the *prostatai* were to receive the testimony of witnesses (*Syll.*[3] 953, l. 25f.), they are otherwise known only from the formula γνώμα προστατᾶν in decrees granting citizenship; see *C.I.G.* 2671 = *S.G.D.I.* 3585: *S.G.D.I.* 3566 A: *I.B.M.* 232, 233, 235, 236, 238, 249, 250 and 279. It was supposed by Swoboda (*ibid.* p. 67) followed by Busolt (*ibid.* p. 477) that these *prostatai* were not magistrates but a committee of the βουλή serving for a month. This view, however, is based only on the restoration of *I.B.M.* 261 B, [τοὺς αἱρηθησομέν]ους τὸμ μῆνα το[ῦτον προστάτας], which it is difficult to accept as ground for a definite statement. Accordingly, while there seems to be some evidence for a belief that the *prostatai* at Cos may have been officials, the observation of Swoboda (p. 76), followed by Busolt (p. 477), that in general it cannot be determined whether the *prostatai* were an elected board or a committee of the βουλή seems to be justified. Entirely different, evidently, from these *prostatai* were those known at Iasus, where they existed alongside of the *prytaneis*. They acted as sponsors, together with the *strategoi* (see below note 29), for a πρυτάνεων γνώμη conferring citizenship (Michel 470) and they were ordered to select a place for inscribing a similar decree (*C.I.G.* 2676); another decree of this kind contained the clause προγράψασθαι τοὺς προστάτας (*Ins. Priene* 53, ll. 28f. and 57). They were also ordered to seal the boxes (one for each city-tribe) in which were deposited the tickets inscribed with the names of those attending the Assembly (Michel 466). It was supposed by Hicks in *I.B.M.* III p. 39f., followed by Swoboda (pp. 71 and 92), that these *prostatai* were a board which superintended the admission of strangers to citizenship. It seems more possible, however, that, as Haussoullier suggested in *B.C.H.* VIII (1884), p. 220, they were the presidents of the city-tribes (who would also be concerned with the admission of new citizens).

29. For the *στρατηγοί* on the islands near the Asianic coast and in the Greek cities of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period see W. Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1102f. For the *strategoi* in Rhodes see *I.G.* XII 1, 42 and 49 (=*Syll.*[3] 619), l. 15f.: *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 382, no. 4=*S.G.D.I.* 3789: Maiuri *N.S.* 20=*A.M.* LI (1926), p. 3. Individual members of the board appear as *στραταγήσας* or *στραταγός* in *I.G.* XII 1, 44 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1115) and 56: Maiuri *N.S.* 32: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II (1916), p. 136f., no. 3. The inscriptions cited above, which contain the names of the members of the board, show that these were ten in number; they included, as appears from *I.G.* XII 1, 49 and *S.G.D.I.* 3789, a *στραταγὸς ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν* and a *στραταγὸς εἰς τὸ Πέραν* (see Chap. IV note 62). On the other hand, in *I.G.* XII 1, 50=*S.G.D.I.* 3790 there appear to be twelve members. The increase in the number may be explained by supposing that by the time of this inscription—the first century before Christ—the board had been enlarged; since the *στραταγὸς ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν* and the *στραταγὸς εἰς τὸ Πέραν* appear in the boards of ten, it is impossible to accept the explanation of Schwahn, who accounted for the twelve *strategoi* by supposing that these two were included. It was pointed out by van Gelder (*Gesch. d. Alt. Rhodier*, p. 253) that, since Rhodes was a sea-power and seems to have had no land-forces except some mercenaries, its board of *strategoi* had no military functions; what their duties were, however, is unknown. In the city-states, on the other hand, there are traces of their original military functions at Erythrae, where they were praised for having taken measures in time of war for guarding and arming the city (*Syll.*[3] 410 and 442); at Cyzicus, where, about 135 B.C., a certain Machaon appears as *ἐξ ἧς ταγεὶς στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς [πόλεω]ς* (*I.G.R.* IV 134, see Chap. VI note 13); and perhaps at Ephesus, where, about 295 B.C., the *strategoi* requested Aenetus, the general of Demetrius Poliorcetes, to help in supplying arms to the exiles from Priene who had taken refuge in a stronghold (*Syll.*[3] 363=*R.E.G.* XXIX [1916], p. 29f., see Chap. IV note 9) and in 86 introduced a measure providing for the defence of the city against Mithradates (*Syll.*[3] 742, see above p. 224f.). In general, however, only civil functions are known. Like the *prytaneis*, they made proposals to the Assemblies in the form of a *γνώμη στρατηγῶν*. These proposals are known in the following cities: Ephesus (*Syll.*[3] 742 and Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 25, § 262, *εἰσαγγειλαμένων* or *εἰσηγησαμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν*: *I.G.* XII 3, 171=*I.G.R.* IV 1029, *προγραψαμένων εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τῶν στρα[τ]ηγῶν*); Smyrna (*O.G.I.* 229, ll. 1 and 89: *I.G.* XII 3, 172, see *B.C.H.* XLVIII [1924], p. 336f.: *I.G.* XII 8, 269=*B.C.H.* XLVIII p. 331f., l. 20f.); Erythrae (see above note 26): Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 113, of the Roman period); Phocaea (*Ins. Priene* 65); Priene (*Ins. Priene* 18 [=*O.G.I.* 215], l. 21; 53, l. 38; 54, l. 35; 61, l. 32; 69, l. 1; 202, l. 22); Teos (*Ins. Magn.* 97, l. 30, with *[τιμ]οῦχοι*); Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 15, l. 13, *περὶ ὧν οἱ στρόταγοι προτίθεισι*: Michel 357, ll. 8f. and 37, *ἵνα ποιήσωνται οἱ στραταγοὶ ἔφοδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*); Methymna (*Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152, ll. 1f. and 18f., *στραταγοὶ προτίθεισι*); Pitane (*O.G.I.* 335, l. 2, *στρατηγοὶ εἶπαν*); Halicarnassus (*I.B.M.* 888); Iasus (where they acted as sponsors for a *γνώμη*, Michel 470, see above

note 26); Cos (*Syll.*[3] 1012, l. 2, *συνέγραψαν* [*στρα*]*ταγο*(*ί*)); Cius (L.W. 1140=Michel 539).

For a *strategos* as presiding-officer of the Assembly at Cyme see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 360, no. 4 (=Michel 511) and p. 362f., no. 6=XXXVII (1913), p. 168f., nos. 4 and 5. For the responsibility of the board of *strategoi* at Erythrae for the collection of the money demanded by the Galatians see *Syll.*[3] 410, l. 13f., and for their management of the sacred funds of Asclepius at Lampsacus see *C.I.G.* 3641 B=*S.E.G.* IV 668. For the appropriation by them of money for the expenses of a *θεωρός* at Cnidus, and for the cost of inscribing honorific decrees at Halicarnassus and Erythrae and for erecting a statue at Erythrae, and for their general control (in conjunction with other officials) over the public funds at Temnus see *Ins. Magn.* 56, l. 36f.: *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 97f., no. 4: *Ἀθηνᾶ* XX (1908), p. 232, no. 42=*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII (1921), 3, p. 67f.: *I.G.* XII 1, 6: Cicero *pro Flacco* 44. For their responsibility for erecting statues and providing wreaths for benefactors at Priene and for announcing the bestowal of honours at Priene, at Samos (in conjunction with the *prytaneis*), at Methymna (where, in conjunction with the *ἑξεταστaί*, they arranged for the entertainment of the *dikastai* from Miletus), and at Chalcedon see *Ins. Priene* 18, l. 11f.; 83, l. 13; 99, l. 15; 104, l. 12f.; 109, l. 271f.: *S.E.G.* I 351: *Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152, ll. 10f. and 46f.: Michel 535, l. 73f. For their participation in public funerals at Priene see *Ins. Priene* 99, l. 21; 104, l. 11; 108, l. 369 (?); 113, l. 116, and in public sacrifices at Ilium (together with certain priests) see *O.G.I.* 219, l. 30. At Smyrna the *strategoi* carried on the negotiations with the soldiers at Magnesia-near-Sipylus who were about to become citizens, co-operated with the *ταμίας* in providing houses for these men and, with the *ἑξεταστaί* (see below note 30), affixed the public seal to the formal agreement (*O.G.I.* 229, ll. 13, 19, 58 and 88), and at Cyzicus they, together with the *φύλαρχοι* and a *τειχοποιός*, made a contract with a builder for the construction of a tower (Michel 596). The *strategoi* of Cnidus, when the city was asked to provide means for rendering a decision in a suit brought against the community of Calymnos by the heirs of a citizen of Cos, conducted the trial, receiving all documents concerning the suit and supervising the interrogation of the witnesses, and when the pleas had been finished they rendered their decision by ballot (*Syll.*[3] 953 with another fragment in *Riv. Fil.* LXX [1942], p. 1f.). The board of *strategoi* consisted of five members at Cyzicus (*B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 537, no. 2, of the Roman period, and *A.M.* X [1885], p. 200f., no. 28, see *R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 13); at Temnus (Cicero *pro Flacco* 44); at Cius in A.D. 108/9 (*I.G.R.* III 24); and probably at Cos (*Syll.*[3] 1012, where the statement in note 4 that there were only three, based apparently on the insufficient evidence of *I.G.R.* IV 1046, is questionable). At Erythrae the board consisted of nine (*Syll.*[3] 410 and 442). In Priene the *strategoi* seem not to have acted together but to have been divided into monthly committees serving in rotation (*ἐπιμῆνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν*); see *Ins. Priene* 83, l. 13; 99, l. 15; 104, l. 12f. (?); 111, l. 192: Asboeck *ibid.* p. 83f. At Magnesia, although in the first century after Christ a board of *strategoi* presented a *γνώμη* (see above), in the

second century before Christ there was a single *strategos*, who took part in public ceremonies (*Syll.*[3] 589, l. 26 and 695, l. 40) and was evidently not a member of a board.

The military affairs of Magnesia, which would normally have been conducted by *strategoi*, seem to have been in the hands of boards of πολέμαρχοι and ἱππάρχαι, who appear on the same ceremonial occasions as the *strategos* (*Syll.*[3] 589, l. 24 and 695, l. 39f.) but may also have had duties consistent with their names, for they were ordered to provide for the safe return of envoys from Cnidus and Teos (*Ins. Magn.* 15 B, l. 25 and 97, l. 92). At Clazomenae (probably) boards of *strategoi* and *polemarchai* existed together, proposing a decree in conjunction and, with the ταμίας, charged with the presentation of ξένια to θεωροί from Magnesia; see *Ins. Magn.* 53, ll. 1 and 69f. and, for the assignment to Clazomenae, Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX (1915), 6, p. 36. At Chios, where, during the Hellenistic period, there is no mention of *strategoi*, military matters seem also to have been entrusted to a body of πολέμαρχοι, who, about 300 B.C., were ordered to provide triremes for the safe return of *dikastai*; see *B.S.A.* XLI (1940-45), p. 45f. Otherwise they acted only in their capacity of civil officials, proposing decrees, sometimes in conjunction with the ἐξεταστάί; they were at least six in number and, like the *strategoi* at Priene, served in monthly committees (πολεμάρχων ἐπιμήνιοι); see Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 534f. and J. Vanseveren in *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 321f., to whose evidence should be added Ἀρχ. Δελτ. II (1916), p. 214f. (ὁ πολέμαρχος). At Miletus the only mention of *strategoi* between the time of Alexander, when they were ordered to give ξένια to the ἄγγελος sent by the Sardians (*Syll.*[3] 273, see Chap. V note 5), and a decree passed shortly before 16 B.C., assigning to them the responsibility for the annual appointment of a [β]ο[η]γός (L.W. 222 = Wilhelm *Beitr.* p. 177f., no. 155, see Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XLIV [1920], p. 63), is in the treaty with Pidasa concluded in 176/5 B.C. (*Milet* I 3, p. 350f., no. 149, l. 38, see Chap. IV note 78), where they appear in connexion, apparently, with the expulsion of an enemy and so in a truly military capacity. It was suggested by Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 288, note 4 that their appearance in a civil capacity at the end of the first century before Christ is to be connected with the restoration of Miletus to freedom in 39/38 (see Chap. XVIII note 15). During the Hellenistic period their place seems to have been taken by the ἠρημένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ, frequently mentioned together with the *prytaneis* (see above note 26) and separately in *Milet* I 3, p. 300f., no. 139, l. 56, where they were ordered to appropriate the money necessary for inscribing a letter to Ptolemy II and a decree in reply, their duties, as far as we know, being of a wholly civil character.

30. For the ἐξεταστάί see Szanto in *R.E.* VI 1680: Swoboda *Gr. Staatsalt.* p. 153, note 8: Busolt *Gr. Staatskunde*[3] I p. 472f., note 4. For their proposal (γνώμη) of decrees at Erythrae see above note 26, at Chios (together with the πολέμαρχοι, see above note 29) see *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 321f., nos. 4 and 5 and *I.G.R.* IV 946 (of the Roman period), and at Parium see

Ins. Priene 63, l. 22. At Samos they were ordered to file a lien against the property of a defaulting official (*Syll.*[3] 976, l. 75f.), and at Erythrae they were charged with the collection of a fine for disobeying a law (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909, II p. 29f., no. 7). They appropriated sacred funds at Halicarnassus to the use of a priestess and provided the cost of entertaining *dikastai* at Methymna and of repairing a statue at Erythrae; see *Syll.*[3] 1015, l. 32f.: *Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152, l. 10f.: *Syll.*[3] 284, l. 10f. They arranged for the recording or publication of decrees at Erythrae, Parium, Phocaea, Chios, Samos, Mitylene, Eresus, Nesos, Halicarnassus, and perhaps Clazomenae; see *M.κ.B.* II[2-3] (1876-78), p. 60, no. 142: *Ins. Priene* 63, l. 27f. and 64: *Syll.*[3] 402, l. 32f. as restored by Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 536f.: *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 337f., no. 10: *S.E.G.* I 366: *I.G.* XII 2, 15, l. 32f. and 527, l. 56: *O.G.I.* 4, l. 112f.: Michel 452 and 455: *Ins. Magn.* 53, l. 72. They were ordered to publish a list of those who had advanced money for the building of a stoa at Halicarnassus and to inscribe the names of *dikastai* from Miletus in the lists of *proxenoi* and benefactors at Eresus; see *O.G.I.* 46, l. 5 and *Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152, l. 93. They enrolled new citizens at Smyrna (where, together with the *strategoi*, they affixed their seals to the agreement with the Magnesians, see above note 29) and at Halicarnassus; see *O.G.I.* 229, ll. 51f. and 88: *S.E.G.* IV 183. In Ephesus, on the other hand, where there were no *exetastai*, although decrees granting citizenship were recorded by the *νεωποιοί* (see below note 31), the new citizens were sometimes enrolled in the city-tribes by the elsewhere unknown *ἐσσῆναι*, who had also to manage the money paid by new citizens, provide for the expenses of athletes and perform certain sacrifices; see *e.g.* *I.B.M.* 447, 451, 457 and 467: *Syll.*[3] 352, 354 and 363: *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), p. 236f.: *Ephesos* II p. 100f., nos. 5 and 7: Oikonomos in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* VII (1921-2), p. 329f.

31. For the *νεωποῖαι* (*νεωποιοί* or *ναποῖαι*) see Swoboda in *Wien. Stud.* X (1888), p. 305f. and XI (1889), p. 67f.: Busolt *ibid.* p. 502: Oikonomos in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* VII (1921-2), p. 326f. (for Ephesus): Schulthess in *R.E.* XVI 2425f. For the functions of the boards at Halicarnassus (in the fifth century before Christ) and at Iasus see *Syll.*[3] 46, l. 8 and 1016, l. 10. For the eponymous *νεωποίης* at Halicarnassus see above note 22. For the *ναποῖαι* on Cos see *Syll.*[2] 621: *Syll.*[3] 1023, ll. 33, 46f., 91, 98 and 106 (Halasarna): Herzog in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1901, p. 482 and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928, VI p. 49. In *Syll.*[3] 569, l. 44f. they were ordered to inscribe decrees of Halasarna in the Temple of Apollo, and according to *R.E.G.* IX (1896), p. 418f., no. 6 they seem to have been liable to make restitution in the event of some offence. For the single *νεωποίης* at Priene see Asboeck *ibid.* p. 112. He appropriated money for a statue and a wreath presented by the city (*Ins. Priene* 3 [=*Syll.*[3] 282], l. 22f. and 111, l. 309) and for *ξένια* given to envoys (*ibid.* 44, l. 32f.; 53, l. 74f.; 54, l. 70); he also received the money paid for priesthoods (*ibid.* 174 [=*Syll.*[3] 1003], l. 30f. and 202, l. 22f.). He had also to inscribe decrees of the city in the Temple of Athena, sometimes appropriating sacred funds for the purpose; see *ibid.* 4, l. 58; 8, l. 47; 17, l. 48;

18 (=*O.G.I.* 215), l. 36; 20, l. 5f.; 32; 49 etc. For the *νεωποία* as a liturgy at Priene in the late second century see below note 35. At Ephesus the board of *νεωποιοί* was ordered to record in the Artemisium decrees concerning citizenship and the names of new citizens, as well as a list of gifts to the Temple and a record of the decisions made in dividing the lands of debtors with their creditors; see *e.g.* *I.B.M.* 450, 452 (=*O.G.I.* 9), 453 (=*O.G.I.* 10=*Ephesos* II p. 104), 454, 458, 461 (=Michel 495), 466 and 471: *Ephesos* II p. 100f., nos. 4, 5 and 8: *Syll.*[3] 354 and 364, l. 21. They and the *κούρητες* (who performed certain mystic rites, see Strabo XIV p. 640) conjointly proposed a decree concerning citizenship, and the two boards seem to have acted together also in leasing out an incense-shop, presumably belonging to the Temple; see *Syll.*[3] 353 and *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 82, no. 2. At Iasus their chief function appears to have been the recording of decrees conferring honours or citizenship, which were proposed sometimes by a single *νεωποίης*, sometimes by *νεωποῖαι*; see *C.I.G.* 2671 (=Michel 462), 2673 A, 2675 A, 2676, 2677 A and 2678: Michel 464 and 465: *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 154f., no. 1. On one occasion, however, they were ordered to sit by the *κιβώτια* and deposit in them the tickets on which were inscribed the names of those attending the Assembly; see Michel 466. At Magnesia-on-Maeander the only known function of the *νεωποῖαι* was to take part in celebrating the festival of Zeus Sosipolis (*Syll.*[3] 589, l. 58). For lists of *νεωποῖαι* at Samos see *I.G.R.* IV 991=1706 and *A.M.* XLIX (1924), p. 46: *S.E.G.* I 379. We know nothing about their functions, for the recording of Samian decrees was ordinarily the duty of the *ἐξεταστaί* (see above note 30). At Magnesia and at Ephesus (in the Roman period) the *νεωποῖαι* formed a *συνέδριον*; see *Ins. Magn.* 362, l. 5f.: *Ephesos* II p. 185, no. 183 c: *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 57. At Didyma the accounts of the *ἐγλογισταί* of the Temple were filed in the *νεωποιεῖον*; see *S.E.G.* II 568.

32. For the *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* (or *τοῦ δήμου*) see Schulthess in *R.E.* VII 1763f.: Busolt *ibid.* p. 478f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 238f. According to Schulthess, during the Hellenistic period there was a *grammateus* in the following cities: Ephesus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Notium, Priene, Rhodes, Samos and Teos. To these should be added: Calymnos (*Syll.*[3] 953); Chalcedon (*C.I.G.* 3794=*S.G.D.I.* 3054); Cnidus (*I.B.M.* 820=*S.G.D.I.* 3511); Colophon (*B.C.H.* XXXVII [1913], p. 236f., no. 40); Cos (*Syll.*[3] 953); Cyzicus (*I.G.R.* IV 145=*Syll.*[3] 798, A.D. 37): Erythrae (*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII [1921] 3, p. 67f.); Halicarnassus (Michel 454 and 456: *Syll.*[3] 1015: *S.E.G.* IV 183); Iasus (*C.I.G.* 2673f.: Michel 462, 465 and 469: *B.C.H.* XIII [1889], p. 23f., no. 1, l. 21f.); Lampsacus (*C.I.G.* 3641 B); Miletopolis(?) (*B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 254f., no. 2); Miletus (*Milet* I 3, nos. 33 e; 139, l. 18; 143, l. 27; 145 [=*Syll.*[3] 577], l. 41; 146, l. 35; 147, l. 25); Mylasa (Michel 472: *S.E.G.* II 539); Scepsis (*O.G.I.* 6, l. 41f.; *J.O.A.I.* III [1900], p. 54f.); Smyrna (*O.G.I.* 229, ll. 51f. and 85f., *γραμματοφύλαξ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου*). For a long tenure of the office see *Ins. Priene* 4, l. 16f. (of the time of Alexander), where the incumbent is said to have been *grammateus* for fourteen years. On the other hand, a

law of Erythrae, with a view, presumably, to checking the power of the office, forbad anyone to serve as *grammateus* in different bureaux in successive years; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II p. 29, no. 7.

33. For the *ἀγορανόμος* see Oehler in *R.E.* I 883f.: Busolt *ibid.* p. 491f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 215f. The various duties of the office appear most fully in *I.G.* V 1, 1390=*Syll.*[3] 736, l. 99f. (the law concerning mysteries from Andania in northern Messenia of 92 B.C.). For its duties in the cities of Asia see *Syll.*[3] 354 (Ephesus); 596 (Parium); 799 I (=*I.G.R.* IV 146), l. 19f. (Cyzicus); 945 (Assus); 946=*I.G.* XII 3, 169 (Astypalaea): Ἀθηνᾶ XX (1908), p. 196f., no. 6, l. 20f. (Erythrae): *Ins. Priene* 360, 1-2 (weights). For the selling of grain by the *agoranomos* see also Francotte in *Mél. Nicole* (Geneva 1905), p. 140f.=*Mél. de Droit publ. Grec* (Liège 1910), p. 296f. The management of the grain-supply by a special commissioner or commissioners during the Hellenistic period is known at Samos, where a *σιτώνης* had not only to borrow money to pay for the grain brought into the city but, on one occasion, to contract a further debt against the grain as security (*S.E.G.* I 366, l. 38f.), or, having been specially elected for purchasing grain, was ordered to buy it from the mainland territory of the city in whatever way he considered it possible to furnish it most cheaply, unless the *demos* should decide that it could be obtained elsewhere at a lower price (*Syll.*[3] 976, l. 31f., see below note 98); at Erythrae, where *sitonai*, appointed to provide grain, borrowed the necessary funds against security backed by a benefactor of the city (Ἀθηνᾶ *ibid.* l. 28f.); at Magnesia-on-Maeander, where (during the Roman period) a *sitones*, by buying and selling grain, lost 5000 denarii (*O.G.I.* 485=*R.E.G.* XIII [1900], p. 16f.=*Ins. Magn.* 164, see Chap. XXVII note 42); at Priene, where three elected σ[ιτοφύλα]κες were charged with the care of τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ [τ]ῶν ἄλλω[ν τῶγ] κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν σιτόπωλιν πωλουμέ[νων] (*Ins. Priene* 81); at Ephesus ([ἠρ]ημένοι ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, *I.B.M.* 461=Michel 495); at Mylasa (ὑπόληψις τῆς σιτικῆς οἰκονομίας, L.W. 409). See Thalheim in *R.E.* III A 396f. and 399: Heichelheim in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 877f.: A. H. M. Jones *ibid.* p. 217f. A permanent fund was used for the purpose at Samos, where, in the second century before Christ, the interest on a capital sum raised by public subscription was collected and paid over by elected μελεδωνοί to two ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου κεχειροτονημένοι to be spent on grain for gratuitous distribution, any surplus to be eventually handed over to a *sitones* when elected; see *Syll.*[3] 976 and Ziebarth in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV (1924), p. 358f. For a fund raised at Iasus by popular subscription for a σιτομετρία see Wilhelm in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932), II p. 899f. At the time of the projected synoecism of Teos and Lebedus the citizens of the latter proposed to advance 1400 gold staters from the revenues of the city to be loaned against security to an importer who was to sell grain throughout the current year and at the end to return the capital sum with interest to the city; see *Syll.*[3] 344=Welles, no. 3, l. 72f. and below note 64. At Methymna, at the time of the revolt of Aristonicus, money for buying grain was presented to the city by the Νέοι (*I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 116=*S.E.G.*

III 710), and there are many instances of gifts of money for the purpose made by public-spirited citizens.

34. For the various financial officials see Busolt *ibid.* p. 483f. For the οἰκονόμος as a city-official charged with the administration of the public funds and other property see P. Landvogt *Epigr. Untersuchungen ueber d.* Οἰκονόμος (Strassburg 1908), pp. 16 and 23f. He is known during the Hellenistic period in the following cities: Ephesus (*I.B.M.* 448 [=*Syll.*³ 352] and 469); Colophon or Notium (Holleaux *Études* II p. 51f.=*J.O.A.I.* IX [1906], *Beibl.* 59f.: *B.C.H.* XXXVII [1913], p. 236f., no. 40, restored in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII [1921], 3, p. 76); Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 12, l. 19; 89, l. 85; 94, l. 9; 98 [=*Syll.*³ 589] *pass.*; 99, ll. 5 and 17; 100 A [=*Syll.*³ 695], l. 39; 101, ll. 82 and 89; 103, l. 67); Priene (*Ins. Priene* 6, l. 30; 18 [=*O.G.I.* 215], l. 19; 83, l. 10; 99, ll. 13 and 20; 108, ll. 347 and 376; 109, l. 266; 115, l. 7; 117, l. 71; 119, l. 23). At Ephesus (where he is found in the late fourth century) the *oikonomos* furnished the money for a sacrifice and for ξένια for a benefactor. At Colophon he supplied the funds for inscribing a decree and for holding an athletic contest. At Priene the οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως paid for inscribing decrees and was responsible for announcing grants of public funerals and providing the wreaths given by the city. At Magnesia a board of *oikonomoi* appropriated money from the public funds for inscribing decrees, for statues and for ξένια; they also paid for sacrificial animals and for their feeding, and supervised the distribution of the meat and the payment of perquisites to a priest. On the other hand, the *oikonomoi* known at Mylasa (L.W. 404 and Michel 725) were those of tribes, and the οἰκονόμος Χαλχηδονίων (*C.I.G.* 3793=*Byz. Zeitschr.* XXVII [1927], p. 342, see Chap. XIII note 7) and the πόλεως Κῴων οἰκονόμος (*Syll.*³ 1252) were perhaps public slaves. At Priene the duty of inscribing decrees also devolved upon the νεωποῖαι, but, as has already been observed (see above note 31), this was due to their control of temple-funds and the fact that decrees were often inscribed on temple-walls; the οἰκονομία, as well as the νεωποῖα, however, seems to have been sometimes regarded as a liturgy (see below note 35). Priene had also another official in charge of the city-finances, known as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως (*Ins. Priene* 4, l. 45; 14, l. 24; 33, l. 6; 87), who supplied the money for the inscribing of honorific decrees and for wreaths, as well as for sacrifices (?) offered by the ἱεροποιοί of the tribes. The relationship of this office, however, to that of the *oikonomos* cannot be determined, for too little is known about it to confirm the supposition of Landvogt (p. 43) that it was the higher post. At Miletus the city's finances were under the care of the ἀνατάκται described as διοικοῦντες τὰς τῆς πόλεως προσόδους; see *O.G.I.* 213, l. 24: *Milet* I 3, nos. 145 (=*Syll.*³ 577), l. 19; 147, ll. 21f. and 58; 150 (=*Syll.*³ 633), l. 100. They provided the cost of erecting a statue, drew up an estimate of the city's expenses, appropriated the money to be paid as interest on an endowment and on a public loan and sold the right to operate the city-owned ferry which plied between Miletus and Ioniapolis. The contracts for inscribing the decrees of Miletus, however, were made by the τειχοποιοί,

perhaps a permanent commission for the supervision of the fortifications (Haussoullier *Études*, p. 5), or, from the late third century onward, by the τειχοποιοὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, the money to be supplied by the ταμίας, later by οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης from the fund allocated εἰς τὰ τειχοποϊκά; see *Milet* I nos. 10 (=*Syll.*³ 368), 138, 139 c (the cost to be paid by the ἠρημένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ, see above note 29), 141, 143 A, 145 (=*Syll.*³ 577), 146 and 147.

For the ταμίαι in the cities of Asia Minor see Schwahn in *R.E.* IV A 2125f. and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 241f. At Teos they seem to have had wider powers than in most cities, for they were ordered to invest (with certain restrictions) the endowment-fund given by Polythrus for education, as well as to pay over the interest for the purpose of the endowment; see *Syll.*³ 578. For the δημοσία τράπεζα in Miletus (see above), first mentioned in a decree of about 228 (*Milet* I no. 141), see Ziebarth in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXIV (1924), p. 42f. and in *R.E.* VI A 2201f. It received the city's income on deposit, carried its accounts, of which we know of two, τὰ τειχοποϊκά (see above) and τὰ εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἐξειρημένα (*Milet* I no. 146), as well as the account of the endowment given by Eudemus for education (*Milet* I no. 145=*Syll.*³ 577, see Chap. IV note 46), and paid out sums of money authorized by the *demos*. In the plan for using the endowment for doles of grain presented to Miletus by Eumenes II the capital sum was to be managed by τοῖς αἱρεθησομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας τραπέζης; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 27f.=Laum II p. 159f., no. 29 B and Chap. I note 69. There was also a δημοσία τράπεζα in Cos, where Aphrodite had an account (*Arch. f. Religionswiss.* X [1907], p. 211 and Ziebarth in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXIV pp. 36 and 178); there is mention of τραπεζῖται at Ilium, where they managed an endowment-fund (*C.I.G.* 3599=Michel 731=Laum II no. 65=*R. Phil.* LXII [1936], p. 252f.); of a τραπεζεῖτης τῆς πόλεως at Cyzicus (*C.I.G.* 3679=*M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1874, p. 2, no. 1); of *quattuor mensarii* at Temnus (Cicero *pro Flacco* 44); and of a τραπεζιτεία at Lampsacus (*C.I.G.* 3641 B=Laum II no. 66=*S.E.G.* IV 668); see also Laum I p. 151: Th. Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 204f.: Ziebarth in *R.E.* VI A 2203f.

35. See Oehler in *R.E.* XII 1871f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, pp. 167 and 175: H. Michell *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, p. 375f. The most complete single list of λειτουργίαι is to be found in *Ins. Priene* 174=*Syll.*³ 1003 (of the second half of the second century before Christ), where the purchaser of the priesthood of Dionysus Phleus, should he pay over 6000 drachmae for the priesthood, was declared exempt from the λαμπαδαρχία, ἀγωνοθεσία, ἱπποτροφία, ἀρχιθεωρία and γυμνασιαρχία, and if over 12000 drachmae, from the τριηραρχία, οἰκονομία, νεωποῖα and προεισφορὰ χρημάτων; since the purchaser paid 12002 drachmae for the priesthood, the second of these exemptions, although it is difficult to see why at this time Priene needed triremes, must have been especially valuable. The connexion of the ἱπποτροφία with a troop of horse (see Asboeck, p. 124) is suggested by the mention of ἱππάρχαι in *Ins. Priene* 44, l. 35. In a decree

of Teos of the late fourth century, by which citizenship was granted to a number of persons, these were declared exempt from χορηγ[ιῶν καὶ ξενοδ]οχιῶν καὶ βοηγιῶν καὶ λαμπαδαρχιῶν; see *S.E.G.* II 579 and Wilhelm in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 270f. In Antigonus's plan for the synoecism of Teos and Lebedus the χωρηγία and τριηραρχία appear as liturgies; see *Syll.*[3] 344 = Welles, no. 3, l. 66f. and below note 64. To these may be added the παντηγυριαρχία, which existed in many cities, and (especially in the Roman period) the πρεσβεία. For a distinction between an ἀρχή and a λειτουργία see Lysias XIX 57f. This distinction, it is true, was not always observed; for in *Ins. Priene* 4, l. 16f. we find τὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς γραμματείαν λελητούργηκε δωρεάν, and whereas in *Ins. Priene* 113, l. 18 and 114, l. 11 the office of γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου is referred to as an ἀρχή, in 112, l. 22 and 113, l. 16 it is called a λειτουργία, the latter term being used, according to Asboeck (*ibid.* p. 103f.), because of the large amount of money spent on the duties of the office by the incumbent. Also in *Ins. Priene* 174 (see above) the exemption granted to the Priest of Dionysus Phleus included the νεωποία and the οἰκονομία, which were usually regarded as ἀρχαί (see above notes 31 and 34). Conversely, the gymnasiarchate is often referred to as an ἀρχή; see Oehler in *R.E.* VII 1981. It was aptly observed by Oehler (*ibid.* 1976) that there was in fact no real antithesis between a public office and a liturgy, since the former necessitated the expenditure of money as well as personal activity and the latter demanded actual service as well as the furnishing of the necessary funds.

36. See Oehler in *R.E.* VII 1969f. and 2004f.: C. A. Forbes *Greek Physical Education* (New York 1929), p. 216f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 220f. The lists compiled by Oehler for the period extending from the fifth century before Christ to the fourth century after Christ show mention either of a gymnasium or of a gymnasiarch in 120 different cities in Asia Minor and on the neighbouring islands. From this list Nacoleia should be omitted, since the inscription in question (L.W. 1011 = *I.G.R.* IV 555) is from Hasanlar, which was not Nacoleia but perhaps Tiberiopolis (see Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 790f.). The following places should be added: Antioch-near-Pisidia (*J.R.S.* VI [1916], p. 106, no. 6 and XIV [1924], p. 198, no. 32); Apollonia-on-Rhyndacus (*I.G.R.* IV 1676); Arıcaklar near Gölpazarı, Bithynia (*R.E.A.* XLII [1940], p. 306); Climax (?) in Paphlagonia (*A.M.* LVI [1931], p. 131f., no. 18); Cytorus (?) (*J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 59f., no. 5); Larisa-on-Hermus (?) (*B.C.H.* LVII [1933], p. 500f., no. 3); Orcistus (*J.H.S.* LVII [1937], p. 1f.); Tripolis (*M.A.M.A.* VI 53 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 183); Nicomedeia (F. K. Dörner *Inschr. u. Denkmäler aus Bith.*, no. 27, cited in *R. Phil.* LXIX [1943], p. 194); Tyana (*S.E.G.* I 466); Termessus Minor (*I.G.R.* III 495). Oehler's lists (*ibid.* 1978f. and 2005f.) show separate gymnasiarchs or gymnasia for the παῖδες at Attaleia and Pergamum and for the ἔφηβοι at Apollonis, Cos, Halicarnassus, Mitylene, Notium and Priene. To these should be added: [γυμνασίαρχο]ς τῶν παίδων at Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 21) and ἡ παλαίστρα τῶν παίδων and ἡ παιδικὴ παλαίστρα at Miletus (*Milet* I 3, no. 145 [= *Syll.*[3] 577] and I 7, no. 203). For the gymnasi-

archs of the Νέοι and of the Elders see, respectively, notes 37 and 38. It was pointed out by E. Ziebarth *Aus d. Griech. Schulwesen*[2] (Leipzig 1914), p. 26f. that in the late second century before Christ Miletus had three gymnasia, those of the ἔφηβοι, the Νέοι and the Πατέρες, and that the gymnasium of the παῖδες, which seems to have existed in the early third century (*Milet* I 3, no. 47), had disappeared. About 125 B.C. Pergamum had four gymnasia, τῶν παίδων, τῶν ἐφήβων, τῶν Νέων and τὸ παν̣η̣γυρικὸν γυμνάσιον (*O.G.I.* 764, note 5); at the beginning of the second century after Christ there were six or seven gymnasia in the city; see Chap. XXIV note 49.

The actual supervision of the education of the παῖδες (and to some extent of the ἔφηβοι also) was in the hands of the παιδονόμος, a city-official elected for a year; see J. Oehler *Epigr. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Bildung im Klass. Altertum* (Vienna 1909), p. 10 and Ziebarth, p. 39f. According to the terms of the endowments for education presented to Miletus and to Teos by Eudemus and Polythrus, respectively, the παιδονόμος received applications for posts of instructor and appointed certain of the applicants; he also made decisions regarding the assignment of students to classes; see *Syll.*[3] 577 and 578, to be dated, respectively, in 200/199 B.C. and in the second century (see Wilhelm in *Klio* XXVII [1934], p. 283). He organized athletic contests for the boys and chose and often led the boys and girls who took part in parades or other ceremonies at Miletus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Notium, Pergamum, Priene, Teos and Cyzicus (A.D. 37); see *Milet* I 7, no. 203: *Ins. Magn.* 98=*Syll.*[3] 589: Holleaux *Études* II p. 51f.=*J.O.A.I.* IX (1906), *Beibl.* 59f.: *O.G.I.* 332 and *I.G.R.* IV 292 and 1692 (=*Syll.*[3] 694, l. 57): *Ins. Priene* 108, l. 367; 113, l. 115; 114, l. 19: *O.G.I.* 309: *I.G.R.* IV 145=*Syll.*[3] 798. At Pergamum the *paidonomoi* arranged for the enrollment of boys among the ephebi; see *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 126, no. 145; XXIX (1904), p. 170f., no. 14: *I.G.R.* IV 482. *Paidonomoi* are known also at Astypalaea (*I.G.* XII 3, 193); at Didyma (*R. Phil.* XXI [1897], p. 42f., nos. 16 and 17); at Cos (Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928, VI p. 46); at Themisonium (Michel 544); and in the Roman period at Miletus and Didyma (*Milet* I 7, nos. 204 and 265 and I 9, nos. 336 and 361: *C.I.G.* 2885=L.W. 223), Ephesus (*C.I.L.* III 14195[9]: *I.B.M.* 481*=*Ephesos* II no. 27, l. 274f.), Iasus (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 168f., nos. 5, 17 and 18), Smyrna, or perhaps Pergamum (*C.I.G.* 3185, see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 56f.), Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 318), Mylasa (Kontoleon Μικρ. Ἐπιγρ. no. 57), Tralles (Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, no. 148), Nicomedeia (*C.I.G.* 3773=*I.G.R.* III 7), Laodiceia-on-Lycus (*I.G.R.* IV 1587), Stratoniceia (*C.I.G.* 2715=L.W. 519), Pessinus (*A.M.* XXV [1900], p. 441, no. 69), and Termessus (*T.A.M.* III 1, 4; 204; 207 and Heberday in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX 3 [1929], p. 36f.).

For the ἔφηβοι see Thalheim and Oehler in *R.E.* V 2737f.: Busolt *Griech. Staatskunde*[3] I pp. 496 and 577; II p. 1188f.: Forbes *ibid.* p. 109f. For lists of places in which they are known see O. W. Reinmuth *The Foreigners in the Athenian Ephebia=Univ. of Nebraska Stud. in Lang. Lit. and Crit.* IX (1929), p. 51f., with additions by Forbes Νέοι, *a Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations* (Middletown, Conn. 1933), p. 19f. They were

under the special care of an official called the ἐφήβαρχος, apparently subordinate to the gymnasiarch; see Oehler in *R.E.* v 2735f., with a list of twenty Asianic cities where ἐφήβαρχοι are known. From this list, however, Branchidae (*i.e.* Didyma) should be omitted, since *I.B.M.* 924-926, found at Kara Köy, were evidently brought there from Iasus, where were found the similar stones *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 190f., nos. 38-42 (wrongly assigned to Didyma in *R. Phil.* XX [1896], p. 98); see Ziebarth, p. 85f. The inclusion, moreover, of Stratoniceia-Hadrianopolis is highly questionable, for the actual provenience of the stone (Michel 643), found near the modern Kırkağaç, is not certain (see Chap. V note 14). Ephebarchs are known also at Priene (*Ins. Priene* 147); at Icaria (M.κ.B. I [1873-5], p. 139, no. ξγ'); at Amastris (*J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 66f., no. 14); and at Pompeiopolis (*B.C.H.* XXVII [1903], p. 327, nos. 32 and 33) and Climax (?) (*A.M.* LVI [1931], p. 131f., no. 18) in Paphlagonia. The title frequently appears at the head of a list of ἔφηβοι or ἐφηβεύσαντες, as at Apollonis (*R.E.G.* III [1890], p. 69, no. 22: *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 86, no. 6: Keil-Premerstein I no. 96), Cius (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 415f., no. 14 = *I.G.R.* III 24), Cyzicus (*C.I.G.* 3665 = *I.G.R.* IV 154), Iasus (see above), Icaria (see above), Priene (see above) and Stratoniceia-Hadrianopolis (?) (see above). At Termessus it heads a list of victors (*T.A.M.* III 1, 213).

37. For the Νέοι see C. A. Forbes Νέοι, *a Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations*. Lists of places in which Νέοι appear were given by F. Poland *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesens* (Leipzig 1909), p. 611f. and Forbes, p. 6f. Forbes's list shows that from the early third century before Christ to the third century after Christ, associations of Νέοι are known to have existed in 55 places in Asia Minor and on the neighbouring islands. To these should be added Lebedus (*A.M.* XXIX [1904], p. 231, no. 1), and from the *testimonia* for Elaea should be removed *Ins. Perg.* 246 = *O.G.I.* 332 and *I.G.R.* IV 1692 = *Syll.*³ 694, since these inscriptions are now regarded as having been brought from Pergamum (see Chap. I note 88 and Chap. VI note 34). There were gymnasiarchs of the Νέοι in 34 of these places, to which Erythrae should be added (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909, II p. 60, no. 15) and probably also Apollonia-on-Rhyndacus (*I.G.R.* IV 1676, γυμνασιαρχήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς Νέους καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν). Besides these places, there were separate gymnasia for the Νέοι also at Nysa, at Tarsus and at Cyaneae in Lycia (Forbes, p. 48). The Νέοι are first definitely heard of in Asia Minor at Cyzicus in 278 or 277 B.C., when Philetaerus of Pergamum gave them 26 talents εἰς ἔλαιον καὶ [σ]υναγω[γήν], evidently to be used as an endowment (see *O.G.I.* 748 and Chap. I note 9); but an ἀ[γὼ]ν τῶν Νέ[ων] seems to be mentioned in a decree of Ilium passed in honour of Seleucus I and so before that monarch's death in 280 (*O.G.I.* 212). The Νέοι seem to have had funds of their own in the third century at Priene, where (if the restoration is correct) they honoured a benefactor with a golden wreath and perhaps also a bronze statue (*Ins. Priene* 35); gifts or honours were also given to gymnasiarchs or benefactors at Ilium (*C.I.G.* 3619), at Teos (with the ephebi, *C.I.G.* 3086 = L.W. 105), at Halicarnassus (*B.C.H.* IV

[1880], p. 402f., no. 14; XIV [1890], p. 102, no. 6), at Alinda (with the ephebi, *B.C.H.* XV [1891], p. 540, no. 5), and at Xanthus, Candyba and Cyaneae in Lycia (*T.A.M.* II 498 and 751 and *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897], I, p. 28, no. 28) and, during the Roman period, at Smyrna, Pergamum, Aphrodisias in Caria, and Attuda in Phrygia (*C.I.G.* 3185: *I.G.R.* IV 384 = *O.G.I.* 486 = Dessau 8819: L.W. 1602 *a*: *J.H.S.* XVII [1897], p. 399, no. 3). At Methymna, at the time of the revolt of Aristonicus, the Νέοι presented the city with 3100 staters for the purchase of grain (*I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 116 = *S.E.G.* III 710, see above note 33). At Cyme, between 2 B.C. and A.D. 14, they received from a benefactor a bath and a tract of land to yield an income for its maintenance (*I.G.R.* IV 1302), and at Iasus, during the Roman period, they had a *πρόσοδος* from which was made up any deficit in the income from a capital sum assigned by the city for supplying their gymnasium with oil for one month (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 157f., no. 3 B, l. 14f.). For their organization, during the Roman period, as a *σύνοδος* at Smyrna, Pergamum and Nicaea and as a *συνέδριον* at Synnada, Laodiceia and Hierapolis see Forbes, p. 38f. They had *grammateis* at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 349 [= *Syll.*³ 831], 350 and 384 [= *O.G.I.* 486 = Dessau 8819]); a *grammateus* at Aphrodisias (L.W. 1602 *a*), at Thyateira (*B.C.H.* XVIII [1894], p. 540 = *A.M.* XX [1895], p. 243) and at Tralles (*A.M.* VIII [1883], p. 328f., no. 10 = *P.A.S.* I p. 108, no. 10); a *τα[μία]ς* at Cyaneae (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV I, p. 28f., no. 28) and an *ἀργυροταμίας* at Acmonia (*I.G.R.* IV 657). For the authorization granted to the Νέοι by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* of Iasus to take legal steps to recover money from those who had defrauded them see *R.E.G.* VI p. 166f., no. 4. As an organization, they were able to prosecute for violation of a tomb at Smyrna (together with the *gerousia*) and at Hierapolis; see *C.I.G.* 3318 and *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 117. During the Roman period they combined with the Council, the *demos* and the *gerousia* (see note 38) in conferring honours at Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 2781 and 2786: L.W. 1601 A: *B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 74, no. 4: *R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 132f., no. 62: *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX [1893], p. 103, no. 14); at Nysa (*B.C.H.* VII [1883], p. 272, no. 15; X [1886], p. 520, no. 17 = Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, no. 74; XI [1887], p. 347, no. 2); at Tralles (*B.C.H.* V [1881], p. 347, no. 10); and at Mastaura (*C.I.G.* 2944 = L.W. 1663 c). The *νεανίσκοι* who appear in a few cities of Asia Minor, and also in Greece and Egypt, appear to have been a different society; see Forbes, p. 61f. and Poland in *R.E.* XVI 2401f.

38. The *γερουσία* appears in two decrees of the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* of Ephesus conferring citizenship, respectively, on a certain Euphronius of Acarnania and a flute-player from Boeotia; see *I.B.M.* 449 (= *Syll.*³ 353) and 470, republished by J. H. Oliver *The Sacred Gerousia* = *Hesperia Suppl.* VI (1941), p. 54f. Euphronius was honoured in consequence of a *ψήφισμα τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐ[π]ικλήτων* both because of former services and because *νῦν, ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τῇ Θεῷ*, he and his fellow-envoys obtained *ἀτέλεια* for the Goddess. The occasion

was evidently the surrender of Ephesus to Lysimachus's general Prepelaus in the summer of 302 B.C. (see Chap. IV note 2). The *gerousia* and *epikletoi* of Ephesus are known also from Strabo XIV p. 640, where the statement is made that they διῴκουν πάντα, but there is nothing to indicate to what πάντα refers. On the basis of this evidence it has been held that Lysimachus not only gave the Ephesian *gerousia* supreme power in the administration of the public affairs of the city but also created similar boards in all the places in his kingdom; see J. Menadier *Qua Condicione Ephesii usi sint inde ab Asia in Formam Prov. red.* (Berlin 1880), pp. 51f. and 63. The view that in the cities of Asia the *gerousia* had certain administrative and sometimes religious functions, occupying a position somewhat analogous to that of the *boulē*, was also held by D. G. Hogarth in *Journ. Philol.* XIX (1890), p. 69f., Hicks in *I.B.M.* III p. 75, and Busolt *ibid.* p. 364, note 5 and p. 473. A somewhat different view was taken by W. Hünerwadel *Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Königs Lysimachus* (Zurich 1900), p. 118f., who, in the belief that Strabo's vague expression referred to the government of the city, supposed that, whereas at the time of Euphronius's mission the two boards were officials of the Temple, Lysimachus subsequently, wishing to punish Ephesus for its surrender to Demetrius, set up an oligarchy and made the *gerousia* and the *epikletoi* administrators of the city. On the other hand, because of the explicit statement that Euphronius and the other envoys, in consequence of action taken by the *gerousia* and *epikletoi*, obtained ἀτέλεια for Artemis, it was held by Lenschau *de Rebus Prienensium* = *Leipz. Stud.* XII (1890), p. 192, Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 103, Brandis in *R.E.* V 2192f., H. Bengston *Die Strategie i. d. Hellenist. Zeit* I = *Münch. Beitr. z. Pap.-Forsch.* XXVI (1937), p. 214, and Oliver, p. 9f. that these were acting merely as officials of the Temple. Oliver expressed the view that they were primarily concerned with the management of the sacred finances, but that part of his argument which depended on the supposition that Prepelaus promised "protection against disguised confiscation" (*i.e.* by protecting the monetary standard) is weakened by the probability that σταθμός used in the inscription of Euphronius does not mean "standard weight," as supposed by previous editors, but, as suggested by Roussel and Robert (see *S.E.G.* IV 560 and *Hellenica* III p. 79f. and *R.E.G.* LVII [1944], p. 225) and accepted by Bengston (p. 212), the "billeting" of troops. It was pointed out, moreover, by Swoboda (*Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 168, note 4) and by Geyer (*R.E.* XIV 24f.), followed by Bengston (*l.c.*), as well as by Oliver, that there is no reason to suppose from the evidence of the inscription of Euphronius and the statement of Strabo that Lysimachus changed the government of Ephesus (or any other city) from a democracy to an oligarchy. Not only were the decrees for Euphronius and the flute-player passed by the βουλή and δῆμος but subsequent decrees also were similarly enacted (*e.g.* *O.G.I.* 9 and 10, *I.B.M.* 450, *Syll.*[3] 352 [see Chap. IV notes 2, 3 and 5] and *J.O.A.I.* XVI [1913], p. 237, no. III 3). Their enactment in this way cannot be attributed to a restoration of the democracy by Demetrius, since, as Hünerwadel observed (p. 119, note 1), the statement of Diodorus (XX 111, 3) that Demetrius ἠνάγκασε τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν

ἀποκαταστῆναι τάξιν, on which this supposed restoration was founded, means nothing more than that he forced Ephesus to return to its previous support of him. In any case, the decree for Euphronius cannot be used to show that Lysimachus established an oligarchy at Ephesus, or, as A. H. M. Jones pointed out (*J.R.S.* xxxiv [1944], p. 145), that the management of the temple-funds was entrusted to the *gerousia* by him; for the sending of the embassy to Prepelaus at the request of the *gerousia* must have taken place in 302, the year before Lysimachus's victory at Ipsus. This dating does, however, confirm Oliver's suggestion that there was a *gerousia* in Ephesus before the time of Lysimachus. In fact, similar associations seem to have existed elsewhere in Asia Minor in the fourth century; for an inscription from Sillyum in Pamphylia in the native dialect (*C.I.G.* 4342 c^2=L.W. 1377=*M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1874, p. 726) records an endowment for a "men's house" for "the corporation of the old men and for that of the young," apparently a social centre corresponding to the later gymnasium of the *gerousia*; see Poland in *Philol.* lxx (1911), p. 520f. There is therefore no foundation, as Oliver pointed out (p. 12), for the view of Lévy in *R.E.G.* viii (1895), p. 236f., accepted by Judeich in *Alt. v. Hierap.* p. 134, that the *gerousia* at Ephesus had originally political power but, gradually losing this, sank to the position of a social organization, in which form it spread to the other cities of Asia. In fact, as Oliver observed, there is no reason to suppose that whatever control over the temple-finances the *gerousia* may have exercised at the end of the fourth century lasted for any length of time, if indeed the Ephesian association continued to exist during the Hellenistic period; for it is not heard of again until the early second century after Christ, when it appears in the inscription of A.D. 104 recording the donations of C. Vibius Salutaris (*Ephesos* II no. 27=*I.B.M.* iv 481,* see Chap. XXIV note 43). Accordingly, the lack of any evidence to show that the *gerousia* at Ephesus or anywhere else had any political power serves to establish the view of Waddington (commentary to L.W. 53) and Mommsen (*R.G.* v^2 p. 326=*Prov. Rom. Emp.* I p. 383), that the Elders' associations which appear in the various cities of Asia Minor, especially during the Roman period, called οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ γέροντες and οἱ γεραιοί, as well as ἡ γερουσία, were social organizations, usually having gymnasia of their own. This view, in fact, with the modification that these associations were officially recognized by the city, and that the Elders by reason of their age and prestige exercised a certain degree of influence on the public life of the community, has found wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 110f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 221f.: Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 177f.: Abbott and Johnson *Municipal Administration in the Rom. Emp.*, p. 77: Last in *C.A.H.* xi p. 462: E. G. Turner in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* xii (1937), p. 182: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 225f.: Oliver, p. 13.

Lists of the Elders' associations were compiled by Menadier (p. 60f.), by Chapot (p. 218f., for the province of Asia only), and, much more completely, by F. Poland *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesens*, pp. 98f. and 577f. Poland's list shows in all about eighty places in Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands where associations are known. Of these places Trapezopolis

should be changed to Heracleia Salbace, since the inscription in question (*C.I.G.* 3953 *c*) was found at Vakıf (or Makıf, see *M.A.M.A.* VI p. XIV), and Ancyra in Galatia should be omitted, since the restoration *προστάτην τῆς* [*γερουσίας*] in Mordtmann *Marmora Ancyr.* p. 15, no. 4—restored as *προστάτην τῆς* [*μητροπόλεως*] in *A.E.M.* IX (1885), p. 122, no. 82 = *I.G.R.* III 205—is highly uncertain; there is no other example of a *gerousia* in Galatia. There may be added, moreover, Clazomenae (*I.G.R.* IV 1555), Apollonia-on-Rhyndacus (*I.G.R.* IV 1676, see above note 37), Blaundus in Lydia (Keil-Premerstein II no. 270) and Seleuceia-on-Calycadnus (*J.O.A.I.* XVIII [1915], *Beibl.* 23). There were gymnasiarchs or gymnasia of the Elders (*τῆς γερουσίας, τῶν γερόντων, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τῶν πατέρων*) at Aphrodisias, Attaleia, Blaundus, Cos, Hierapolis, Hieropolis-Castabala, Iasus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Miletus, Myra, Rhodes, Sardis, Sidyma, Stratoniceia, Tabae and Xanthus; see Oehler in *R.E.* VII 1978f. and 2005f. To these may be added Apollonia (see above), Nysa (Strabo XIV 649) and Samos (*ἡ γεροντικὴ παλαίστρα*, *B.C.H.* LIX [1935], p. 476f., no. 2). Most of the documents mentioning the *gerousia* date from the Roman period, when the institution spread far and wide, evidently encouraged by the imperial government (see above p. 653). Nevertheless, associations of Elders existed in some cities during the Hellenistic period. At Magnesia-on-Maeander there was a *gerousia* in the beginning of the second century (*Ins. Magn.* 98 = *Syll.*[8] 589, l. 36), somewhat later the *γέροντες* conferred honours (*ibid.* 102), and in the first century there was a *γυμν*[*ασι*]*αρχή*[*σ*]*ας τῶν πρεσβυ*[*τ*]*έρων* (*ibid.* 153); all three terms denote the same organization, as is shown by *Ins. Magn.* 116 (of the time of Hadrian). The *γέροντε*[*ς*] mentioned in a fragmentary inscription, probably of the second century, from Priene (*Ins. Priene* 250) and the *γεραιοί* at Tabae, apparently in the second century (*M.A.M.A.* VI 164 B and Robert *Hellenica* III p. 34), were evidently similar organizations. During the second and first centuries before Christ there seems to be evidence for a *gerousia* at Erythrae (L.W. 53: *J.O.A.I.* XV [1912], *Beibl.* 69f., no. 3: perhaps *C.I.L.* III 7112 = *I.G.R.* IV 1545, as corrected in *R.E.G.* XXIX [1916], p. 171); at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 294 = *O.G.I.* 764, l. 18 and *I.G.R.* IV 293 I l. 49, *πρεσβύτεροι*); at Sardis (Vitruvius II 8, 10: Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 172: *Ins. Sardis* 30, see also *Ins. Sardis* 8, ll. 4, 43, 52 (*οἱ γέροντες*), 56, 60, 72 and 74, of 5 B.C.); at Nysa (Strabo XIV p. 649); and perhaps at Smyrna (*I.G.R.* IV 1545, cited above); as well as for associations of *πρεσβύτεροι* at Chios (*C.I.G.* 2220 and 2221) and Iasus (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 166f., nos. 4, 6, 7 and 7 bis), and perhaps Samos (*B.C.H.* V [1881], p. 480f., no. 3, corrected in *R.E.A.* I [1899], p. 9, no. 5).

The organization was called a *σύστημα* at Chios (*Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* XI [1927-28], *Παρ.* 27, no. 8), Cos (*C.I.G.* 2508 = Paton-Hicks 119), Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 116), Smyrna (*C.I.G.* 3281), Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2930: *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 218, no. 12 = *P.A.S.* II no. 383: Pappakonstantinou *Αἱ Τράλλεις*, no. 34), Sidyma in Lycia (*T.A.M.* II 175), and a *συνέδριον* at Ephesus (*Ephesos* II no. 20), Priene (*Ins. Priene* 246), Philadelpheia (*C.I.G.* 3417 and 3422 [= *I.G.R.* IV 1632]: *A.M.* XXV [1900], p. 122f., no. 1), Hierapolis (*Alt. v. Hierap.* 73 [= *I.G.R.* IV 836], 293 [= *C.I.G.* 3912], 312, 336

[=*C.I.G.* 3916]), Tralles (L.W. 612=*A.M.* XXII [1897], p. 484f.), and perhaps Apameia Cibotus (*I.G.R.* IV 782=*Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX [1893], p. 94, no. 4, see *B.C.H.* XVIII [1894], p. 199) and Nicaea (*C.I.G.* 3749). A *σύστημα* at Pergamum (*A.M.* XXXII [1907], p. 293f., no. 18) was regarded by the editor, followed by Poland (p. 546f.) as the *gerousia*; it was a closed corporation to which new members were admitted only after a *δοκιμασία* and the payment of an entrance-fee, apparently 100 denarii, which in the case of the sons of members of five years' standing was reduced to 50 denarii. At Sebaste in Phrygia in A.D. 99 there is a record of the admission to the *gerousia* of 71 persons, including three women (*I.G.R.* IV 690). At Ephesus in A.D. 104 there seem to have been at least 309 members (*Ephesos* II no. 27=*I.B.M.* IV 481*, l. 235 and Oliver, p. 81). At Sidyma in Lycia in the late second century after Christ a *gerousia* was formed, containing 49 *βουλευταί* and 47 *δημόται* (*T.A.M.* II 175-6, see Chap. XXVII note 15). Funds, gifts or bequests are known at Ephesus (*C.I.L.* III 12254: L.W. 141: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII [1915], *Beibl.* 281f.: *Ephesos* II nos. 20; 27 [=*I.B.M.* IV 481*], l. 294f.; 28 [=*C.I.L.* III 14195[4]]; see Oliver, p. 81); at Erythrae (L.W. 53); at Iasus (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 166f., nos. 4 and 7 bis); at Lampsacus (*C.I.G.* 3643=*I.G.R.* IV 182); at Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 116); at Teos (*C.I.G.* 3080=*I.G.R.* IV 1572); at Aphrodisias (*C.I.G.* 2782 and *B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 611, no. 6); at Blaundus (Keil-Premerstein II no. 270); at Hierapolis (*Alt. v. Hierap.* 209, 234, 278, 293 and 336); at Philadelpheia (*C.I.G.* 3417 and 3422 [=*I.G.R.* IV 1632]); at Tralles (*B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 516f., no. 7=*A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 110f.=Pappakonstantinou, no. 8); at Nicaea (*C.I.G.* 3754=*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 302f., no. 1); at Attaleia in Pamphylia (*J.O.A.I.* XXIII [1926], *Beibl.* 97, note 10=*Ann. Scuol. Atene* VIII-IX [1925-26], p. 369, no. 5). The *gerousia* (or *πρεσβύτεροι*) had archons and a *grammateus* at Tralles (L.W. 612=*A.M.* XXII [1897], p. 485: *B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 516f., no. 7=*A.M.* XIX [1884], p. 110f.=Pappakonstantinou, no. 8: *B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 78, no. 1: Pappakonstantinou, no. 68), archons at Erythrae (L.W. 53), an archon at Apameia Cibotus (*I.G.R.* IV 782), Synnada (*M.A.M.A.* VI 371), Sinope (*ἄρχω[ν τοῦ πρ]εσβ[υτ]ικ[οῦ]*, *C.I.G.* 4157=*A.J.A.* IX [1905], p. 311f.=*I.G.R.* III 95) and Chios (*ἄρξας τοῦ πρεσβυτικοῦ*, *C.I.G.* 2220 and 2221); a *προστάτης* at Miletus (*C.I.G.* 2881) and perhaps at Prusa (L.W. 1112); a *γραμματεύς*, a *λειτουργός*, an *ἀντιγραφεύς* and a *πραγματικός* at Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 116); a *grammateus* at Ephesus (*Ephesos* II no. 20 and no. 27 [=*I.B.M.* IV 481*], l. 232 and probably *I.B.M.* 587 B), Philadelpheia (*C.I.G.* 3429) and Dorylaeum (*I.G.R.* IV 522=*O.G.I.* 479); a *διοικητής* at Iasus (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 169f., nos. 6 and 7); an *o[ἰκ]ονόμος* at Cos (Herzog *K.F.* p. 95, no. 129); a *ταμίας* at Cadyanda in Lycia (*T.A.M.* II 661=*I.G.R.* III 516); an *ἀργυροταμίας* at Philadelpheia (*A.M.* XXV [1900], p. 122f., no. 1); a *συνήγορος* at Apameia (*I.G.R.* IV 783); an *ἔκδικος* at Ephesus (*Ephesos* II no. 20); and an *ἀναγνώστης* at Cos (Paton-Hicks 238). For the permission granted at Iasus to the *πρεσβύτεροι* (as well as to the *Νέοι*) to proceed against those who had defrauded them see *R.E.G.* VI p. 166f., no. 4 and above note 37. For the collection of fines by the *gerousia* for grave-violation see Poland

ibid. p. 509, note (*). The inscriptions in Poland's list (p. 577f.) show that the *gerousia* combined with the Council and *demos* and sometimes with the *Neoi* to bestow honours at Aphrodisias, Caunus, Hierapolis, Iasus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Mastaura, Nysa, Philadelpheia, Stratoniceia (Lagina and Panamara) and Tralles, at Sagalassus in Pisidia and at Termessus-near-Oenoanda and Tlos in Lycia; to these may be added Heracleia Salbace in Caria (*C.I.G.* 3953 *c* from Vakıf [Makıf], see *M.A.M.A.* VI p. xiv).

39. See Francotte *Les Finances des Cités Grecques*, pp. 11f. and 274f. (customs-duties), 50f., 61 and 279 (land and sales taxes): A. M. Andreades *Hist. of Greek Public Finance* I p. 126f.: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* V A 226f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 244f.: H. Michell *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, pp. 371f. and 386f. In Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1346 A (a work probably of the late fourth century, see Andreades, p. 86f. and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 74f. and 440f.) the revenues of a city are enumerated as derived *ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων* (state-property), *ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων καὶ διαγωγῶν* (customs and transit duties) and *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων*. The precise meaning of *ἐγκύκλια* is uncertain; it was explained by Rostovtzeff in general terms as "various taxes connected with the business-transactions of the inhabitants," by Andreades (p. 146f.) on the basis of inscriptions from Delos (*I.G.* XI 2, 161 A, l. 36 and 203 A, l. 29: *Ins. Delos* 368, l. 40) as including various sources of income, classified as harbour-rights, fishing-rights and ferries, and by Schwahn (*ibid.* 245) as taxes on the sale of real estate and on all sales or leases, including those for the farming of taxes, to which the city was a party. In Egypt the *ἐγκύκλιον* was the tax paid on the transfer of real or certain other kinds of property, such as slaves and boats; see S. L. Wallace *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938), p. 227f. The character of *τὸ ἐνκύκλιον τοπικὸν τέλος* at Xanthus in Lycia (*T.A.M.* II 291 = *I.G.R.* III 634) is unknown. For a poll-tax (*ἐπικεφάλιον*) at Chalcedon (about 200 B.C.), at Lampsacus (perhaps in the Roman period), and on the islands of Andros and Tenos (in the second century after Christ) see *Syll.*[3] 1009: *I.G.R.* IV 181: *I.G.* XII 5, 724 and 946. Since these were paid in whole or in part by public-spirited citizens, they were probably emergency-levies, as was also the *exactio capitum* (*ἐπικεφάλια*) *atque ostiorum* (a property tax) in the cities of Cilicia in B.C. 51; see Cicero *Epist. ad. Fam.* III 8, 5 and *ad. Att.* V 16, 2 and Chap. XVI note 35. For the *tributum* (probably a property-tax) as an emergency-measure in an Asianic city see Cicero *pro Flacco* 20. The *προσπίπτοντα ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἢ* [*πολι*]*τικοῦ* to be paid by the lessee of land belonging to the tribe of the Otorcondeis at Mylasa (L.W. 404) presumably refers to an extraordinary levy; the possible imposition of such a levy was foreseen in the clause in the decree of Teos ordering the purchase of land for the *τεχνῖται* of Dionysus, which provided that this land should be *ἀτελὲς ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει τελῶν* (*S.E.G.* II 580, see above note 14). For the sales-tax (*ἐπώνιον*) of 5 per cent at Delos in the early third century see Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 355. An inscription from Cyzicus, dating in its original form from the sixth century, mentions a tax on the sale of horses and slaves (besides a *τάλαντον*, or fee

for using the public scales, and the unknown *ναῦ[σσ]ον* and *τετάρτη*); see *Syll.*[3] 4 with comments by Andreades, p. 150f. and Wilhelm in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 362f., who explained the *τετάρτη* as *τετάρτη ἰχθύων, i.e.* a tax of 25 per cent on catches of fish. A *[πέμ]πτη τῶν ἰχθύων* was exacted at Colophon in the late fourth century; see *A.J.P.* LVI (1935), p. 372f., no. 2 and Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 361f., who explained the *πέμπται* in an inscription from Calymnos (*Syll.*[3] 953, l. 60) as a similar tax. A fee for the use of the public scales was also exacted at Magnesia-on-Maeander in the second century after Christ; see *Ins. Magn.* 121, as restored and interpreted by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX (1915), 6, p. 38f. The *ἀτέλεια καὶ τῶ[γ] κτηνῶγ καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ὅσα ἂν ὑπάρχῃ ἔν τε [τ]οῖς ἰδίοις κτήμασ[ι] καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει* which was granted at Priene in the third century (*Ins. Priene* 18 = *O.G.I.* 215) seems to indicate a tax on the possession of cattle and slaves. At Teos in the late fourth century taxes were imposed on sales of wood (or charcoal) and woven goods, on working-oxen, on slaves (reading *κ[αὶ ἀνδραπόδων]* with Wilhelm, instead of the previously restored *κ[αὶ ἀρούντων]*) and asses on hire or engaged in hauling wood or in other profitable labour, on sheep and swine above a specified number, as well as on *κῆποι*, perhaps orchards, (but whether on the possession or on the produce is not clear) and on beehives; see *S.E.G.* II 579 (see below note 64) with comments by Andreades (p. 155f.) and Rostovtzeff (p. 181f.) and corrections by Wilhelm in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 270f., the first of whom, however, made the groundless suggestion that these might have been royal taxes. The *ἀγοραῖα τέλη* at Zeleia (*S.G.D.I.* 5533, a correction of *A.M.* IX [1884], p. 58f.) were presumably taxes on articles (probably produce) sold in the market. At Miletus in 176/5 B.C. there were taxes on oil and other *ἐκφόρια*, as well as on cattle and beehives; see *Milet* I 3, no. 149, l. 18f. and Chap. IV note 78. There was also a tax on beehives at Theangela in Caria in the late fourth century; see Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 69f., no. 52 and p. 78. At Cos, in the second or first century, the city leased out taxes on sales of bread, meal, grain, legumes, salt fish, a certain kind of wine, wood and incense, as well as on cattle, slaves engaged in vine-culture, and women-slaves (perhaps engaged in the manufacture of the silk for which the island was famous, see Chap. II note 113); a tax was imposed on the wine and wool and the draught-animals of the dependent island of Calymnos, and, as at Teos, on "gardens" (as read by Th. Reinach in *R.E.G.* V [1892], p. 100, note 4 and Toepffer in *B.C.H.* XVI [1892], p. 163), as well as on "house-rents" (*ἐνοίκια*), probably the returns from houses rented out to tenants (Schwahn *ibid.* 252); fees were exacted for the use of public "observation-towers" (apparently for watching for the approach of schools of fish), and license-fees were paid by prostitutes (see Th. Reinach *ibid.* p. 101f.); see *Syll.*[3] 1000 and Andreades p. 151f. and Rostovtzeff p. 241f. An *ἰατρικόν*, or tax for the maintenance of the public health-service, was levied at both Teos and Cos. For the sale of priesthoods see Chap. XXIII note 17 and for the taxes paid by purchasers see *Syll.*[3] 1003 (Priene) and 1009 (Chalcedon) and 1014 and *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 467f. (*ἐπώνια*, Erythrae). For the income derived at Halicarnassus from the fees paid for

the registration of sworn statements see *O.G.I.* 46 and p. 649. For the fishing-rights granted to Iasus by Alexander see *Syll.*[3] 307 and below note 127. For the salt-pans at Priene, apparently belonging to Athena but operated by the city, see *Ins. Priene* 111, ll. 114 and 138f. and 117, l. 48. For state-owned ferries at Miletus (plying across the gulf to Ioniapolis) in 173/2 B.C., at Myra in Lycia (plying from the port of Andriace to Limyra) in the third century after Christ, and probably at Smyrna see *Milet* I 3, no. 150 = *Syll.*[3] 633, l. 100 and Chap. IV note 79: *O.G.I.* 572: *I.G.R.* IV 1427 = *Syll.*[3] 1262. For the income from state-owned property, including farmlands and pastures, see Schwahn *ibid.* 235f. and Jones *ibid.* p. 245f. For land leased out by the *demos* of Olymus in Caria see *B.S.A.* XXII (1916-18), p. 191f., nos. I β and II γ. A certain proportion of the harvest of the year and of the pasturage-fees (ἐμφόρβια) accrued to the city of Colophon; see *A.J.P.* LVI p. 372f., no. 2, ll. 31 and 81f. and Wilhelm *l.c.* Jones observed (p. 359, note 67) that a distinction must be made between the territory which the city governed and the land which it owned, since certain holdings in the former might be owned by private landlords (see below note 40) and some of the latter might be outside the city's territory.

40. Two known cases are the grants of land by Antiochus I to Aristodicides of Assus and the sale of an estate by Antiochus II to his divorced wife Laodice; see *O.G.I.* 221 = Welles, nos. 10-13, and *O.G.I.* 225, with an additional fragment in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, *Anh.* I p. 36 = Welles, nos. 18-20. For the importance of these two inscriptions in connexion with the "royal land" and its occupants see Chap. V notes 59 and 72. Aristodicides was permitted to attach his first grant to either Ilium or Scepsis and the others to any *polis* "in alliance" with the King, *i.e.* any free city, and Laodice was empowered to attach her new estate "to whatever city she might wish." Laodice's estate included a village, which was presumably incorporated in the territory of the city which she chose. Since it is specified in the inscription that οὐθὲν ἀποτελεῖ εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν (*i.e.* the royal treasury), it may be supposed that she paid taxes to the city to which her estate was attached. For the probable situation of her estate see Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 275f.

41. For the villages (κῶμαι or κατοικίαι) see Chap. V note 69. The following are known to have belonged to free cities in the Hellenistic period: the Gergithes to Miletus (Heracleides cited in Athenaeus XII 26, p. 524 A-B); Larisa to Ephesus or, more probably, to the Temple of Artemis (see below note 84); villages of the Πεδιεῖς to Priene and to Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Priene* 3 [= *Syll.*[3] 282], 14, 15 (?) and 16, see Chap. IV note 13); the Θρᾳκιοκωμῆται or ἡ Θρᾳκία λεγομένη κώμη (*J.H.S.* XXIV [1904], p. 21f., no. 4 and Plutarch *Luc.* 9, 2, see Chap. XIV note 17) and perhaps the Γυννοί (see Chap. V note 69) to Cyzicus; the Φρύγες to Zeleia (*Syll.*[3] 279); and ἡ κώμη ἡ ἐν [Κυβ]ίμοις to Olymus in Caria (*B.C.H.* XXII [1898], p. 392f., nos. 39-41 = *B.S.A.* XXII [1916-18], p. 195f., no. II δ). For the Μαριανδυνοί belonging to Heracleia Pontica see Chap. XIII note 24. The

possession of villages by Lampsacus may be inferred from the mention of *κωμάρχαι* in a decree of the city of the second or first century (*C.I.G.* 3641 *b*=*S.E.G.* IV 668, l. 66). In the first century after Christ there was a *κώμη Καδυίη* in the territory of Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 113=*Syll.*[3] 807), and at some unknown time Smyrna seems to have owned *οἱ χωρῖτ(αι) οἱ Ζελειτῶν* and *οἱ κωμῆτ(αι) οἱ Συκηνῶ[ν]* (L.W. 1534). For the inferior status of the inhabitants of the villages belonging to the free cities see Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, pp. 259f. and 265f. and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 160f. At Zeleia the city's territory seems to have been cultivated by serfs, whose status evidently resembled that of the royal serfs (see Chap. V note 72); for *S.G.D.I.* 5533 *e* records a grant by the *demos* of some real estate and a *λεὼν αὔτοικον* (see Rostovtzeff, p. 261).

42. Antiochus I sold a tract of land to Pitane (*O.G.I.* 335=*S.E.G.* IV 680, l. 132f.); Ptolemy II in 279/8 presented Miletus with some land (see below note 81), and in the third century Miletus acquired the territory of Myus, which Philip V later took from it and gave to Magnesia-on-Maeander (see below note 81 and Chap. IV note 43).

43. Stones inscribed *ὅροι Αἰγαέων* and *ὅροι Μυριναίων* marked the boundaries of Aegae and Myrina (Keil-Premerstein I nos. 204-207 and p. 97), and a stone inscribed *ὅ(ρος) Ἐφε(σίων)* showed the possessions of Ephesus in the plain of the Cilbiani (Keil-Premerstein III no. 72 and below note 84). For the stones marking the boundary of Priene and Samos see below note 98, and for the *ὄρ(ος) Κυ(ζικηνῶν)* in the mountains southwest of Cyzicus see below note 116. The boundary of the land that had been in dispute between Pitane and Mitylene was indicated by *στῆλαι* (*O.G.I.* 335, l. 111f.) as was also that between the territories of Miletus and Magnesia-on-Maeander as determined by the treaty of 196 B.C. (*Milet* I 3, p. 341f., no. 148=*Syll.*[3] 588, l. 33f.). For disputes between cities see H. F. Hitzig in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung, Roman. Abt.* XXVIII (1907), p. 244f.: A. Raeder *L'Arbitrage Internat. chez les Hellènes* (Oslo 1912), p. 8f.: M. N. Tod *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks* (Oxford 1913), p. 38f. The earliest dispute between two Asianic cities of which we have definite knowledge was that between Priene and Samos, which began about 700; see below note 99. For the disputes between Miletus and Myus and Miletus and Magnesia-on-Maeander, the latter of which resulted in war, see above note 9 and Chap. IV note 47. For disputes which occurred during the second century see Chap. IV notes 82 and 83.

44. For the profit to be made by a city from its bronze coinage see *O.G.I.* 339, l. 43f. For city-coinages (tetradrachms and drachms) with the head of Alexander and the legends *Βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου* and *Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου* with the symbol or monogram of the city, which were issued under Alexander and his immediate successors, see Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 307: Regling in *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 292f. and *R.E.* XVI 471: Bikerman in *R.E.G.* XLVII (1934), p. 349f. It was pointed out by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV

(1905), p. 106f. that the coining of these large silver pieces showed that a city had sovereign rights and was regarded as an ally. For a list of the cities issuing silver coins during this period see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World* Chap. III note 51 (compiled from Head *H.N.*[2] and admittedly incomplete). During the third century Seleucid kings minted silver tetradrachms and drachms, as well as bronze coins, in the following cities of Asia Minor: Abydus, Aegae (Antiochus II only), Alexandria Troas, Bargylia (Antiochus III after 196), Cyme, Ephesus (Antiochus II and Seleucus II in 246/5), Ilium (Antiochus II), Lampsacus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Magnesia-near-Sipylus (Seleucus II ? and Antiochus Hierax), Myrina (Antiochus II), Pergamum (Philetaerus for Seleucus I and Antiochus I as suzerains), Phocaea, Sardis, Scepsis (Antiochus Hierax), Sigeium (?) (Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax) and Smyrna, and, in Cilicia, Seleuceia-on-Calycadnus (Seleucus III and Antiochus III) and Tarsus; see E. T. Newell *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III* (New York 1941), pp. 214f. and 242f. It was observed by Heuss (*Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 196f.) that the establishment of these royal mints in the free cities was a purely administrative measure, which affected the rights of the city only in so far as it may have been forbidden to issue coins of its own. For the view that the dearth of city silver coinage was the result of the Seleucids' policy of reserving the right to issue large silver coins as a royal prerogative see Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 230f. For the lack of silver coins in the Ionian cities during the third century see also J. G. Milne in *Num. Chron.* IV (1924), p. 18. The question was raised, however, by Heuss (*l.c.*) whether there was an actual prohibition or whether the cessation of a local silver coinage was due to the impossibility of competing with the royal currency. It must also be taken into consideration that the cities, impoverished by their "contributions" to the cost of the Seleucids' numerous wars, may have been unable to mint large silver pieces. In any case, the ban was not rigidly enforced; for during the first half of the third century Ephesus issued "octobol" and "tetrobol" pieces (Head in *Num. Chron.* XX [1880], p. 130 and *H.N.*[2] p. 574), which, as was observed by J. G. Milne (*ibid.* p. 20), followed by E. T. Newell (*The Coinage of Demetrius Poliorcetes* [Oxford 1927], p. 70), are probably to be regarded as drachms and half-drachms of the old Persian standard. Milne pointed out (p. 21f.) that this standard was used also in the drachms and half-drachms ("octobols" and "tetrobols"), of Magnesia-on-Maeander, Priene (see Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* [Berlin 1927], p. 129) and Miletus (where until about 250 B.C. didrachms on the Rhodian standard were minted, see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 585), and also probably in the silver coins of Erythrae and Heracleia ad Latmum, as well as in those of the Lesbian cities Mitylene and Methymna and of Cnidus and Iasus in Caria. Didrachms were minted throughout the third century at Miletus and Samos (Head, pp. 585 and 605), both of which were allies of Egypt, and at Ephesus during the second half of this century (Head in *Num. Chron.* XX [1880], p. 135f. and XXI [1881], p. 19f. and *H.N.*[2] p. 575), the period of Egyptian domination. Priene after

230, when the period of Egyptian rule began, even minted tetradrachms bearing the head of Alexander; see Regling *Münzen v. Priene*, p. 7.

45. A treaty of *φιλία καὶ συμμαχία* (*T.A.M.* III 1, 2) between Termessus and Adada, concluded apparently in the second century before Christ, provided for mutual defence of the "laws" or the "democracy"; see Chap. XI note 12. The treaty of *isopoliteia* between Miletus and Heracleia ad Latmum in 173/2 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 633, see below Chap. IV note 79) provided (l. 34f.) *ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς* (*i.e.* the contracting parties) *εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον, μηθὲν ὑπεναντίον πρασσόντων τῶν δήμων τῇ πρὸς Ῥοδίους συμμαχίᾳ* and contained (l. 39f.) an agreement for mutual defence. For the change in the meaning of *symmachia* from a "companionship in battle" to an association of a political character see H. Schaefer *Staatsform u. Politik* (Leipzig 1932), p. 63f. and Heuss in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 175f., who observed that the term was used to denote varying relationships, even that of political "friendship." For the view that the relationship between a free city and a king was a *symmachia* see above note 15.

46. The view was expressed by Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 11, note 4) that Alexander continued the arrangement in effect under the Persians, whereby Ionia was attached to the satrapy of Lydia. The only evidence, however, which was cited for this belief was an inscription found at Gambreium near Pergamum (*Syll.*[3] 302), dated in the eleventh year of Alexander, *Μενάνδ[ρ]ου σατραπεύοντος*, from which nothing can be inferred concerning the status of the cities of Ionia. A similar view was expressed by H. Bengston in *Philol.* XCII (1937), p. 137f. and *Die Strategie i.d. Hellenist. Zeit* 1=*Münch. Beitr. z. Pap.-Forsch.* XXVI (1937), pp. 34, 71, 171 and 215f., namely, that the cities of Ionia, together with those of Aeolis and perhaps those of Caria, as well as Rhodes, were formed into a separate administrative unit and made subject to a special *strategos* resident in Sardis, a certain Philoxenus. This man appears as the collector-general of taxes in Cis-Tauric Asia Minor appointed by Alexander in 331 (Arrian *Anab.* III 6, 4), as *Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέως ὕπαρχος Ἰωνίας* (Polyaenus VI 49) and as *ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ στρατηγός, ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πραγμάτων Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγός* and *ὁ τῆς παραλίας ὕπαρχος* (Plutarch *Alex.* 22, 1, *de Vitioso Pudore* p. 531 A and *de Alex. Fortuna* I 12, p. 333 A). It was supposed by Beloch (IV 1, p. 14, note 2) that as a financial official he exercised a control over the free cities. Philoxenus also took part in the prosecution of Harpalus in Athens in 324 (see Beloch IV 1, p. 59) and subsequently arrested the latter's fugitive agent in Rhodes (Plutarch *de Vit. Pud. l.c.*: Hyperides V, col. 8 Kenyon: Pausanias II 33, 4); he was presumably the man of this name who appears as satrap of Caria in 323 (Arrian *Anab.* VII 23, 1 and Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1351 B) and became satrap of Cilicia by the agreement of Triparadisus in 321 (Diodorus XVIII 39, 6: Arrian *post Alex.* 1 34, p. 266 Roos: Justinus XIII 6, 16). Whatever financial duties Philoxenus may have had in Ionia, the suggestion that the free cities were formed into

an administrative body subject to him as *strategos* (accepted by Lenschau in *Klio* XXXIII [1940], p. 223f.) was rejected by Heuss in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 141, note 1 and Ehrenberg *Alex. and the Greeks*, p. 36, note 3 as based on insufficient evidence. The view that the cities did not belong to a satrapy was also held by Heuss in *Stadt u. Herrscher*, pp. 21, 175f. and 190 and by Wilcken in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1938, p. 320. Bengston, furthermore, accepting a suggestion made by H. Pistorius *Beitr. z. Gesch. v. Lesbos im 4ten Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Bonn 1913), p. 124f., maintained (*Die Strategie*, p. 216) that the cities of Aeolis, eleven (excluding Smyrna) in number according to Herodotus I 149f., were formed into a federation by Alexander. This theory (adopted for Lysimachus by Lenschau *ibid.* p. 221) appears to be based on an issue of coins with the legend Αἰολέ(ων) which Imhoof-Blumer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* III (1876), p. 318f. tentatively dated in the period 330-280 B.C. and assigned to Methymna (accepted in *B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. lxviii), on the mention of Aeolis as a "unit" in Arrian *Anab.* VII 9, 7 and on the description of Prepelaus (see Chap. IV note 2) in Diodorus XX 107, 4 as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχῳ στρατηγός. This evidence, however, is entirely insufficient to warrant any such conclusion.

47. For the early history of the Ionian Federation see von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1906, p. 45f. and p. 59f. = *Kl. Schr.* V 1, pp. 136f. and 152f., whose account has met with wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 211: Lenschau in *R.E.* IX 1877 and *Klio* XXXVI (1944), p. 227f.: Busolt-Swoboda *Griech. Staatskunde* II³ (1926), p. 1282f.: J. Keil in *R.E.* XV 505f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E.* XV 1588. Von Wilamowitz's view, however, that the Federation arose out of the war against Melia (or Melie) about 700 B.C. was challenged by M.O.B. Caspari in *J.H.S.* XXXV (1915), p. 173f., who dated its formation between 900 and 700 and held that Melia was one of its members, by Judeich in *Rh. Mus.* LXXXII (1933), p. 305f. and by Lehmann-Haupt in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 74f. Judeich, accepting Caspari's view with regard both to the date of formation and to the membership of Melia, supposed that the Federation was an Amphictyony centering in the Temple of Poseidon Heliconius and that consequently it was religious rather than political in origin. The suggestion that the title Βασιλεὺς Ἰώνων, which appears in inscriptions mostly of the Roman period (see below note 54), was an old one, originating in the eighth century, was made by Momigliano in *Atti d. terzo Congresso Naz. d. Studi Rom.* (1934) I p. 429f. and, though rejected by De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LXIII (1935), p. 418f., was accepted by H. Bengston in *Philol.* XCII (1937), p. 130. The title may indeed be an old one, analogous to that of *basileus* which survived in Athens and other places, and it may even indicate that in early times the Federation was to some extent political. But Momigliano's supposition that the existence of a *basileus* shows that there was a federal army and his further conclusion that the Ionians emigrated to Asia in a large body, which constituted an "ethnic-political unity," can be regarded only as an hypothesis. For the destruction of Melia, on the coast north of Mt. Mycale, and the

partition of its territory (*χώρα ἀ Μελιάς*) see *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 55f. and below note 99: Hecataeus quoted by Stephanus Byzantius = frg. 11 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* 1 p. 9): Vitruvius IV 1, 4 (where the place is incorrectly called Melite). It was supposed by Lenschau (*Klio* XXXVI p. 235f.) that Melia was destroyed by a combination formed by Miletus, Colophon, Priene and Samos. For the Panionium and its festival see von Wilamowitz *Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 136f., and for its situation see Wiegand and Schrader *Priene* (Berlin 1904), p. 25f. It was described by Herodotus (I 141f.; 148; 170; VI 7) as the common sanctuary of the Ionians, dedicated to Poseidon Heliconius, where (in the sixth and early fifth centuries) assemblies were held and the Panionia celebrated. It was also mentioned by Ion of Chios (in the fifth century), who related that the ruler of Chios joined the *Koinon* of the Ionians in the sacrifices performed in it; see Pausanias VII 4, 10 = *F.H.G.* II p. 50, frg. 13.

48. According to Herodotus I 142, the cities composing the Ionian Federation (*τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί*) were twelve in number, namely, Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Samos, Chios and Erythrae. These appear as the member-cities also in the *Marmor Parium* (*I.G.* XII 5, 444, l. 27 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 996f.): Strabo XIV p. 633: Aelian *Var. Hist.* VIII 5: Pausanias VII 2, 5f.: Vitruvius IV 1, 4: Velleius Paterculus I 4, 3 (where Teos is omitted). See also Lenschau in *Klio* XXXVI p. 217, and for Strabo's account of Ionia see E. W. Buisson *Die Aeolisch-Ionische Westküste Kleinasiens in Strabos Erdbeschreibung* (Leipzig 1917), p. 33f. These cities, however, were probably not all in the original group; for, according to tradition, Phocaea was not admitted to the Federation until the time of the "Codridae" (Pausanias VII 3, 10); this seems to be the tradition with regard to Samos also (Pausanias VII 2, 8f.; 4, 2f.: Plutarch *Quaest. Graec.* 55, p. 303 D), and the entry of Chios was related by Ion (see note 47). A tradition that there were originally nine cities is perhaps responsible for the appearance of this number in Diodorus XV 49, 1, but for a different explanation see Lenschau in *Klio* XXXIII (1940), p. 221. For the admission of Smyrna as the thirteenth member see below note 50.

49. As Caspari observed (*J.H.S.* XXXV p. 181), the joint action of the cities during the Ionian revolt is shown by their despatch of a fleet to guard the sea around Cyprus and by their deliberation in common over the plan for the battle of Lade; see Herodotus V 108f. and VI 7. In the early fourth century, according to Diodorus XV 49, 1, their festival was no longer celebrated at the Panionium because of the danger from the constant wars, but was held in a safe place near Ephesus. In the time of Thucydides (III 104, 3) it was called *τὰ Ἐφέσια*. The apparent attempt to restore the worship of Poseidon Heliconius, recorded by Diodorus (*l.c.*) and Strabo (VIII p. 384f.), seems to have come to nothing. A resumption of the Federation's activity may be assumed from *Ins. Priene* 139, decreed by *Ἰώνων τῇ βουλῇ* and ordering, at the request of the citizens of Lebedus and at their expense, that the decision in a controversy over the priesthood of Zeus Boulaeus and Hera at Lebedus should be inscribed in the Panionium. It is a question,

however, whether this decree is to be dated before or after the re-establishment of the Federation by Alexander; see *Ins. Priene*, p. 205.

50. For the reconstitution of Smyrna as a *polis* see below note 66. The view that Smyrna was admitted to the Ionian Federation in the early sixth century, which was based on the ambiguous statements of Strabo XIV p. 633 and Pausanias V 8, 7 and VII 5, 1, was shown to be erroneous by C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford 1938), p. 68, note 1. According to Vitruvius IV 1, 4, it was brought into the Federation *regis Attali et Arsinoes beneficio*, where, as von Wilamowitz observed (*Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 128), *Attali* is evidently an error for *Lysimachi*. It was a member in 289/8 B.C., for in the copy of the decree honouring the *strategos* Hippostratus which was found at Smyrna (*Syll.*[2] 189 = Michel 485, see Chap. IV note 12) the Federation called itself Ἰώνων τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τρε[ισκαί]δεκα πόλεων (but simply Ἰώνων τὸ κοινόν in the copy found at Miletus, *Syll.*[3] 368). This continued to be the formal title (see below note 54). Since, after the third century, Myus ceased to be an independent city (see below note 81), it may be that some other place, perhaps Notium, which appears among the Ionian communities in *Ins. Magn.* 53, of about 206 B.C. (see Chap. IV note 38), was admitted in its place, but it seems more probable that the mere power of tradition was responsible for the continuance in the title of the earlier number of member-cities.

51. For the Alexandreia celebrated by the Ionian *Koinon* in the grove consecrated to Alexander, which ὑπέρκειται τῶν Χαλκιδέων, see Strabo XIV p. 644. The Chalcideis were placed at Demircili (on the southern side of the isthmus of the Erythraean Peninsula) by G. Weber in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 228, who supposed that the grove was in a valley in the vicinity. It is more probable, however, that the neighbouring Nea-Demircili was the site of Aerae (see below note 112) and that both the Chalcideis and the grove were somewhat farther east, perhaps not directly on the coast; see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 63 and Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 466. In the time of Antiochus I, however, the festival of the Alexandreia was celebrated in the various cities of the Federation, probably in rotation; see *O.G.I.* 222, l. 24f. and Dittenberger's note 12. The festival seems to be mentioned also in *Ins. Magn.* 16 = *Syll.*[3] 557 of about 206 B.C. In a sacrificial calendar of the early second century from Erythrae (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II, p. 48f., no. 12, l. 73 and p. 52) there is mention of a sacrifice to Alexander, which was presumably offered by the Federation; on the other hand, in the first half of the third century the city of Erythrae itself had a priest of Alexander (see *Syll.*[3] 1014, l. 111) and even in the third century after Christ there is mention of a ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου (L.W. 57 = *I.G.R.* IV 1543). The Alexandreia in *R.E.A.* V (1903), p. 232, no. 2 (from Erythrae) may have been either the festival of the Federation or a local contest. It seems highly probable that, as was supposed by Kornemann in *Klio* I (1901), p. 57 and Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*[2] I p. 346, the celebration of the festival was begun during Alexander's lifetime. The

suggestion was made by Caspari in *J.H.S.* xxxv p. 184, followed by Tarn in *C.A.H.* vi pp. 371 and 490 and *Hellenistic Civilisation*[2] (1930), p. 66, that the Federation was reconstituted by Antigonus. But, as was pointed out by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 23, note 1), in this case the festival would not have been called Alexandreia, but, like the festival celebrated at Samos (see Chap. IV note 1), Antigoneia; the explanation that Lysimachus changed its name from Antigoneia to Alexandreia is not convincing. On account of the existence of this festival Lenschau supposed (*ibid.* p. 221) that Alexander made a *συμμαχία* with the Ionian Federation as a whole rather than with the separate cities.

52. Strabo viii p. 384 and xiv p. 639, where it also recorded that the priesthood of Poseidon Heliconius was regularly held by a citizen of Priene. From the fact that Priene seems to have had the right of granting *σίτησις ἐν Πανιωνίῳ* von Wilamowitz inferred (*Kl. Schr.* v 1, p. 142f.) that after Alexander's time the cult of Poseidon became purely local. But since this privilege was granted to the *grammateus* Apellis about 332/1 B.C. (*Ins. Priene* 4), it evidently antedated the establishment of the cult of Alexander; it cannot therefore be supposed that the rise of this cult caused the Panionium to decline into a local sanctuary. We may suppose rather that Priene had certain rights in this temple, which was situated in the city's territory. Among these rights was that of selling the priesthood of Poseidon, but the purchaser, nevertheless, was under obligation to perform the sacrifice [*κατὰ*] *τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Ἰώνω*[*ν*]; see *Ins. Priene* 201 and 202 (about 200 B.C.).

53. For the Federation of the Troad see P. Haubold *De Rebus Iliensium* (Leipzig 1888), p. 62f. and Brückner in Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion* (Athens 1902), p. 577f., who supposed that it was founded by Antigonus. On the other hand, Droysen (*Hellenismus*[2] ii 2, p. 386) and Lenschau (p. 222) regarded Alexander as the founder. This Federation appears for the first time in the decrees of its *συνέδριον* passed about 305 B.C. in praise of Malusius of Gargara, who contributed money for its common sanctuary and festival as well as for an embassy sent to Antigonus "in behalf of the freedom and autonomy" of the cities and was in return rewarded with various honours, including exemption from taxes on purchases and sales, presumably in the member-cities; see *Syll.*[3] 330. In these decrees the Federation is called *αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνοῦσαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως*. In another inscription of about 300 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 355), in which the protection of the Federation is promised to four benefactors of Ilium, it is called *τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἰλιέων*. In later inscriptions the Federation regularly appears as *Ἰλιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις κοινωνοῦσαι τῆς θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως*; see *A.J.A.* xxxix (1935), p. 589f., no. 3, dated in the first century before Christ by Robert in *Rev. Num.* xxxix (1936), p. 272, and inscriptions of the Roman imperial period conferring honours: *C.I.G.* 3602; 3603; 3604 (=*I.G.R.* iv 201): *I.G.R.* iv 200: Schliemann *Troja* (Engl. Ed.), p. 277, no. 5: Dörpfeld, p. 460f., no. 20. In the first century after Christ there were nine

members; see *I.G.R.* IV 221 (*τοῦ συνεδρί[ου] τῶν ἐννέα δήμων*). The mention in one of the decrees for Malusius (l. 59) of a *Λαμψακην[ός]*, evidently a *σύνεδρος*, shows that Lampsacus, as well as Gargara, was a member of the Federation. Other members appear in an inscription of 77 B.C., which names the following cities as having borrowed money from the Temple of Athena Ilias: Ilium, Dardanus, Scepsis, Assus, Alexandria Troas, Abydus, Lampsacus; see *I.G.R.* IV 197 = *O.G.I.* 444 = *Herm.* LXI (1926), p. 133f. = *S.E.G.* IV 664 (completed by the addition of *C.I.G.* 3601, but marred by the omission of the names of the delegates from Scepsis) and Chap. X note 24. The ninth member was presumably Parium; see *Syll.*[3] 596 = Holleaux *Études* I p. 289f. It was observed by Brückner (*ibid.* p. 456f.) that the inscription of 77 B.C. cited above does not prove that at this time there were only seven member-cities, since this meeting was an extraordinary one and the delegates of Gargara and Parium may well have been absent; it may also be supposed that these two cities had not borrowed money from the Temple of Athena and for this reason did not send representatives to the meeting. If the *πόλεις* which appear in *I.G.R.* IV 193 (of the first century before Christ) were those belonging to the Ilian Federation, it seems apparent that their finances were in a bad condition at this time also. Brückner, supposing that the expression [*ἥ τε τῶν Ἰλιέων πό*]*λις καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις* in a decree of Ilium honouring Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 219, l. 39f., as restored by Preuner in *Herm.* LXI [1926], p. 119, see Chap. IV note 22), referred to the Federation, explained the difference in title by the theory that Alexander's plan of making the Temple of Athena the common property of the Federation was altered by Lysimachus, who gave the sanctuary to Ilium. This theory was accepted by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 36), but there seems to be little ground for it, since it may be supposed that, as the Temple of Poseidon Heliconius was from the beginning in the territory of Priene, so that of Athena, though "shared" by all the cities in this federation, always belonged to Ilium. For the festival of the Ilian *Panathenaea* see Preuner in *Herm.* LXI p. 119f. and J. Vanseveren in *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p. 262f. It was presumably the *πανήγυρις* which appears in the decrees for Malusius, but its first extant mention by name is in *Syll.*[3] 355 of about 300 B.C.; it seems also to be mentioned in *Syll.*[3] 596, probably of the early second century. From the first century before Christ onward there were two festivals called, respectively, *τὰ μεγάλα* and *τὰ μικρὰ Παναθήναια*; the former appears in *A.J.A.* XXXIX p. 589f., no. 3, the latter in *S.E.G.* IV 664, l. 31 (cited above), where Preuner also read (l. 30) *ἐν το(ῖ)[ς μεγάλοι]ς Παναθην[αί]ο(ις)*. The festivals were still held in the third century after Christ; see *C.I.G.* 3620, l. 2f., restored by Holleaux in *Études* I p. 298, note 2 as [*τὰ μεγάλ*]*α καὶ νέα Παν*[*α*]*θ*[*ήναια*], a restoration accepted by Hiller von Gaertringen (*Syll.*[3] 596, note 8). The original festival seems to have been held in the month *Παναθήναιος*; see *C.I.G.* 3599 as restored in *S.E.G.* IV 663 and *R. Phil.* LXII p. 252f. The question arises as to a possible connexion between the Panathenaea and the festival called *Ἰλίεια*, which was celebrated in the fourth and early third centuries; see *I.G.* II[2] 3138: *S.E.G.* IV 662 (of about 300 B.C.) as restored by Vanseveren, p. 264f.: Athenaeus VIII

43, p. 350-51: Diogenes Laertius v 4, 3, § 67. Preuner suggested that this may have been the original festival of Athena, the name of which was changed to Panathenaea when it became a federal institution. Vanseveren, however, showed (p. 265) that the *Ilieia* was a festival of the city of Ilium (perhaps Panhellenic) which was celebrated in the third century alongside of the federal festival. Vanseveren also pointed out that the Ἰλιακά which seems to be mentioned in *C.I.G.* 3599 ([ἐν τῇ ἐορ]τῇ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν) and was regarded by Preuner (p. 128f.) as a festival, was not a festival but merely the series of days on which the Ilieia was celebrated.

54. For this view see H. Pistorius *Beitr. z. Gesch. v. Lesbos*, p. 128f. and H. Bengston in *Philol.* XCII p. 139 and *Die Strategie*, p. 215f., who supposed that the federations were subject to the authority of a *strategos* (see above note 46). The most important measures taken by the Ionian Federation were the grant of exemption from all imposts in the member-cities to Hippostratus, the *strategos* of Lysimachus (see Chap. IV note 12), and the decree establishing a festival in honour of Antiochus I and founding a sanctuary for his worship (see Chap. IV note 24); it was pointed out by Kornemann in *Klio* I (1901), p. 57, note 5 that this festival was evidently modelled on that held in honour of Alexander. The sacrificial calendar of Erythrae (see above note 51) contains (ll. 22f. and 42f.) a monthly sacrifice by the Ionian *Koinon* to "King Antiochus," but it is not impossible that the King was Antiochus II. For the honours bestowed on Eumenes II of Pergamum see Chap. I note 67. For other persons honoured during the Hellenistic period by the Ionians see *Ins. Priene* 55 (Dionysius, priest of King Nicomedes II of Bithynia at Priene, see below Chap. XIII note 45): M.K.B. II$^{2-8}$ (1876-8), p. 42f., no. σξ′ (Dionysius, son of Dionytas, under Seleucus II, see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 33): *R.E.A.* v (1903), p. 231f., no. 1 = *Ins. Priene* 536 (of the early second century, see *Abh. Berl. Acad.* 1909 II p. 9): *Milet* I 3, p. 392, no. 170: Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1931, p. 116f., no. 13. It is perhaps illustrative of the condition of the Federation's finances at this time that the cost of the honours voted in the third of these inscriptions was borne by its *basileus*. For a fragment of a decree which seems in some way to have concerned Erythrae see *Milet* I 3, p. 229f., no. 120. The Ionians' sacrifice to Roma appears in the sacrificial calendar of Erythrae, l. 11f. (= *I.G.R.* IV 1539) and l. 69, where it is expressly stated that it was performed by the *Koinon*. For the festival of the Federation during the Roman period see L.W. 1540 as corrected in *R. Phil.* LV (1929), p. 148. It was pointed out by Caspari (*J.H.S.* XXXV p. 188) that in the second or third century after Christ the name Μεγάλα Πύθια Πανιώνια was used for a local festival at Miletus (see *C.I.G.* 2882 and Mionnet III 812 = Head *H.N.*^{2} p. 586, a coin of Salonina). For the title βασιλεὺς Ἰώνων (or τῆς Ἰωνίας) see *R.E.A.* v p. 231f., no. 1, cited above (Erythrae): *I.G.R.* IV 1323 = *O.G.I.* 489 = Dessau 8864 (Phocaea): *I.G.R.* IV 1730 = *S.E.G.* I 399 (Samos). The βασιλεία τῶν Ἰώνων is mentioned in *Ephesos* III p. 155f., no. 72, but it may possibly refer to the local dignitary mentioned in Strabo XIV p. 633. The title ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν τρισκ(αιδεκα)πόλεων appears in an inscription from Sardis of the early second

century after Christ (*Ins. Sardis* 47 = *I.G.R.* IV 1523) and, as ἀρχι(ερεὺς) ιγ′ πόλεων, on a coin of the κοινὸν ιγ′ πόλεων issued under Antoninus Pius (*B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 16 and Head *H.N.*² p. 566). For the *archiereus* see also *I.G.R.* IV 1730 (cited above) and *Milet* I 7, p. 336, no. 265 (τ[ῶν] Σεβα[στ]ῶν ἀρχιερατεύσασα καὶ τῶν Ἰώνων). A ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἰωνίας appears in L.W. 57 = *I.G.R.* IV 1543 (Erythrae) and a ἱερεὺς Ἰώνων on a coin of Colophon of the time of Trebonianus Gallus (*Hunter. Coll.* II p. 325, no. 9); see also Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 458. A coin of Colophon (*i.e.* Notium) of the time of Valerian bears the figures of the thirteen cities sacrificing before the Temple of Apollo Clarius and the legend τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἰώνων (*B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 45, no. 60). For measures taken and honours conferred by the Ilian Federation see above note 53.

55. Diodorus XIX 62, 2; 68, 2. The embassy sent by Ephesus to Ptolemy I is known from the decree honouring Callicrates (evidently the φίλος of Ptolemy mentioned in Diodorus XX 21, 1), who entertained the envoys sent "to the King"; see *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), p. 233, no. 1 g and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. III note 26. The "benefits" conferred on Miletus by Ptolemy, which are mentioned in the letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus (*Milet* I 3, no. 139, see Chap. IV note 21) were dated in 315 or 314 and connected with Asander's rule by De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLIX (1913-14), p. 443f. and by Welles (p. 75). They were placed with less probability in 294-287 or possibly after 287 by Rehm (*Milet* I 3, p. 305f.), and in 295-289 by Rostovtzeff *ibid.* p. 139 and note 11. According to the list of the Milesian stephanephori (*Milet* I 3, no. 122 II, l. 10, see above note 23), Asander held this office in 314/13 B.C. The commander Eupolemus, whom Asander, acting with Prepelaus (sent to Caria by Cassander), ordered to attack Polemaeus (see below note 56) in 315 (Diodorus XIX 68, 5), was identified with Eupolemus, son of Potalus, Μακεδών, in a decree of Iasus (*C.I.G.* 2675), by Robert in *L'Ant. Class.* IV (1935), p. 159f. and *Coll. Froehner* I p. 70f. and regarded as a tyrant of the city. This man was presumably the Eupolemus to whom Theangela, near Halicarnassus (see below note 134), surrendered; see Rostovtzeff in *R.E.A.* XXXIII (1931), p. 8 = Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 69f., no. 52. He was also identified by Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 23f.) with the Eupolemus whose name appears on coins of Mylasa (*B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 128).

56. For the policy of Antigonus see Lenschau *de Rebus Prienensium* = *Leipzig. Stud.* XII (1890), p. 170f.: Köhler in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 830f. and 1901, p. 1059f.: W. Hünerwadel *Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Königs Lysimachos*, pp. 112f. and 129f.: Haussoullier *Études*, pp. 15f. and 20f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VI p. 490f.: Zancan *Il Monarcato Ellenistico*, p. 20f.: A. Heuss in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 146f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 157. For Antigonus's action against Arridaeus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom he accused of attacking Cyzicus, and the subsequent surrender of Ephesus see Diodorus XVIII 52, 2f. and Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 98f. For his proclamation

in 315 and Ptolemy's counter-proclamation see Diodorus XIX 61, 3f. and 62, 1; Ptolemy's liberation of the cities is mentioned in *I.G.* XII 7, 506 = *Syll.*[3] 390. About this time Antigonus's nephews, Polemaeus (for the form of the name see *I.G.* II[2] 469) and Dioscorides, conducted campaigns, respectively, in the Euxine and Bithynia and in the Aegean, forming alliances with the cities; see Diodorus XIX 60, 3f. and 62, 9.

57. Diodorus XIX 75, 1f. The list of Milesian stephanephori (*Milet* I 3, no. 123, l. 1) contains under the name of Hippomachus, the successor of Asander (see above note 55), in 313/12 B.C. the statement *ἡ πόλις ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ἀπεδόθη*. Haussoullier pointed out (*Études*, p. 14f.) that Aristodemus, who was one of Antigonus's trusted officials and doubtless exerted a great influence, was a Milesian. He was presumably the Aristodemus, son of Parthenius, who was stephanephorus in 306/5 B.C. (*Milet ibid.* l. 11), the year in which he hailed Antigonus as King (Plutarch *Demetr.* 17, 4f.).

58. Diodorus XIX 105, 1; XX 19, 3. For Antigonus's letter to Scepsis in the Troad (see below note 122), requesting the city to join the "men in power" in taking an oath to co-operate in protecting their independence see *O.G.I.* 5 = Welles, no. 1, and for the Scepsians' reply, informing him that they had taken the oath and had voted him divine honours, see *O.G.I.* 6. Since there is no reason to suppose that Antigonus sent his request to Scepsis alone, it may be assumed that other free cities also received similar letters. For the significance of his action see Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 138f., note 1 and *Herm.* LXXIII pp. 153f. and 187f. and Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 335, note 1. As Heuss observed (*Herm.* LXXIII p. 188), little seems to have been accomplished by the joint action of the cities, either because Antigonus had no means of putting it into effect or because it was merely a political expedient forced on him by the situation in which he found himself with regard to his rivals. A certain suspicion as to his sincerity is aroused by the fact that Ptolemy, in declaring war on him in 310/9, was able to allege as his ground for so doing the failure of Antigonus to remove his garrisons from some of the cities (Diodorus XX 19, 3).

59. For Miletus see above note 57. For Erythrae see *O.G.I.* 223 = Welles, no. 15 (see above note 10) and for its wall see below note 107. For Colophon see *A.J.P.* LVI (1935), p. 359f., no. 1 (see above note 10), a decree ordering the construction of a wall to surround *τὴμ παλιὰμ πόλιν* as well as the new city, followed by a list of subscribers to a loan raised for the purpose. It was suggested by Wilhelm in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 345f. that the *οἰκεῖα ἀγαθά* announced to the Athenians by an embassy from Colophon in 306/5 B.C. (*I.G.* II[2] 470) referred to Antigonus's confirmation of Alexander's recognition of the city's freedom. Wilhelm, accepting the dating of the decree in 311-306 by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p. 160f. (in preference to Meritt's original dating in 334), also suggested (p. 350f.) that the extension of the city implied in the construction of this new wall is to be

connected with the confirmation of the city's freedom and that it was undertaken at the suggestion and perhaps with the support of Antigonus. Another, very fragmentary, decree (*A.J.P.* LVI p. 372f., no. 2, with notes by Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 356f.), which evidently refers to this wall, mentions the amount of thirty talents, but whether this was the total cost of the work is uncertain. For a description of the remains of the wall see Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XI (1886), p. 402f., who, observing its resemblance to the wall of Ephesus (see below note 90), dated it in the time of Lysimachus.

60. Antigonus, before he became king, caused the Magnesians to send judges to Cyme; see *O.G.I.* 7, in honour of a δικαστήριον which had come from Magnesia κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα of Antigonus. It is possible, however, that Cyme took the initiative by requesting the monarch to provide the judges; see Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, pp. 73f. and 82. After 306 Antigonus attempted to intercede with the people of Eresus in behalf of the sons of a former tyrant; see *O.G.I.* 8 VI = Welles, no. 2, written in reply to a protest made by the city's envoys.

61. The validity of Antigonus's ordinances in civic jurisdiction appears in his letter concerning the synoecism of Teos and Lebedus (*Syll.*[3] 344, see below note 64), in which he ordered (l. 25f.) that lawsuits should be judged κ[ατὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρων ν]όμους καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν διάγραμμα. On the meaning of διάγραμμα see Welles in *A.J.A.* XLII (1938), p. 255f. and Bikerman in *R. Phil.* LXIV (1938), p. 295f. The word was defined by Plutarch (*Marcellus* 24, 7) as the equivalent of διάταγμα or *edictum*. It was used for proclamations by Alexander in 324 (*I.G.* V 2, p. XXXVI = *Syll.*[3] 306), by Polyperchon in the name of Philip Arrhidaeus (Diodorus XVIII 55, 4; 57, 1; 64, 3), by a Rhodian naval commander (*I.G.* XI 4, 751 = *Syll.*[3] 582) and by Titus Flamininus (Polybius XXII 10 (13), 6), as well as for the order of Antigonus for the sending of judges by Magnesia to Cyme (*O.G.I.* 7, see above note 60). As in the King's letter to Teos, a royal *diagramma* was placed on an equal footing with the city's laws in a decree of Calymnos concerning *dikastai* from Iasus; see *C.I.G.* 2671 = Michel 417 = *S.G.D.I.* 3585. This inscription is usually dated in the late fourth century, and since Iasus surrendered to Antigonus in 313/12 (Diodorus XIX 75, 5), he is probably the king in question. In the cases of both Teos and Calymnos the *diagramma* seems to have consisted of little more than a body of rules for court-procedure, as also in the treaty between Hierapytna and Priansus in Crete (*C.I.G.* 2556 = *S.G.D.I.* 5040, l. 64) and in certain documents from Egypt (see Welles, p. 324 and Bikerman *ibid.* p. 305). Nevertheless, such a use of a royal ordinance seems an assertion of sovereign rights over the cities; see Hünerwadel, p. 113 and Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*[2] II p. 353f. Heuss, on the other hand, attempted to show (*Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 78f.) that the royal *diagramma* was issued only in the case of a local, abnormal situation and that the word denoted merely a written communication from the ruler to a city, promising, in the case of Teos and Lebedus, that judges from some other community would be sent in response to a request made to that com-

munity (as was perhaps the case with Magnesia and Cyme). While it is true that the situation in Teos was abnormal, there is no particular reason to suppose that this was so in the case of Calymnos, and the fact that in both inscriptions the *διάγραμμα* and the *νόμοι* are together made the basis for the rendering of legal decisions shows that the former must have been more than a promise to arrange for the despatching of judges.

62. Diodorus xx 81f. and 91f. (305/4 B.C.): Plutarch *Demetr.* 21f.: *Marmor Parium*, l. 124 (*I.G.* XII 5, 444=*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1004). A papyrus of the second century after Christ contains an account of the siege which is parallel to Diodorus 93,2—94,5 and evidently taken from the same source; see Hiller von Gaertringen in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1918, p. 752f. Antigonus's desire to have the Rhodians as his allies was due to his need of their fleet in his war against Egypt. In 309 Ptolemy I seized part of Lycia and Caunus in Caria (Diodorus xx 27, 1f.), and he was prevented from taking Halicarnassus only by the sudden appearance of Demetrius (Plutarch *Demetr.* 7, 3, dated at this time by Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 144, note 1).

63. Strabo XIII pp. 593, 597, 604 and 607. According to Strabo, the communities combined by this synoecism into Alexandria Troas included Scepsis, Cebren, Neandreia, Larisa, Colonae and Hamaxitus, all of which had been members of the Athenian "Confederacy of Delos"; see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Athenian Tribute-Lists* I p. 463f. For Scepsis as an ally of Antigonus in 311 see above note 58. For its restoration by Lysimachus see Chap. IV note 17.

64. *Syll.*^{3} 344=*S.E.G.* IV 618=Welles, nos. 3-4 (306-302 B.C.), see also Klaffenbach in *Philol.* XCVII (1948), p. 179f., two letters from Antigonus to the Teans, in which the plan for the synoecism is given in detail. For the plan see W. Feldmann *Anal. Epigr. ad Hist. Synoecism. et Sympolit. Graec.*, p. 17f. and Köhler in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 838f. The indebtedness of both cities is mentioned in ll. 18f. and 87f.; part of it, at least, seems to have been due to the need of money with which to subsidize the grain-supply. The depleted condition of the finances of Teos also appears in the King's suggestion (l. 110f.) that, in order to reimburse the Lebedians for the houses which they abandoned, the 600 richest citizens of Teos should advance the necessary money, to be repaid later from the public revenues. For a possible connexion between the arrangement (l. 59f.) that the united cities should use the laws of Cos and a statue of "King Antigonus" at Cos see below note 140. A fragment of a decree of Teos granting a remission of certain liturgies and taxes to a group of persons for a period of years (*A.M.* XVI [1891], p. 291f., no. 17= *B.C.H.* XLVI [1922], p. 307, no. 1=*S.E.G.* II 579, see above note 39) was connected with this synoecism by Toepffer in *A.M.* XVI p. 421, note 1 and Herzog *K.F.* p. 204, note 3; it was assigned to an earlier period, perhaps 370-350 B.C., by Wackernagel in *A.M.* XVII p. 146 and Judeich in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 545, note 1. The later copy, however, shows that the lettering is that of the late fourth century, and Wilhelm in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 270f., accepting

Herzog's suggestion, pointed out that the persons to whom the privileges were granted were perhaps a group of Lebedians who, after Antigonus's plan was abandoned, may have moved to Teos. For a different view see Robert in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 523, note 2.

65. For these criticisms see Hünerwadel *ibid.* p. 112 and Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* L p. 23, note 1=*Stud. Ellenist.* p. 211f., note 3, and for a reply see Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 103. For Alexander's policy see above note 11. For the need of the consent of both cities for the execution of the project see Köhler *ibid.* p. 839. Heuss observed (*l.c.*) that the fact that each of Antigonus's letters is referred to in the document itself (ll. 62, 104-5, 125) as an *ἀπόκρισις* suggests that the initiative was taken not by the King but by the cities. Antigonus's previous general order (l. 72f.) that the cities should not import grain or maintain a subsidized grain-supply (see above note 33)—remitted in this case at the request of the envoys of Lebedus—, a measure which appears to infringe upon their rights, was due, as he himself wrote, to a desire to prevent them from incurring debt.

66. For the destruction of the original Smyrna (see below note 91) under King Alyattes of Lydia, perhaps about 575 B.C., see Herodotus I 16 and Strabo XIV p. 646. According to Strabo, Smyrna, after its destruction, *διετέλησεν οἰκουμένη κωμηδόν* for about 400 years until Antigonus assembled the inhabitants. The community which continued to bear the name is apparently mentioned in an Athenian decree of 387/6 B.C., arranging for the entry of Clazomenae into the naval league (*I.G.* II² 28=*Syll.*³ 136, see below note 105), and a place called Smyrna appears in the list of Ps.-Scylax (c. 98) of about 350 B.C. A silver tetradrachm inscribed *Σμυρναίων* has been assigned to the first half of the fourth century; see H. Weber in *Corolla Numismatica* (Oxford 1906), p. 298f. and Regling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXIII (1922), p. 65, note 2. The oldest coins of the new city, bronze pieces bearing the head of Apollo and the legend *Σμυρναίων*, were dated in the period 301-288 by Milne in *Num. Chron.* III (1923), p. 4f. According to a late tradition, Smyrna was refounded by Alexander; see Pliny *N.H.* V 118: Aristides *Orat.* XX 7 and XXI 20 Keil: Pausanias VII 5, 1f. (whose story of Alexander's dream is depicted on coins of Smyrna of the late second and third centuries after Christ, see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 279f., nos. 346, 442 and 452). While, as was observed by C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 95f., Alexander may have thought of refounding the city, there is no reason why Strabo's assignment of this measure to Antigonus should be doubted. The difference between it and his synoecisms was pointed out by Kahrstedt in *R.E.* IV A 1442. For the admission of Smyrna to the Ionian *Koinon* see above note 50.

67. Plutarch *Demetr.* 25, 3: *I.G.* IV² 68=*S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1927, p. 286f. See also Heuss in *Herm.* LXXIII pp. 189f. and 193.

68. For the Hexapolis see above note 5. Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus appear in *Iliad* II 655f.; according to the form of the myth used by Pindar

(*Olymp.* VII 129f.), their eponymous heroes were sons of Helius. For their original territories on the island see Hiller von Gaertringen in *A.M.* XLII (1917), p. 171f. For their union see Ps.-Scylax 99: Diodorus XIII 75, 1: Strabo XIV p. 655. For the situation and the three harbours of the city of Rhodes see Strabo XIV p. 652f.: Ps.-Aristides *Orat.* XXV 3f. Keil: Newton *Travels* I p. 146f.: C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* (Cambridge 1885), p. 1f.: Lehmann-Hartleben *Ant. Hafenanlagen d. Mittelmeeres = Klio, Beih.* XIV (1923), p. 128f. For the history and institutions of Rhodes and the antiquities found on the island see H. van Gelder *Gesch. d. alten Rhodier*, pp. 63f. and 179f.: H. Francotte *La Polis Grecque* (Paderborn 1907), p. 197f.: S. K. Zervos *Rhodes, Capitale du Dodecanèse* (Paris 1920), p. 13f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 620f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 738f. An inscription of great interest is the "chronicle" of the sanctuary of Athena at Lindus (edited by C. Blinkenberg, Bonn 1915), compiled in 99 B.C., which contains a list of notable votive-offerings presented by mythical heroes and by kings down to the third century, as well as an account of three "epiphanies" of the Goddess.

69. For the trade of Rhodes in the fourth century and a list of the cities which adopted the "Rhodian standard" see Ziebarth in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) II p. 911f. For relations between Rhodes and Athens about 251/50 B.C. see *I.G.* II^2 769, restored by Meritt in *A.J.P.* LXVI (1945), p. 241f. At the beginning of the third century Rhodes was rich enough to lend 100 talents without interest to Argos and also to make a loan to Priene; see *Mnem.* XLIV (1916), p. 219f. and *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 79f. and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 623. For the importance of Rhodes as a banking and commercial centre see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 289f. and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 621f., *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 70f. and *Hellenist. World*, pp. 169f., 225f. and 676f. For the credit, probably a loan, of 140,000 (Rhodian) drachmae (see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 308, note 1) to Sinope in 220 see Polybius IV 56, 1f. and below Chap. VIII note 23. For a Rhodian financier at Delos about 230-220 see *Syll.*^{3} 493 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 50 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1485f., note 95. For a local banker who, about 200 B.C., "with credit unimpaired kept gold on deposit for foreigners and citizens alike," see Maiuri *N.S.* 19. For the claim of the Rhodians that prior to the creation of a free port at Delos the yearly income from their customs-duties amounted to one million drachmae see Chap. IV note 69. The great extent of the trade of Rhodes is well illustrated by the fact that Rhodian wine-jars of the late third and the second centuries have been found all over the ancient world; see M. P. Nilsson in *Bull. Acad. Danemark* 1909, pp. 37f. and 349f. and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 628f. and 790f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 680 and note 97.

70. Polybius V 88f. (containing an enumeration of the gifts presented to Rhodes after the disaster by various princes of the ancient world): Diodorus XXVI 8. The earthquake was dated by Polybius "a short time" before 217 B.C. and by Eusebius (*Chron.* II p. 123 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 134 Helm) in Ol. 139, 1 = 224 B.C. But since the royal donors included Seleucus II,

who died in 226, the gifts could not have been made later than this year and the earthquake itself could not have taken place later than 227 (Ol. 138, 2), the date given in the *Chronicum Paschale* (p. 331 Bonn); see van Gelder, p. 114, note 1 and Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXXVI (1923), p. 487f. = *Études* I p. 452f. The "Colossus," a bronze statue of Helius seventy cubits (105 ft.) in height, was included among the "Seven Wonders" (see below note 88); see Strabo XIV p. 652: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV 41: Festus p. 58 Müller: *Anthologia Palatina* VI 171 and *Appendix Planudea* 82. The verses in Strabo and the *Appendix Planudea* probably reproduce, more or less accurately, the dedicatory inscription; see Benndorf in *AM.* I (1876), p. 46f. and Hiller von Gaertringen *Hist. Griech. Epigramme* (Bonn 1926), no. 88 and in *R.E. Suppl.* V 781. On the construction, attitude and location of the Colossus see (most recently) A. Gabriel in *B.C.H.* LVI (1932), p. 331f. The head of Helius with a radiate crown which appears on Rhodian coins from the third century onward is probably the head of this statue; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 235f. and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 639.

71. Polybius XXX 5, 7f.: Diodorus XX 81, 2f. In spite of friendly relations with Egypt, the Rhodian navy in the Second Syrian War supported Antiochus II against Ptolemy II (see Chap. IV note 26). After the great earthquake Seleucus II granted exemption from customs-duties to Rhodian merchants sailing to his kingdom (Polybius V 89, 8), a privilege which was also specifically provided for in the treaty concluded by Rome with Antiochus III in 188 B.C. (see Polybius XXI 43 (45), 17).

72. For the Rhodian dominion on the mainland see Ps.-Scylax 99: Strabo XIV p. 651f.: van Gelder, p. 181f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 49f. and *R.E.* XIX 566f. While it is regularly called ἡ Περαία by the ancient writers, its official name was τὸ Πέραν; see Chap. IV note 62. It seems also to have been called ἀ Ἄπειρος; see *I.G.* XII 1, 694 = *Syll.*[3] 339 = *S.G.D.I.* 4118 and *S.G.D.I.* 4267, the former of which, a decree of the people of Camirus, probably of the early third century, mentions the κτοῖναι of Camirus ἐν τᾷ Ἀπείρῳ. In the middle of the fourth century the Rhodians owned the coast between Cnidus and Caunus, as well as the Island of Megiste (Ps.-Scylax 100). In the second and first centuries they had also an enclave at Daedala on the Gulf of Telmessus; see Chap. II note 15. For the demes of the Peraea and the islands see Chiavaras and Hiller von Gaertringen in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), p. 86: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 51f. and *R.E.* XIX 567f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 751f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 31f. For the admission of the inhabitants of this region (as opposed to those of what was acquired after 200) to Rhodian citizenship see van Gelder, p. 192f. and Meyer in *R.E.* XIX 567. The extent of the Rhodian possessions along the Gulf of Cos before 188 is uncertain. It is not improbable, however, that this particular region was the "Peraea" which was seized by Philip V in 201 and demanded by the Rhodians in 197 (Polybius XVIII 2, 3 = Livy XXXII 33, 6); for Prinassus, which Philip captured after failing to take Cnidus (see above Chap. I note 40), is described in Polyaenus IV 18 (17), 1 (evidently from Polybius) as

Ῥοδίων πόλις ἐν τῇ Περαίᾳ. The appearance of Κεδρεάτης as a deme-name in inscriptions from Rhodes (*I.G.* XII 1, 283, 284 and 1448 and Maiuri *N.S.* 81) shows that Cedreae, on the southern shore of the Gulf, belonged to the Republic before 188, since otherwise its inhabitants would not have been Rhodian citizens. Rhodian ownership of Idyma, near the eastern end of the Gulf, during this period is less certain; for the view of van Gelder (pp. 196 and 221) and Meyer (*Grenzen*, p, 52 and *R.E.* XIX 568) that the inhabitants were Rhodian citizens was shown by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 475f.) to have been founded on insufficient evidence. On the other hand, if we may accept the view of Hiller von Gaertringen in *A.E.M.* XVI (1893), pp. 104f. and 248 and *R.E. Suppl.* V 790 followed by Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 55f.) that there is a reference to the war against Philip in the campaign of Nicagoras, στραταγήσας ἐν τῷ Πέραν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐκ πάντων ἔξαν τετράκις, who is described in two copies of the inscription, found, respectively, on Carpathos and at Lindus (*I.G.* XII 1, 1036=*Syll.*[3] 586 and *Bull. Acad. Danemark* 1904, p. 76=Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. l.c.*), as ἀνακτησάμενος τὰ[ν] Πισυ̃ητιν χώραν καὶ τὰ[ν Ἴ]δυμίαν καὶ τὰν Κυλλανδία[ν], it may be inferred from his "recovery" of these places that not only Idyma and Cyllandus (north of the eastern end of the Gulf) but also Pisye (in the interior) were subject to Rhodes before Philip's invasion. Nevertheless, while the words ἔξαν τετράκις in the Lindian copy of the inscription suggest the years 201-197, *i.e.* the war against Philip, the view of Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 81, note 4) and van Gelder (p. 129, note 1) that this campaign may equally well have taken place during some revolt in the Peraea after 188 cannot be regarded as refuted. Meyer also inferred (p. 54f.) from Livy XXXIII 18, 3 that the Pisuetae, as well as the Mniesutae (so Holleaux for the Mss. *Nisuetae*) and the Tarmiani, both in the interior of Caria northeast of the Gulf of Cos, were subject to Rhodes in 197. But as these three peoples are named by Livy among the Rhodian general's *armati ex vario genere auxiliorum collecti*, the others being *Galli* (*i.e.* Galatians), *Arei ex Africa* (probably a corrupt reading), and *Laudiceni ex Asia*, none of whom were Rhodian subjects, the passage seems to suggest the contrary and to indicate that they were all mercenaries. The use of mercenaries by Rhodes is shown by the mention of ξένοι οἱ μισθοφ[ό]ροι in *Clara Rhodos* II (1932), p. 169. no. 1 (connected with a campaign against the pirates about the middle of the third century by M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* LX [1932], p. 452f.) and by the clause in the treaty with Hierapytna concluded about 200 (*Syll.*[3] 581, l. 40f., see Chap. I note 36), which gave Rhodes the right to enlist mercenaries in Crete; see also G. T. Griffith *Mercenaries of the Hellenist. World* (Cambridge 1935), pp. 90f. and 303.

73. Polybius XXX 31 (XXXI 7), 6, where the Rhodian envoy in Rome is represented as saying Καῦνον δήπου διακοσίων ταλάντων ἐξηγοράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν καὶ Στρατονίκειαν ἐλάβομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου καὶ (τοῦ Niebuhr) Σελεύκου. The gift of Stratoniceia has generally been attributed to Seleucus II and his brother Antiochus Hierax during the latter's rule over Asia Minor about 240; see van Gelder,

p. 197f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 60 and *R.E.* XIX 579: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 541, note 1: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 50 and note 34. In Livy XXXIII 18, 22 (197 B.C.), however, it is said of Stratoniceia *nec recipi nisi aliquanto post* (*i.e.* after the evacuation of Caria by Philip's forces) *per Antiochum potuit*, and in fact, the city remained to the end of the war in the possession of Philip's troops (see Chap. I note 40). The statement in Livy XXXIII 30, 11 (196 B.C.), on the authority of Valerius Antias, that the Romans gave the Rhodians *Stratoniceam Cariaeque alias urbes quas Philippus tenuisset* is clearly untrue; the year, however, may be correct, and the acquisition of the city by Rhodes was dated in the winter of 197-196 by Holleaux in *R. Phil.* LVII (1931), p. 8, after having previously (*B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 353, note 2 and p. 361, note 1) placed it in 193 or 192, and this date was accepted with some hesitation by Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 323; the rulers in question were, accordingly, Antiochus III and his son Seleucus. The gift at this time was in keeping with Antiochus's policy of conciliating Rhodes; see Livy XXXIII 20, 7: van Gelder, p. 132: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 791. With regard to the purchase of Caunus, the truth of the statement attributed to the envoy is open to question. According to Appian *Mith.* 23, Caunus became subject to Rhodes ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ. The "purchase" was dated in 189 by Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XVII (1893), p. 61f.=*Études* I p. 418f., followed by Hiller von Gaertringen *ibid.* 793. This seems preferable to 196, as suggested by Ernst Meyer (p. 62f.), for it is difficult to believe that the Rhodians would have acquired the city immediately after declaring that they would defend it against Antiochus III (see Chap. IV note 49). For Rhodian officials in Stratoniceia and Caunus see Chap. IV note 62.

74. Strabo XIV p. 652; see also Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 635f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 685f.

75. For the Rhodians' attempts to intervene in the "War of the Allies" in 220-217 see Polybius V 24, 11; 28, 1f.; 100, 9f. For their efforts to mediate in the First Macedonian War in 212-206 see Livy XXVII 30, 4 and XXVIII 7, 13f., placed, respectively, in 208 and 207, in each case one year too late (see Weissenborn's notes on XXVII 29, 9 and XXVIII 5, 1 and van Gelder p. 119, note 4 and p. 120, note 1): Polybius XI 4f. (207 B.C.). The Mitylenians and Byzantines appear among the mediators of 207. It was pointed out by van Gelder (p. 117) that in their efforts to preserve peace the Rhodians were to some extent actuated by the damage done to their trade by war.

76. For the protectorate of Rhodes over the Islanders of the Aegean see van Gelder, p. 112f.: W. Kõnig *Bund d. Nesioten* (Halle 1910), p. 40f.: Busolt-Swoboda *Griech. Staatsalt.*[3] p. 1289f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 794: Schwahn in *R.E.* XVII 77: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1485, note 94. The admiral Agathostratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet at the battle of Ephesus (see Chap. IV note 26), was honoured with a statue at Delos by τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν (*I.G.* XI 4, 1128=*Syll.*[3] 455=Durrbach *Choix*, no. 38) not later than the middle of the third cen-

tury, after which time there is no evidence for the existence of this *koinon*; see Roussel in *B.C.H.* xxxv (1911), p. 448 and Durrbach *Choix*, p. 80. Soon after this time Delos conferred proxeny on Antigenes, a Rhodian *ναύ[α]ρχος ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τ[ῶν νήσων καὶ] ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, and on his three trierarchs in recognition of their care for the sanctuary and city of Delos and *τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων*; see *I.G.* xi 4, 596 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 39. The same honour was also conferred on several Rhodian citizens who had rendered similar services (see *I.G.* xi 4, 589, 614 and 651), and a Rhodian *ναναρχήσας* and his *συστρατευσάμενοι* made a dedication *[ἀπ]ὸ τῶν λαφύρων* to Apollo (*I.G.* xi 4, 1135 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 40). It was pointed out by Bikerman in *R.E.A.* xl (1938), p. 381f. that the inscription of Antigenes shows that at this time Rhodes and not Egypt policed the Aegean, but that this does not imply a Rhodian protectorate over Delos itself, and Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 232 and note 59) observed that during this period Delos had close relations with Macedonia. Nevertheless, when in 220 the Illyrian adventurer Demetrius of Pharus set out to plunder the Cyclades it was the Rhodians who assumed the defence of the islands; see Polybius iv 19, 8 and J. V. A. Fine in *J.R.S.* xxvi (1936), p. 30f., who showed that the suggestion of Holleaux (*Rome, la Grèce, etc.* p. 141f.) that the raid was instigated by Philip V was unfounded. Early in the second century, perhaps in the war against Antiochus III, the Rhodian Epicrates, *ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμο[υ] ἐπὶ τῶν καταφράκτων πλοίων κατὰ πόλεμον*, who was acting in co-operation with the triremes of the Islanders and the light vessels of Athens, issued an order forbidding the use of Delos as a naval base, for the purpose, presumably, of neutralizing the island; see *I.G.* xi 4, 751 = *Syll.*[3] 582 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 67 and Rostovtzeff *ibid.* p. 1485, note 94. About the same time another Rhodian was *ἀποσταλεὶ[ς ὑπὸ] τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων ἄρχων ἐπί τε [τῶν νή]σων καὶ τῶν πλοίων τῶν νησιωτικ[ῶν]* (*I.G.* xi 752 = *Syll.*[3] 583 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 63). By this time the Islanders had been reorganized under the leadership of Rhodes. Their *σύνεδροι* met and passed resolutions on the island of Tenos; see *I.G.* xii 5, 817 and 824 B (= *Syll.*[3] 620). A Rhodian commander was in charge of troops on Tenos (*I.G.* xii 5, 830) and dedications by Rhodian naval officers suggest that the island was also the headquarters of the navy of Rhodes and her allies; see *I.G.* xii 5, 913 and 914 and *Mus. Belge* xiv (1910), p. 19f., no. 2: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* viii p. 628. For the apparent existence of this organization in 160 B.C. see *Pap. Hamburg* i no. 57.

77. See above p. 13. The embassy which was sent to the Senate in 201 (see Chap. I note 42) was probably Rhodes's first embassy to Rome. From the statement of Polybius xxx 5, 6 (= Livy xlv 25, 9) that in 167 B.C. *σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν κεκοινωνηκὼς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεποίητο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν* it has frequently been inferred that there had been a formal "friendship" between Rhodes and Rome since the end of the fourth century; see *e.g.* Mommsen *R.G.*[7] i pp. 283 and 416 = Eng. Trans. ii pp. 3 and 46: Niese *G.M.S.* i p. 325, note 5 and iii p. 192: van Gelder, p. 106. It was

shown, however, by Täubler (*Imp. Rom.* I p. 204f.) and especially by Holleaux (*Rome, la Grèce, etc.*, p. 30f.), followed by Beloch (*G.G.*² IV 1, p. 290, note 2), that there is no reason to believe that any such relationship existed during the third century and that, in fact, the passage of Polybius as a whole (§ 6-8) indicates that it had been the Rhodians' policy to refrain from binding themselves by formal agreements. Holleaux, moreover, pointed out that their "participation" in the achievements of the Romans began with the Second Macedonian War. While Holleaux showed that the passage of Polybius as it stands is not historically correct, it is not easy to accept either his remedy for bringing it into harmony with the facts as we know them, namely the deletion of the words *πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν*, or the correction suggested by De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LXIII (1935), p. 72f., who, on the theory that something has been lost from the passage, proposed to restore it as *κεκοινωνηκὼς ὁ δῆμος ⟨Ἕλλησί τε καὶ⟩ Ῥωμαίοις*.

78. In the spring of 190 the Rhodian fleet was almost wholly destroyed by Antiochus's admiral off Samos; see Livy XXXVII 11, 4f.: Polybius XXI 7: Appian *Syr.* 24. For the fitting out of a new fleet see Livy XXXVII 12, 9 and Appian *Syr.* 25, and for its defeat of a larger fleet under Hannibal off Side in Pamphylia in the midsummer of 190 see Livy XXXVII 23f. and Nepos *Hann.* 8, 4. For the victory of the combined Roman and Rhodian navies off Myonnesus, near Teos, in the late summer of 190 see Livy XXXVII 29f. and Appian *Syr.* 27. For these battles and their dates see Kromayer *Antike Schlachtfelder* II p. 157f. and Leuze in *Herm.* LVIII (1923), p. 280f.

79. For the situation of Miletus see Strabo XVI p. 634f.: Philippson V p. 11f. and *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXXIII (1916), p. 126f.: A. von Salis in *Neue Jahrbb. f. d. Klass. Alt.* XXV (1910), p. 116f.: *Milet* I 1 (map), II 2, p. 1f. and III 5, pp. 12f. and 19f.: Lehmann-Hartleben *Ant. Hafenanlagen*, pp. 127f. and 147f. For its history during the Hellenistic period see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 1f.: De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLIX (1913-14), p. 440f.: von Wilamowitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 82f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 74f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E.* XV 1602f. For its history from Sulla to Tiberius see Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939 VIII. For a tradition that the original settlement was founded by Cretans see Apollodorus *Bibl.* III 6, Strabo XII p. 573 and XIV p. 634 and Pausanias VII 2, 5. It seems to be borne out by remains of the late Mycenaean period; see Wiegand in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, *Anh.* p. 8f.: *Milet* I 8, pp. 73f. and 113f.: Kolbe in *G.G.A.* 1928, p. 99f.: Lenschau in *Klio* XXXVI (1944), p. 219. The silt brought down by the Maeander has so filled up the estuary of the river that the former Gulf of Miletus is now land and the ruins of the city are five miles from the sea; see Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* I p. 24f.: Philippson V p. 2f.: *Milet* I 1, p. 11; III 1, p. 16f.; III 5, p. 10f. In Antiquity an arm of the Gulf extended toward the southeast to the foot of Mt. Latmus, where lay Heracleia; see Strabo XIV p. 635 and *Milet* III 2, p. 1f. This was the successor of an older town called Latmus, which was a member of the "Confederacy of Delos" and was probably situated on the mountain-slope a half-mile east of Hera-

cleia; see Strabo *l.c.*: Polyaenus VII 23, 2 and VIII 53, 4: Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I pp. 328 and 510: *Milet* III 2, p. 6f. and III 5, p. 19. Its territory is called Latmia in Diodorus V 51, 3. For the view that Heracleia was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Pleistarchus see Chap. IV note 4. In the time of Strabo Heracleia was only a πολίχνιον (see below note 132), but it had an anchorage and so was presumably connected with the sea. At present the Gulf of Latmus is an inland lake connected with the Maeander by an outlet; see *Milet* III 1, p. 3f.; III 5, p. 17f.

80. For the trade of Miletus, especially with its colonies, see J. Röhlig *Der Handel v. Milet* (Hamburg 1933), p. 9f. and H. Michell *Economics of Ancient Greece*, p. 238f. Trade with the interior in the sixth century is suggested by the mention of Phrygians in Hipponax frg. 46 (30) Bergk; see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 37. The land-route, which was used by Alexander (Arrian *Anab.* I 18, 3f. and Strabo XIV p. 635), when he captured Miletus in 334, led around the southern side of the Gulf by a long circuit. This route may have been less difficult in Antiquity than in modern times, for it was observed by Philippson in *Milet* III 5, p. 18 that the surface of the Lake of Latmus (see above note 79) has risen at least three metres, covering a strip of land along the shore.

81. For Myus (situated on the height called Afşar Tepe on the southern bank of the present course of the Maeander), one of the original twelve Ionian cities (see above note 48), settled, according to tradition (Pliny *N.H.* V 113), by emigrants from Athens, see Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1430f. In the early fifth century it was a seaport in which a fleet of two hundred warships could anchor (Herodotus V 32 and 36), but in the time of Strabo (XIV p. 636) it was thirty stades from the sea and could be approached only in rowboats. Together with Magnesia-on-Maeander and Lampsacus and Percote and Palaescepsis in the Troad, Myus was presented by Artaxerxes I to Themistocles about 465; see Thucydides I 138, 5: Diodorus XI 57, 7: Strabo XIV p. 636 (where the king is wrongly called Xerxes): Nepos *Themist.* 10, 3: Plutarch *Themist.* 29, 7: Athenaeus I 54, p. 29 F. Nevertheless, it appears among the "allies" of Athens in 452-432; see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 346f. For the boundary-dispute with Miletus see above note 9. The time of the annexation of Myus by Miletus is uncertain. It was suggested by Rehm that the χώρα which was presented by Ptolemy II to the Milesians in 279/8 was part of the territory of Myus; see *Milet* I 3, no. 123, l. 38f. and p. 200f. There is nothing, however, to indicate the situation of this territory; it may have been a part of the promontory of Mycale, as supposed by Beloch (*G.G.*² IV 2, p. 342), or a tract of Persian "royal land" which had once belonged to Miletus, as suggested by De Sanctis (*ibid.* p. 453f.), von Wilamowitz (*ibid.* p. 84f.) and Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 74). In any case, Miletus acquired the territory of Myus before 228, when in the assignment of land to the city's Cretan mercenaries the people of Myus were ordered to receive them; see *Milet* I 3, no. 33 e and Chap. IV note 34. The place in which these men were

settled seems to have been the region of [Τβ]*ανδίς*, mentioned in *Milet* I no. 33 d, which was presumably the land in the territory of Miletus taken from the city by Philip V in 201 and presented to Magnesia (Polybius XVI 24, 9, see Chap. IV note 43); for in the treaty by which the war between Miletus and Magnesia was ended in 196 (*Syll.*[3] 588, see Chap. IV note 47), the river Hybandus is named as the boundary of the territories of the two cities. The *ἱερὰ χώρα*, lost "because of the wars," which the Roman commissioners at Apameia in 188 "restored" to Miletus (Polybius XXI 46, 5, see Chap. IV note 60), may have been part of the territory of Myus. It seems hardly possible, however, to suppose that this was the *χώρα ἡ ἀποκαθεσταμένη ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν* which is mentioned in the Milesians' agreement with Pidasa (*Milet* I 3, no. 149, l. 38f., see Chap. IV note 78), even though Robert's suggestion (*Villes*, p. 62f., note 7) that these *στρατηγοί* were Roman "consuls and proconsuls" be accepted. In any case, in 173/2 the Milesians based their claim to some land over which there was a dispute with Heracleia on the ground that it was sacred land belonging to Apollo Terbintheus in *ἡ Μυησία*; see *Syll.*[3] 633 and Chap. IV note 79. Some of the territory of Myus was retained by the Magnesians, for in the period between 174 and 160 they owned the sanctuary of Apollo *ἐμ Μυοῦντι*; see *Ins. Magn.* 93=*Syll.*[3] 679, l. 11=*S.E.G.* IV 508 and Chap. IV note 82. In the time of Strabo (or perhaps in that of his source Artemidorus, about 100 B.C.) Myus on account of a lack of population had formed a *sympoliteia* with Miletus. In the second century after Christ Myus was surrounded by marshes, the gnats from which were so deadly that the inhabitants had been forced to abandon the place and move to Miletus; see Pausanias VII 2, 11.

82. There was also a connexion with the interior of Caria by way of Ioniapolis, which in the early second century was connected with Miletus by a municipal ferry across the *Ἰωνοπολιτικὸς Κόλπος*; see *Syll.*[3] 633, l. 101f. and Chap. IV note 79. The site of Ioniapolis (mentioned also in *S.E.G.* II 568), which was evidently a possession of Miletus, was placed by Rehm (*Milet* I 3, pp. 353 and 363) at the southeastern corner of the Gulf of Latmus. From here a route led through an easy pass southwest of Mt. Latmus to the Plain of Mandalya and the city of Euromus; see Philippson in *Milet* III 5, p. 15 and below note 130. This was perhaps the road to Ioniapolis which the Milesians in the treaty with Pidasa (*Milet* I 3, no. 149, see Chap. IV note 78) agreed to maintain as *ζυγίοις πορευτή*.

83. For the situation of the sanctuary and its early history see Herodotus I 46; 92; 157f.: II 159; V 36; VI 19: Strabo XIV p. 634: Pausanias VII 2, 6: Pliny *N.H.* V 112: H. Gelzer *de Branchidis* (Leipzig 1869), p. 1f. The ancient writers frequently call the place Branchidae, from the name of the priestly family which presided over the oracle and was supposed to be descended from Branchus, a favourite of Apollo. For the "Sacred Way" see Strabo XIV p. 634: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 529f.: Wiegand in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1905, p. 546f. and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 35f.: Haussoullier in

Cinquantenaire de l'École prat. d. Hautes Études (Paris 1921), p. 85f.: *Milet* II 2, p. 8f. For the rebuilding by Trajan see Chap. XXV note 5. For the ten statues from it which are now in the British Museum and the inscriptions on some of them see Newton *l.c.* and *I.B.M.* 931-933 and *Syll.*[3] 3 b-f. The remains of five additional figures were found by Wiegand (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, *Anh.* I p. 46). For the legend connecting the cult with the conception of Apollo and Artemis see *Syll.*[3] 590. For the remains of the old temple, the destruction of which was wrongly attributed to Xerxes by Callisthenes in Strabo XVII p. 814=frg. 14 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 645), see Wiegand in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 38f. For the oracle about Alexander see Callisthenes *l.c.* For the new temple, a decastyle building about 360 feet long with a double peripteros of Ionic columns, see Strabo *l.c.*: Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* II p. 25f.: Pontremoli and Haussoullier *Didymes* (Paris 1904), p. 58f.: Wiegand *ibid.* p. 47f.: von Gerkan in *J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), p. 127f. For its history see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 3f. and C. C. van Essen in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 607f. For inscriptions recording the construction (dated by the stephanephori from 217/16 onward) see Haussoullier, p. 158f.; *R. Phil.* XXIX (1905), p. 237f.; XLIII (1919), p. 175f.; XLIV (1920), pp. 31f. and 248f.; XLIX (1925), p. 5f. (=*S.E.G.* IV 446); L (1926), pp. 67f. and 125f.=*S.E.G.* IV 447-455); *Cinquantenaire*, p. 87f., nos. 1 and 2=*S.E.G.* II 568 and 569. For inventories of gifts acquired from 183/2 (*Études*, p. 208, no. 8=*J.H.S.* VI [1885], p. 351, no. 100) onward see *Études*, p. 199f. Haussoullier (p. 46f.) connected with the building of this temple the foundation of the festival of the Didymeia, which appears for the first time in a decree of the Eleans of the beginning of the third century (Michel 197=*Inschr. v. Olympia* 39) and was made Pan-Hellenic about 212 (see Chap. IV note 37). The name of the festival has been restored with great probability in the inscription recording the construction of Antiochus's stoa in Miletus probably about 300/299 (*O.G.I.* 213, see Chap. IV note 7). For the plan of the emperor Gaius to complete the Temple see Chap. XXI note 46.

84. For the situation of Ephesus see Strabo XIV p. 640: E. Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872 I p. 1f.=*Ges. Abh.* I p. 233f.: J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* (London 1877), p. 3f.: O. Benndorf in *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), *Beibl.* 56f. and II (1899), *Beibl.* 15f.: *Ephesos* I p. 9f.: Philippson II p. 89f. and in *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXXIII (1916), p. 123f. and in *Milet* III 5, p. 27f.: J. Keil *Ephesos: ein Führer durch d. Ruinenstätte, etc.*[2] (Vienna 1930), p. 5f. The history of the city from 334 to 27 B.C. has been treated in a dissertation, as yet unpublished, by Miss T. E. Black, who has kindly placed the material in it at my disposal. The territory of Ephesus seems to have extended for some distance north of the Caÿster, for, as Keil observed, the later city of Metropolis, about ten miles away, issued no coins of its own until the first century before Christ and so evidently belonged to some larger city, which could have hardly been any other than Ephesus; see Keil-Premerstein III p. 101 and *R.E.* XV 1497. Toward the south, in the late fourth century, the city's territory bordered on that of Priene, in which the Priest of the Ephesian Artemis

(see below note 86) was permitted by a decree of Priene to own property *ἀπέχουσα τῶν ὅρων τῶν πρὸς τ[ὴ]ν Ἐφεσίη[ν μὴ ἐ]λάσσονι σταδίων δέκα*; see *Ins. Priene* 3=*Syll.*[3] 282 and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 83. In the late second century the Ephesians had extended their territory southward along the coast to include Pygela, which in the late fourth century was independent and "renewed" friendship and isopolity with Miletus (see Chap. IV note 35); see *I.G.* XII 3, 171 and *Suppl.* 1286=*I.G.R.* IV 1029 and, for the situation of the place, Strabo XIV p. 639. In the time of Strabo (*l.c.*) Ephesus owned Marathesium (south of Pygela, near the modern Kuşadası, see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XI [1908], *Beibl.* 145f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 1425), which it had received from Samos in exchange for Neapolis (emended by von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1906, p. 45, note 1=*Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 136, note 1 to *Ἄνεα, i.e. Ἄναια, πόλις*, for which see below note 98). In the plain of the Caÿster, Larisa (Strabo IX p. 440 and XIII p. 620f.), called *ἡ Λαρεισηνῶν κατοικία* in an inscription of the second century after Christ (Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 214), at a distance, according to Strabo, of 180 stades from the city, but placed at Güzelim Tepe (near Çatal), 42 km. (230 stades) distant, by Keil and Premerstein (III p. 83f.), was owned by Ephesus or, more probably, by Artemis (see Broughton in *A.J.P.* LXII [1941], p. 106). It is perhaps the [*Λαρι*]*σηνῶν ἱερὰ κατοικία* in Keil-Premerstein III no. 129. Since no coins of Larisa are known after the third century (Head *H.N.*[2] p. 580), it probably came under the power of Ephesus during this period. In the time of Augustus Ephesus owned a large tract of land, probably an enclave, in the territory of the Cilbiani (see above Chap. II note 9) in the upper valley of the Caÿster; see Vitruvius VII 8, 1 and, for a rock-cut boundary-mark, Keil-Premerstein III no. 72 (see above note 43). In this period the Temple of Artemis had various estates in the Caÿster valley, marked by boundary-stones; see Keil-Premerstein III p. 82. One of these estates, which, according to the boundary-stones, was "restored" to the Goddess by Augustus (see below Chap. XX note 10), may have been seized by the city.

85. For the original site of Ephesus, described as the place called Tracheia, *ἡ περὶ τὸν Κορησσὸν παρώρεις*, near the spring Hypelaus in Strabo XIV pp. 634 and 640 and Creophylus, quoted in Athenaeus VIII 62, p. 361 D-E (*F.H.G.* IV p. 371), see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1922-24), p. 96f. and XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 250f., who showed that Coressus was the ancient name of the plain bordering the estuary of the Caÿster (where lay the *ἱερὸς λιμήν* mentioned by Creophylus), and that when this was silted up (see below note 89), the suburb of the later city which developed here retained the old name. The earliest settlement, therefore, which, according to Herodotus I 26, was seven stades from the Temple of Artemis, was about three quarters of a mile east of the Temple on the northeast slope of the Panayır Dağ (Mt. Pion). Subsequently, Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXXI (1939), p. 33f., identifying Tracheia with the ridge running westward from the northwest end of the Panayır Dağ parallel to the Bülbül Dağ, pointed out that there were at least two other early settlements, one around the Artemisium, the other called Smyrna, which, according to Hipponax and Strabo (XIV p. 633f.),

lay "between Tracheia and Lepre Akte" (Bülbül Dağ), and so near the centre of the later city, built by Lysimachus (see below note 90).

86. According to a local, evidently late, legend, preserved in Strabo XIV p. 639f., Artemis was born at Ortygia, probably in the valley of the Değirmen Dere (the ancient Cenchreius) south of Ephesus; see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1922-24), p. 113f. The tradition of her removal from Ortygia to Ephesus appears in *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 198, no. 4, an Ephesian decree probably of the first century after Christ. For the early temples of the Goddess see D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemisia* (London 1908), according to whose view (pp. 1f., 25f. and 247f.) there were four, the oldest built about 700 B.C., the fourth about the middle of the sixth century. On the other hand, E. Löwy in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CCXIII (1932), 4, p. 9f. and *J.H.S.* LIII (1933), p. 112 maintained that the existing remains show no trace of any temple prior to that of the sixth century. It was pointed out, however, by E. Gjerstad in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* XXIV (1937), p. 29f. that the scarabs found in the remains of the earliest temple (A) show that, while it cannot be older than 660, it can hardly be dated later than 625. For the sixth-century temple see Herodotus I 92, where it is said that Croesus gave most of the columns. Three column-bases inscribed Βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀνέθηκεν have been found in the ruins; see *I.B.M.* 518=*Syll.*³ 6: A. S. Murray in *J.H.S.* X (1889), p. 5f.: W. R. Lethaby in *J.H.S.* XXXVII (1917), p. 1f. From the fifth century onward the Priest of the Temple bore officially the Persian name Megabyzos; see Xenophon *Anab.* V 3, 6: Strabo XIV p. 641: Plutarch *Alex.* 42, 1: Appian *B.C.* V 9: Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 93 and 132: *Ins. Priene* 3=*Syll.*³ 282.

87. Strabo XIV p. 640. The site was placed by Keil (see above note 85) south of the Temple of Artemis. For Croesus's occupation of Ephesus see Herodotus I 26: Aelian *Var. Hist.* III 26: Polyaenus VI 50.

88. Strabo XIV p. 640f.: Plutarch *Alex.* 3, 3: Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* II 69: Valerius Maximus VIII 14, *Ext.* 5: Solinus 40, 3f. For the new temple see W. R. Lethaby in *J.H.S.* XXXIII (1913), p. 87f.; XXXIV (1914), p. 76f.; XXXVI (1916), p. 25f.: Picard *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris 1922), p. 36f. According to Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1349 A and Strabo *l.c.*, the cost was met by enforced subscriptions from the citizens. Inscriptions on several of the columns (*I.B.M.* 519, A-G) record the names of donors. For Alexander and the Temple see Strabo p. 641 and Arrian *Anab.* I 17, 10 (see above note 14). This temple was evidently finished before 302, when a decree conferring citizenship on the leader of an embassy sent to Prepelaus (see Chap. IV note 2) was set up in it. For representations of this temple on Ephesian coins of the Roman period see B. L. Trell in *Num. Notes and Mon.* CVII (1945), p. 9f., and for copies of the cult-image see H. Thiersch in *Abh. Ges. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* XII (1935). The earliest canon of the "Seven Wonders" seems to have contained, besides the Temple of Artemis, the wall of Babylon, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the "Hanging Gardens" at Babylon, the Colossus

at Rhodes, the Pyramids of Egypt and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; see Antipater of Sidon (about 100 B.C.) in *Anth. Pal.* IX 58: Gregory of Nazianzus in *Anth. Pal.* VIII 177: Philo of Byzantium *de Septem Orbis Spectaculis*. Of these, Strabo included among the ἑπτὰ θεάματα the wall and gardens at Babylon (XVI p. 738), the Colossus (XIV p. 652), the Pyramids (XVII p. 808) and the Mausoleum (XIV p. 656). For later variants see H. Schott *de Septem Orbis Spect. Quaest.* (Ansbach 1891), p. 4f.

89. For the silting-up of the Caÿster see Strabo XIV p. 641: Pliny *N.H.* II 201 and 204; V 115: Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872 I, p. 4: *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), *Beibl.* 56f.: *Ephesos* I p. 14f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* V 2779f.: Philippson II p. 89 and *Milet* III 5, p. 28f.: K. Lehmann-Hartleben *Ant. Hafenanlagen*, p. 123f. See also Chap. II note 13.

90. Strabo XIV p. 640: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ἔφεσος: Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 828 (*G.G.M.* II p. 363). For the ridge (the Bülbül Dağ) on whose northeastern side part of the new city was built see above note 85. For the date of the rebuilding of Ephesus (294 B.C.) see Chap. IV note 13. For the additional inhabitants from Colophon and Lebedus see below note 112. The new name appears as Ἀρσινόεια in the decree of the Ionian cities in honour of Hippostratus (*Syll.*[3] 368 I, see Chap. IV note 12), as ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀρσινοέων in a decree of the city (*J.O.A.I.* XXXV [1943], *Beibl.* 101, no. 1) and as Ἀρσι. on coins (see *Num. Chron.* XX [1880], p. 127 and *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 55f.). For the new wall see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 183f.; XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 280f.; *Führer*[2], p. 13f. For contributions toward the cost of construction see *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), p. 237, no. III c and p. 243, a decree of Ephesus honouring a man from Cyzicus who περὶ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν χρήσιμος γεγένηται.

91. For the situation of Smyrna see Strabo XIV p. 646: Calder in *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 95f.: Philippson II p. 33f. and *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXXIII (1916), p. 122f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* III A 734f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 126: C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 14f. For its history during the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods see Cadoux, p. 55f. According to tradition, Smyrna was originally an Aeolian settlement subsequently captured by the Ionians; see Homer *Epigrammata* 4, 6: Mimnermus frg. 9 Bergk (quoted in Strabo XIV p. 634): Herodotus I 149f.: Callimachus quoted in Athenaeus VII 106, p. 318 C: Metrodorus quoted in Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* VI 8, 1: Pausanias VII 5, 1: Arrian *Anab.* V 6, 4. The account given in Strabo XIV p. 634, namely, that Smyrna was originally colonized by Ionians from Ephesus, who, having been driven out by the Aeolians, recaptured the city with the aid of the Colophonians, is evidently coloured by a desire to give the Ionians a claim to the place. The site of the original settlement destroyed under Alyattes (see above note 66), situated, according to Strabo (XIV pp. 634 and 646), twenty stades from the later city, was long identified with the remains of an ancient fortress on the mountain-side behind the village of Hagia Triada (now Turan), nearly four miles northeast of the modern Smyrna. F. and

H. Miltner in *J.O.A.I.* XXVII (1932), *Beibl.* 127f. (followed by Cadoux, *ibid.* p. 59f.), however, showed that this fortress was only one of the chain built to protect the city on the land-side and that the actual site of Old Smyrna was the low isolated hill called Hacı Mutso rising from the plain at the northeastern corner of the Gulf of Smyrna, east of the mountain-spur of Bayraklı, where there are remains of walls and fragments of pottery dating from the ninth century to the sixth. When the original city was built the Gulf extended to this point. For the restoration of Smyrna by Antigonus see above note 66.

92. For the wall of Smyrna, usually attributed to Lysimachus, see Conze in *Arch. Jahrb.* XIV (1899), *Arch. Anz.* p. 15: O. Walter in *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1922-24), *Beibl.* 228f.: Cadoux *ibid.* p. 102. For the name Εὐρυδικέων on coins of Smyrna of the early third century see Imhoof-Blumer in *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1895), p. 229 and Milne in *Num. Chron.* III (1923), p. 7f. The name does not appear in any ancient author; it was evidently soon abandoned, probably soon after 287, when Lysimachus imprisoned Eurydice and killed her husband (Justin XVI 2, 4); see Cadoux, p. 104.

93. According to Strabo XIV p. 646, Smyrna issued a bronze coin called Ὁμήρειον; this is evidently the coin issued in the second and first centuries before Christ which bears a representation of Homer seated; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 244f. and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 593. There are silver drachmae of the same type, also issued in the second century before Christ, and bronze coins of Nero and the Severi bear the legend Ὅμηρος; see *Coll. Wadd.* 7131: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 238, no. 7 and p. 262, no. 225: K. A. Esdaile in *J.H.S.* XXXII (1912), p. 305f.: Milne in *Num. Chron.* I (1921), p. 143f. For the stoa called τὸ Ὁμήρειον, containing a *xoanon* of the poet see Strabo *l.c.* and Cicero *pro Arch.* 19. On the other hand, the Ὁμήρειον which appears in a sepulchral inscription as the recipient of a fine for the violation of the monument (M.κ.B. III[1] [1878-80], p. 176, no τζ′) was probably an organization of some kind, perhaps a gymnasium. The Νέοι Μιμνερμείου in *C.I.G.* 3376=*I.B.M.* 1030 may have been a similar organization.

94. This was especially true in the period of the more primitive methods of navigation, when ships must have had great difficulty in sailing up the 35 miles of the narrow Gulf of Smyrna and found it easier to unload their cargoes at Phocaea or one of the cities on the Erythraean Peninsula; see Philippson II pp. 3 and 57 and E. C. Semple *Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, p. 700. According to Pliny (*N.H.* V 116) and Pausanias (II 1, 5), Alexander planned to cut a canal through the Peninsula of Erythrae, a distance of seven and a half (Roman) miles. The view that this canal was to have led from Hypocremnus (at the end of the Gulf of Eğri Çarpan) on the north to a point near Demircili on the south, which was adopted by H. Gaebler *Erythrae* (Berlin 1892), p. 15, note 2, was rejected by G. Weber in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 226f., who showed that this would have necessitated the cutting of a ridge over 300 ft. in height. Weber pointed out that no

sign of any excavation could be found and expressed the opinion that the work was never begun. Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, on the other hand, while agreeing that the work was probably never begun, suggested (*Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 466, note 2) that the intended line may have been somewhat east of the route followed by Weber.

95. For the series of decrees recording the negotiations between Smyrna and the settlers at Magnesia ad Sipylum (see Chap. V notes 8 and 9) see *C.I.G.* 3137 = *O.G.I.* 229, with a discussion of the union by W. Feldmann *Anal. Epigr. ad Hist. Synoecism. et Sympol. Graec.* = *Diss. Phil. Argent.* IX p. 68f. The first of these decrees mentions also the recognition of the *ἀσυλία* of Smyrna (see Chap. IV note 29). The military settlers were divided into two classes, *οἱ ἐμ Μαγνησίᾳ κάτοικοι οἵ τε κατὰ πόλιν ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί* and *οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις*, and there were, in addition, civilian inhabitants, *οἱ οἰκοῦντες ἐμ Μαγνησίᾳ ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ Ἕλληνες*; see ll. 14, 21f., 35f., 43f., 59, 71f. and 92. The term *κάτοικοι* was discussed by Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 100f., who came to the conclusion that, although amid the various shades of meaning given to the word its precise connotation here could not be definitely established, these, as opposed to *οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις* (*i.e.* those in camp), were probably the soldiers who had taken up residence in the city. A supplementary decree granted the same rights to the *οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ* of Palaemagnesia with a guarantee of ownership of the allotments given to them by Antiochus I (l. 93f.). These *οἰκοῦντες*, Bikerman pointed out (p. 83f.), were presumably originally military colonists, similar to the "Macedonians" established in various places in Asia Minor (see Chap. V note 3) but at the time evidently civilians, since they were under the protection of a detachment of soldiers. The union between Smyrna and the Magnesians was dated in 235 B.C. by Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 2, p. 543, but since the Delphian festival of the Pythia following the proclamation of the inviolability of Smyrna may probably be dated in 246 (see Chap. IV note 29), the union is presumably to be placed before 235. The garrisons, each under a *στρατηγός*, maintained at the pass of Bel Kahve (see Chap. II note 17), through which led the road from Smyrna to Nymphaeum (Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 121f.), and at Ak Kaya, commanding the route from Ephesus to the Hermus basin (*A.M.* XX [1895], p. 498 and Keil-Premerstein III p. 6) in the third or second century, perhaps belonged to Smyrna; for the former inscription contains mention of an *ἀναγνώστης τοῦ δήμου*, which, as Keil observed, suggests a connexion with a city. But in view of the distance between Smyrna and Ak Kaya it seems more probable that both garrisons were royal (Seleucid or Pergamene).

96. For the island of Chios and the situation of the city see Strabo XIV p. 645: Fustel de Coulanges in *Arch. d. Missions Scient.* V (1856), p. 481f. = *Questions Historiques*^{2} (Paris 1923), p. 215f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* III 2288f.: G. I. Zolotas Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου (Athens 1921f.), I p. 55f. and II p. 2f.: D. W. S. Hunt in *B.S.A.* XLI (1940-45), p. 29f. For the Chians' trade and prosperity see Herodotus I 165: Aristotle *Pol.* IV (VI), 4, p. 1291 B:

Thucydides VIII 24, 4 and 45, 4. An indication of the extent of their commercial relations in the early third century is given by lists which seem to contain the name of *proxenoi*; see J. Vanseveren in *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 325f. The Asianic cities in these lists include Phocaea (?), Halicarnassus, Lampsacus, Cyzicus, Gargara, Erythrae, Mitylene, Teos, Caunus, Clazomenae, Alabanda, Lebedus, Sardis, Bargylia, Elaea, Nysa, Cibyra, Thyateira, Orthosia, Antandrus, Synnada, Laodiceia and Sinope. For mainland possessions of Chios (at or near Atarneus) see Herodotus I 160; VIII 106: Diodorus XIII 65, 4: Xenophon *Hell.* III 2, 11: Ps.-Scylax 98. For the Chian navy see Herodotus VI 8 and 15 and Strabo *l.c.* For Alexander's demand for twenty triremes (*Syll.*[3] 283) see above notes 10 and 16.

97. See Zolotas in Ἀθηνᾶ XX (1908), p. 163f., no. 3 = Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 62, corrected in *B.C.H.* XXXVII (1913), p. 211, recording a gift of "King Attalus" εἰς τὴν [τῶ]ν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίαν and εἰς τ[ὴν] τοῦ πυρὸς καῦσιν τὴν ἐν τ[ῷ] γυμνασίῳ. The gift, described as δασμὸς ἀείδασμος τῶν χρημάτων, was supposed by Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XXXIII (1909), p. 13 to be the remission of the tribute due from Chios, but it was shown by Laum (I p. 175f.) that the money was actually presented by the king as an endowment, which was invested in mortgages (a fragmentary list of which appears on the stone), the interest to be paid to the city in perpetuity and without the ultimate return of the principal; see also O. Hoffmann in *S.G.D.I.* IV 4, p. 895f. The identity of the king is unfortunately in doubt. Zolotas, who regarded the lettering as that of the third century, identified him with Attalus I, and this dating was accepted by Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 390 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 1375, note 73. On the other hand, Bürchner, who saw the inscription but could not obtain permission to copy it, expressed the opinion (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1900, 1630) that the lettering was characteristic of the second, rather than the third, century, and that, therefore, the donor was either Attalus II or Attalus III. In his case, since Chios evidently had walls in 201, when it was besieged by Philip V (see Chap. IV note 42), the word οἰκοδομία must refer to repairs rather than to actual construction, a meaning which would accord with the use of the principal as an endowment. For two inscriptions (one a mere fragment) from Chios, containing lists of those who, in order that Chios might "remain free and autonomous," subscribed money εἰς τὴν ὀχύρωσιν τῶν [τ]ειχῶν, see Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 536 and Vanseveren in *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 321f., nos. 4 and 5, where the lettering was said to be that of the third century and the suggestion was made that the documents are to be connected with the gift made by Attalus.

98. For the island and city of Samos see Herodotus III 60: Strabo XIV p. 636f.: Apuleius *Florida* 15: Fabricius in *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 167f. (with map): L. Bürchner *Das Ionische Samos* I 1 (Amberg 1892), p. 22f. and I 2 (Munich 1896), p. 7f. and *R.E.* I A 2166f.: F. Krischen in *Arch. Jahrb.* XXVIII (1913), *Arch. Anz.* p. 477: Lehmann-Hartleben *Ant. Hafenanlagen*, p. 55f. For its earliest history see Bürchner I 2, p. 38f. For the capture of Samos

by the Athenians in 365 and in 352 B.C. and the expulsion of the inhabitants in order to furnish lands for the Athenian settlers see Isocrates XV 111: Strabo XIV p. 638: Nepos *Timoth.* 1, 2: Judeich *Kleinasiat. Studien* (Marburg 1892), pp. 200f. and 273. For these settlers (ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ) see *I.G.* II^2 3207 and *S.E.G.* I 349. For the refuge found by the exiled Samians in many places in Asia Minor and Greece see Michel 366 (=*Syll.*^{3} 312), 367 (=*Syll.*^{3} 333), 368 and 369: *S.E.G.* I 350, 351, 353, 355, 356 and 360: Maiuri *N.S.* I For the restoration of the exiles by Alexander in 322/1 see Diodorus XVIII 18, 9 and *Syll.*^{3} 312, a decree of ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σάμιος conferring honorary citizenship on Gorgus and Minnion of Iasus, officers of Alexander (see below note 127), the former of whom had been instrumental in obtaining the order for the restoration. See also Bikerman in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 34. For the Temple of Hera see Herodotus *l.c.*: Strabo XIV p. 637: Pausanias VII 4, 4: Wiegand in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, V p. 6f., who showed that there were two successive temples on the site, the second built about 600 B.C. For the inscriptions from the temple see M. Schede in *A.M.* XLIV (1919), p. 1f.=*S.E.G.* I 349f., and for the festival of the Goddess in the third or second century before Christ see *J.H.S.* VII (1886), p. 148f. and *S.E.G.* I 380 A. For the line of boundary-stones which, dividing the territory of Samos from that of Priene, ran across Mt. Mycale from a point near the bay of Kalamaki on the northern side to a point just east of Thebae on the south, see *Ins. Priene* 151-153 and p. 128 and Wiegand and Schrader *Priene* (Berlin 1904), p. 473f. For the plain of Anaea see Thucydides III 32, 2 and IV 75, 1: Ps.-Scylax 98: Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), *Beibl.* 151f. Part of it was perhaps obtained from the Ephesians in exchange for Marathesium; see above note 84. In the second century part of it belonged to the Temple of Hera, and during a famine grain from it was bought by the city of Samos; see *Syll.*^{3} 976 and above note 33. For the assignment of part of it by Antiochus II to some of his "friends" see *S.E.G.* I 366 and Chap. IV note 27. Samos also owned the neighbouring island of Icaros, sparsely populated and used chiefly for grazing; see Strabo X p. 488 and XIV p. 639 and Robert in *R.E.G.* XLVI (1933), p. 433f. For the Samians in Oene (the principal town on Icaros) in the third or second century see Rehm in *R.E.* XVII 2190, who cited a decree of οἱ Σάμιοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες Οἴνην. For a colony of Samians at Minoa on the island of Amorgos at the end of the third century see *Ins. Magn.* 50=*Syll.*^{3} 562, l. 80 and Robert *ibid.* p. 437f.

99. For the history of this dispute down to the time of the arbitration of Rhodes between 196 and 192 B.C. see *Ins. Priene* 37 and p. 309 (ll. 53-60, restored also by Lenschau in *Klio* XXXVI [1944], p. 234) =*Syll.*^{3} 599 (ll. 1-44 only) and *O.G.I.* 13=Welles, no. 7 (a letter of Lysimachus); see also Raeder *L'Arbitrage internat.* pp. 68f. and 159f. and Tod *Internat. Arbitration*, p. 135f. The dispute began about 700 B.C. with the destruction of the city of Melia (or Melie) on the coast north of Mt. Mycale and the partition of its territory among its neighbours (see above note 47). This led to a war in the early sixth century (*Aristotle* frg. 576 Rose); see Hiller von Gaertringer in *Ins. Priene*, p. vi f. and von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.*

1906, p. 40f.=*Kl. Schr.* v 1, p. 131f. and in *Ins. Priene* p. 309. The region of Batinetis (the southern portion of the Plain of Anaea) was awarded to the Samians by Lysimachus (*O.G.I.* 13 and *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 125, see Chap. IV note 13), but the ownership of the φρούριον called Carium and the territory around it (southwest of Batinetis, see Wiegand and Schrader *Priene*, p. 30 and *Ins. Priene*, p. vi) remained unsettled until 135 B.C., when a senatus consultum finally awarded them to Priene; see *Ins. Priene* 41=*Syll.*[3] 688 and Chap. IV note 84.

100. For the situation of Priene see Strabo XII p. 579 and XIV p. 636: Lenschau *de Rebus Prienensium*=*Leipz. Stud.* XII (1890), p. 113f.: Wiegand and Schrader *Priene*, p. 35f.: Philippson II p. 96 and in Milet III 5, p. 5. For its history and political institutions see Lenschau, p. 123f.: *Ins. Priene*, p. vii f.: A. Asboeck *Das Staatswesen v. Priene in Hellenist. Zeit* (Munich 1913), p. 59f. For its ruins see J. Leclercq in *Bull. Acad. Belg., Cl. d. Lettres* XIII (1927), p. 414f. and M. Schede *Die Ruinen v. Priene* (Berlin 1934), p. 10f., and for the Temple of Athena see Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* II p. 1f. For the coins see Regling *Die Münzen v. Priene* (Berlin 1927). The situation of the original city is unknown, but it was evidently not that of the extant Priene, for no coins of the period prior to 350 have been found in the ruins; see Wiegand and Schrader, p. 35: *Ins. Priene*, p. XI: Regling, pp. 1f. and 46. For a suggestion as to its situation see E. W. Buisson *Die Aeolisch-Ionische Westküste Kleinasiens, etc.*, p. 40f. As Lehmann-Hartleben pointed out (*Ant. Hafenanlagen*, p. 62f.), the description of Ps.-Scylax 98, λιμένας ἔχουσα δύο, ὧν τὸν ἕνα κλειστόν, could never have applied to the extant city. This city, founded probably about 350, seems to have had local autonomy, for about 332/1 the *grammateus* Apellis had been in office for twenty years; see *Ins. Priene* 4. In 343 Priene was a member of the Amphictyonic League; see Aeschines *de Falsa Leg.* 116. A decree granting (or renewing) citizenship in Priene to "all Athenians" (*Ins. Priene* 5) and referring to the συγγένεια καὶ φιλία between Priene and Athens, mentioned also in *I.G.* II[2] 566 (dated in 307/6 B.C. by Wilhelm in *A.M.* XXXIX [1914], p. 281) and perhaps in *I.G.* II[2] 693 (of the early third century), suggests that Athens was in some way instrumental in founding the new city. For the dedication of the Temple of Athena by Alexander see *Ins. Priene* 156=*Syll.*[3] 277. It was suggested by Schede in *Arch. Jahrb.* XLIX (1934), p. 98 that Alexander's gift of money for the Temple, like his offer at Ephesus which was refused (see above note 88), was conditional on the appearance of his name in the dedicatory inscription. Schede also pointed out (p. 102) that the western end of the Temple was not completed until the middle of the second century, and perhaps not until the time of Augustus. For the προθυμία of the Priest of Artemis at Ephesus (Megabyzus, see above note 86) περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς [Ἀθηνᾶς] τὴν συντέλεσιν see *Ins. Priene* 3=*Syll.*[3] 282. For a building called τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρειον, perhaps a sanctuary but possibly, like the *Homereion* at Smyrna (see note 93), a stoa or a gymnasium, see *Ins. Priene* 108. l. 75. For Naulochum see *Ins. Priene* 1 (=*O.G.I.* 1, see above note 10) and p. 4,

Wiegand and Schrader, p. 16 and Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1969. For the silting-up of the Maeander see above note 79. The northern shore of the Gulf of Miletus was the first to be blocked by the silt, for in the time of Strabo (XII p. 579) Priene was forty stades from the sea, and in the time of Pausanias (VIII 24, 11) the part of the Gulf which had lain between Priene and Miletus could be described as ἤπειρος.

101. For the situation of Magnesia see Strabo XIV p. 647: Rayet and Thomas *ibid.* I p. 118f.: Humann, Kohte, etc. *Magnesia a. Maeander* (Berlin 1904), pp. 1f. and 17f. The city is designated most frequently in the inscriptions as ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρου (or Μαιάνδρῳ), as also in Strabo XIV p. 647, but ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρῳ and πρὸς τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ are found as well, the latter also in Strabo XIV p. 636 and Ptolemy V 2, 15. The original settlers, according to tradition, were Aeolians from Magnesia in Thessaly, who had emigrated to Delphi and, after an attempt to settle in Crete, established themselves on the Maeander; see Aristotle quoted in Athenaeus IV 74, p. 173 E (frg. 631 Rose): Strabo XIV pp. 636 and 647: Conon 29 (Westermann *Script. Poet. Hist. Graeci* p. 136): Pliny *N.H.* V 114: Scholia to Apollonius Rhodius I 584. The Thessalian origin of the city is mentioned also in *Ins. Magn.* 17, an enumeration of the oracles received from Delphi (see O. Kern *Gründungsgesch. v. Magn. a. Maiandros* [Berlin 1894], p. 6f.), and in *I.G.* II² 1091 = *O.G.I.* 503 (a decree of the Panhellenes of the time of Antonius Pius); see also von Wilamowitz in *Herm.* XXX (1895), p. 177f. = *Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 78f. Magnesia was called ἡ πόλις Αἰολίς by Strabo (XIV p. 647), but its inscriptions from the fourth century onward are in Ionic; see *S.G.D.I.* III 2, p. 752 and no. 5737f. The original city was captured by the Persians in 530 (Herodotus I 161) and about 465 it was presented, together with Myus and other cities, to Themistocles by Artaxerxes I; see above note 81. Coins of this time bear Themistocles's name; see R. Weil in *Corolla Numismatica* (Oxford 1906), p. 301f. and Head *H.N.*² p. 581. For the foundation of the later city by the Spartan leader Thibron in 400/399 see Diodorus XIV 36, 4 and Beloch *G.G.*² III 1, p. 34, note 1. Beloch pointed out that Diodorus's statement is not irreconcilable with Xenophon *Hell.* III 2, 19 (397 B.C.), where the new city is referred to as Leucophrys, the name of the ancient village near its site which also appears in *Hell.* IV 8, 17. For Artemis Leucophryene, originally an Asianic goddess, whose cult-name is derived from the name of this village, see Roscher *Lexikon* II 2000f. and Kroll in *R.E.* XII 2286f. For her "epiphany" in 221/0 and the festival founded in her honour in 207/6 with the recognition of the city's inviolability see Chap. IV note 38. For the Ionic temple, whose ruins are extant, see Strabo XIV p. 647: Vitruvius III 2, 6 and VII *Praef.* 12: Humann *ibid.* p. 39f. It seems to have been built on the site of an earlier building, mentioned as τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος [τῆς Λευκοφρυη]νῆς ἱερόν in Magnesia-on-Maeander in a decree of Smyrna passed soon after 246 B.C.; see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 84 and above note 95. According to Vitruvius (see also III 3, 8), both the new temple at Magnesia and the Temple of Dionysus at Teos (see below note 113) were built by the architect Hermogenes, whose work has usually been placed at the end of the

third century; see Fabricius in *R.E.* VIII 879f. This dating, however, was based on the assumption that the purpose of the founding of the Leucophryena in 207/6 was to celebrate the construction of the new temple. It was challenged by A. von Gerkan in *Arch. Jahrb.* XXXVIII-XXXIX (1923), *Arch. Anz.* 347f. and *Der Altar d. Artemis Tempel in Magnesia* (Berlin 1929), p. 30f. (followed by G. Krahmer in *Arch. Jahrb.* XL [1925], p. 197, A. Schober *Der Fries d. Hekataions v. Lagina* [Vienna 1933], p. 26 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 824) on the basis of a decree of Magnesia (*Ins. Magn.* 100 = *Syll.*[3] 695) *ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιδρύσεως τοῦ ξοάνου τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς τὸν κατεσκευασμένον αὐτῇ νῦν Παρθενῶνα*, which ordered the institution of a festival commemorating *τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς Θεοῦ εἰς τὸν Παρθενῶνα*. According to Kern, the lettering of the decree is that of the second half of the second century, and this dating is borne out by the probability that the proposer, Diagoras, son of Isagoras, was a son of the Isagoras, son of Diagoras, who appears in *Ins. Magn.* 85, of the middle of this century. Von Gerkan, accordingly, identifying the *Παρθενών* of the decree with the Temple and, supposing that the festival was held in celebration of the completion of the building, placed both the latter and the other work of Hermogenes in the later second century. But apart from the question whether the *Παρθενών* denotes the whole temple rather than, as at Athens, a chamber in it, the word *ἀποκατάστασις* suggests the *restoration* of the statue to its former position rather than its removal to a new building, and it may be supposed that the sacred chamber had undergone repairs or a redecoration, during which period the *xoanon* had been temporarily installed elsewhere. At Teos, moreover, there was a temple of Dionysus in the time of Eumenes II (before 159 B.C.), for the King's letter to the "Artists of Dionysus" (see below note 114) was to be inscribed *εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου* (Welles, no. 53 III c, l. 9f.), which, as Fabricius (*ibid.* 880) and Welles (p. 236) observed, was at Teos and not, as originally supposed by Fränkel, at Pergamum. This reference to the temple von Gerkan tried to explain away (p. 33) by the unconvincing argument that the wall in question may have been older than the building of Hermogenes. Von Gerkan, moreover, failed to take into consideration the fact that a decree of Teos of the early second century authorizing the purchase of land for the "Artists" (*S.E.G.* II 580, see below note 114) was to be inscribed on a stele and set up *παρὰ* [*τὸ*]*ν νεὼ τοῦ Διονύσου*. It may not be denied, therefore, that there was a temple of Dionysus at Teos during the earlier part of the second century, but whether this was the temple designed by Hermogenes or an earlier building cannot be determined. In view, however, of the exact correspondence in date between the founding of the Leucophryena at Magnesia on the occasion of the recognition of the city's inviolability in 207/6 and the similar recognition of the inviolability of Teos about 204 (see Chap. IV note 39), indicating that a great impulse was given at this time to the cults of Artemis and Dionysus in these cities, and the attribution of the temples of the two deities to Hermogenes, it seems probable that the buildings were designed at this time.

102. For the sacred land of Apollo see *Ins. Magn.* 115 a = *Syll.*[3] 22, a letter purporting to be from Darius I to the satrap Gadates, but in its present form dating from the early second century after Christ. The inscription was found at Germencik, five miles northeast of Magnesia; since another inscription on the same stone (*Ins. Magn.* 115 b) contains the words [τ]ῆ̣ (τ)ῶν Μαγν[ήτων β]ουλῆ̣, the place was evidently in Magnesian territory. A grotto of Apollo at Hylae in the territory of Magnesia with an ancient image of the God is mentioned in Pausanias x 32, 6. The suggestion of Kern (note to *Ins. Magn.* 94) that the territory of Magnesia extended to the Aegean is scarcely warranted, for, as von Wilamowitz observed (*Kl. Schr.* v 1, p. 136, note 1), the inscription in question, which was found at Muzlim Çamlı above the plain of Anaea, may be Samian, since this plain belonged to Samos (see above note 98). The relations between Magnesia and a number of other cities during the first half of the third century are illustrated by the proxeny-decrees, *Ins. Magn.* 3-12. Antiochus I seems to have added some Magnesians to his new city Antiocheia in Persis (*Ins. Magn.* 61 = *O.G.I.* 233, l. 14f.).

103. For the situation of Phocaea see Strabo XIV p. 647: Livy XXXVII 31, 8f.: Hamilton *Researches* I p. 59f.: Philippson II p. 3 and *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXXIII p. 121: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 276. For that of Clazomenae see Strabo XIV p. 645: Pliny *N.H.* V 117: Pausanias VII 3, 9: J. Labahn *de Rebus Clazomeniorum* (Greifswald 1875), p. 21f.: Swoboda in *A.M.* VII (1882), p. 178: Philippson II p. 42: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 122, note 4. Both cities seem to have been founded by settlers from Teos and Colophon, probably in the early eighth century; see Pausanias VII 3, 8f. and von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1906, pp. 52 and 55f. = *Kl. Schr.* V 1, pp. 145 and 149f.

104. See above note 6. In the early fourth century an effort was made by Phocaea to stabilize the coinage by preserving its standard through an agreement with Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 1), by which the two cities bound themselves to try before a mixed court anyone accused of debasing their electrum coins. For these coins see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. XXII and *B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. lxv and J. G. Milne in *Num. Chron.* VI (1946), p. 3. It was pointed out by J. Johnston in *Hermathena* XLVII (1932), p. 153f. that as the result of the rise in the price of silver during the Peloponnesian War the Phocaean electrum stater (based on the value of gold) showed a tendency to depreciate.

105. The territory of Clazomenae on the mainland included Chytum, the site of the city before it was moved to the island out of fear of the Persians; see Strabo XIV p. 645 and Ephorus cited by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* = frg. 136 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 271) = frg. 178 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 64). The statement of Aristotle (*Pol.* V p. 1303 B) that Chytum rebelled against Clazomenae is confirmed by a decree of Athens of 387/6 B.C., in which the Athenians promised not to interfere, on condition that Clazomenae re-enter the naval league formed by Athens; see *I.G.* II[2] 28 = *Syll.*[3] 136 and Judeich

Kleinas. Stud. p. 94, note 1. This decree shows also that at this time Clazomenae was forced to import grain from several places. For a shortage of grain at Clazomenae see also Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1348 B.

106. For the situation of Erythrae see Strabo XIV p. 644: Hamilton *Researches* II p. 6f.: G. Weber in *A.M.* XXVI (1901), p. 103f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* VI 576f.: Philippson II p. 44f. For its history during the Hellenistic period see H. Gaebler *Erythrae* (Berlin 1892), p. 14f. Of especial interest for the history of Erythrae is a treaty concluded in the middle of the fourth century with Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus (*Syll.*[3] 229), by the terms of which each party agreed, in the event of war, to exempt the property of the other from taxation and to give aid to the best of its ability. For the probable trade of the towns on the Erythraean Peninsula with the interior in the very early period, when it was difficult for ships to sail up the long Gulf of Smyrna, see above note 94.

107. A list of τειχῶν ἐπιστάται τῆς ἀντιπλάδης τοῦ τείχους, of which the heading only has been preserved (M.κ.B. II[2-3] [1876-78], p. 63, no. 148 = Gaebler p. 93), was connected by Gaebler with the construction of a new wall, and a decree of Erythrae honouring Phanes, a citizen, for his non-interest-bearing loan for τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν κατα[σκα]φήν (*Syll.*[3] 285) was also connected with it by Weber *ibid.* p. 110. Lists of contributors of money and slave-labour for some unknown purpose, dated by the lettering about 300 B.C., were supposed by von Wilamowitz and Jacobsthal in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909, II p. 18f. to refer to the building of this wall. The decree honouring Phanes has usually been dated (*e.g.* in *Syll.*[3] 285, note 3) in the last years of Philip II or the early years of Alexander. Von Wilamowitz and Jacobsthal, on the other hand, held (p. 25) that it should be placed after the battle of Ipsus and, accordingly, they dated the wall in the first decade of the third century. The fact, however, that in 302 Prepelaus does not seem to have captured Erythrae itself, although he devastated its territory (see Chap. IV note 2), suggests that the wall was in existence at this time.

108. *Syll.*[3] 410 and Ἀθηνᾶ XX (1908), p. 195f., no. 6. The former inscription honours the *strategoi*, who amid dangers preserved the city and its territory unharmed, ἐπιμεληθέν[τες μὲν τῶν χρη]μάτων συναγωγῆς τε καὶ ἀποστ[ολῆς τοῖς περὶ Λεον]νόριον βαρβάροις ἃ συνετάξατο ἡ π[όλις]. The latter, in praise of the citizen who proposed the former decree, mentions an embassy sent to the "barbarians" to arrange for the return of hostages and also the ransoming of prisoners taken by them. The date was presumably between 278, when Leonnorius and the Galatians came to Asia Minor, and 275, when they were defeated by Antiochus I (see Chap. I note 12). The second inscription records the sending of an embassy to "King Antiochus," evidently Antiochus I (see Chap. IV note 23). This inscription mentions a lack of grain both immediately after the Galatian invasion and on two later occasions, on the second of which the price rose to

the exorbitant amount of 60 drachmae for a *medimnos*. For the remission to Erythrae of [*τὰ εἰς*] *τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγόμενα*, probably by Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 223) see above note 14 and Chap. IV note 23.

109. For the situation of Teos see Strabo XIV p. 644: Livy XXXVII 27, 9: Hamilton *Researches* II p. 11f.: G. Hirschfeld in *Arch. Ztg.* XXXIII (1876), p. 23f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 283f. It was wrongly described by Pliny (*N.H.* V 138) as an island (*in alto*). For its history during the Persian and Hellenistic periods see C. Scheffler *De Rebus Teiorum* (Leipzig 1882), p. 13f. and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 544f. For the situation of Lebedus see G. Weber in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 229f.

110. For the situation of Colophon and Notium see Strabo XIV p. 642: Ps.-Scylax 98: Livy XXXVII 26, 5: Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XI (1886), p. 398f.: H. Kiepert in *Globus* LI (1887), p. 296f. For Notium see also Demangel and Laumonier in *B.C.H.* XLVII (1923), p. 353f. Its distance from Colophon was wrongly given by Livy (XXXVII 26, 5) as *duo ferme milia passuum*; see Schuchhardt, p. 410. Notium appears as a separate community in the Athenian tribute lists of the middle of the fifth century (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 358), but in 430 it was in the possession of Colophon (Thucydides III 34, 1f.). About 206, when, together with the other cities of Ionia, it accepted an invitation to the festival of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia-on-Maeander (see *Ins. Magn.* 53 and Chap. IV note 38), it was called Κολοφῶν ἀ[πὸ] θαλάσσης (in distinction to Κολοφώνιο[ι οἱ τὴν] ἀρχαίαν πόλ[ιν οἰκ]οῦντες). It also bore the name Κολοφῶν [ἡ] ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ (*B.C.H.* XXXIX [1915], p. 36f., no. 1), while in Polybius XXI 46 (48), 4 (restored from Livy) its inhabitants are called ⟨Κολοφώνιοι⟩ οἱ τὸ Νότιον οἰκοῦντες. The relationship between the two cities in the third century appears in the decree cited above (*B.C.H.l.c.*), which, in order to be valid, had to be enacted ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς [πόλε]σιν; as observed by Robert *Villes*, p. 62 and *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p, 165f., the two cities had formed a *sympoliteia*. For the sanctuary and oracle of Apollo at Clarus see Schuchhardt *ibid.* p. 430f.: K. Buresch *Klaros* (Leipzig 1889), p. 29f.: Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XXII (1898), p. 257f.: Macridy Bey and Picard in *B.C.H.* XXXIX p. 33f.: Picard *Ephèse et Claros* (Paris 1922), pp. 7f. and 45f. For oracles see Buresch, pp. 8f. (= Keil-Premerstein I no. 16) and 47f.

111. For the wealth of Colophon in the sixth century see Aristotle *Pol.* IV (VI) p. 1290 B, and for its luxury see Clearchus of Soli frg. 7 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. 306) and Aelian *Var. Hist.* I 19. For its fleet and its mercenary cavalry see Strabo XIV p. 643: Polyaenus VII 2, 2: Heracleides of Pontus frg. 22 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. 218). For its wall see above note 59. For the importance of Teos in the early sixth century see Herodotus I 170.

112. Pausanias I 9, 7 and VII 3, 4f. For Arsinoeia see above note 90. The statements of Pausanias that Colophon and Lebedus were destroyed at this time are incorrect. Colophon seems in 281 to have named a tribe Σελευκ[ίς]

after Seleucus I (*A.J.P.* LVI [1935], p. 380, no. 6, see Chap. IV note 19), and at some time in the third century it received an embassy from Priene (*Ins. Priene* 57). The representative of Lebedus appears in the decree of the Ionian cities in honour of Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 222, see Chap. IV note 24). Both cities, moreover (Lebedus as Ptolemais), were among the Ionian communities which signed the decree accepting the invitation to the Leucophryena at Magnesia (see above note 110). It is therefore highly probable, as Fredrich observed in *A.M.* XXV (1900), p. 105, that only some of the inhabitants of the two cities were moved to the new Ephesus. Teos in the time of Strabo (XIV p. 644) owned Αἶραι, then a πολίχνιον but once an independent community; for its probable site at Nea-Demircili on the south shore of the isthmus of the Erythraean Peninsula see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 61f., Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 465f. and Robert in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 512f., note 2, and for its decrees see Michel 497 and Wilhelm *Beiträge*, p. 175f. (probably of the third century, see Keil *ibid.* 62, note 19) and *B.C.H.* IV (1880), p. 175, no. 35 (a crown bestowed at Teos by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αἰραιέων). For a coin see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 512.

113. For Dionysus as the ἀρχηγέτης of Teos see L.W. 75, 76 and 79-80 = *S.G.D.I.* 5181, 5182 and 5185 and *S.E.G.* IV 600. For the head or the *kantharos* of Dionysus on coins of Teos from the fourth century onward see Head *H.N.*² p. 595f. For the festival of the Dionysia see *I.G.* XI 4, 1136+1061 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 75 = *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 211f.: L.W. 92: *Ins. Magn.* 97, l. 36. For the general recognition of the inviolability of Teos about 204 B.C. see Chap. IV note 39. For another recognition by the cities of Crete, about 170 B.C. or later, see L.W. 75-82 = *S.G.D.I.* 5181-5187 and *S.E.G.* IV 599-600 and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 550. For the Temple of Dionysus see *Antiquities of Ionia* IV (1881), p. 38f. and V (1915), pp. 12f. and 28f. and Béquignon and Laumonier in *B.C.H.* XLIX (1925), p. 291f. For Hermogenes and the question of his date see above note 101.

114. It was called τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν or, more fully, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. For this Ionian society, a branch of a larger organization which had its origin in Athens, see O. Lüders *Die Dionys. Künstler* (Berlin 1873), pp. 74f. and 135f.: Scheffler *De Rebus Teiorum*, p. 87f.: F. Poland *De Collegiis Artificum Dionysiac.* (Dresden 1895), p. 10f.; *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 138f.; *R.E.* V A 2507f.: E. Ziebarth *Das Griech. Vereinswesen* (Leipzig 1896), p. 80f.: J. Oehler *Epigr. Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Dionys. Künstler* (Vienna 1908), p. 8: G. Klaffenbach *Symbolae ad Hist. Collegiorum Artif. Bacchiorum* (Berlin 1914), p. 17f.: Ruge in *R.E.* V A 561f. *Technitae* (αὐληταί and τραγῳδοί) are mentioned in a decree from Eretria of 294-288 B.C. (*I.G.* XII 9, 207), but the Society, *i.e.* the Athenian branch, appears for the first time in a decree of the Amphictyonic Council of 278/7 B.C., which granted the Artists ἀσυλία and ἀτέλεια and exemption from seizure of their persons or their property and from military service; see *I.G.* II² 1132 = *Syll.*³ 399.

This grant of inviolability enabled the Artists to attend the recently founded Amphictyonic festival without molestation from any of the members of the Amphictyony, a privilege which, in view of the Aetolians' activity as pirates, was of real value; see E. Schlesinger *Die Griech. Asylie* (Giessen 1933), p. 56f. and Chap. IV note 33. The first mention of the Ionian society as a separate organization occurs in a decree of the Aetolians passed about 238, which guaranteed the inviolability of the members; see *I.G.* IX² 1, 175 = *Syll.*³ 507 and Ruge *ibid.* 561. At the end of the third century the Ionian society appears in the decree of the Aetolians recognizing the inviolability of Teos (*Syll.*³ 563, see Chap. IV note 39) and in inscriptions relating to the festival of Artemis at Magnesia (*Ins. Magn.* 54 and 89, see Chap. IV note 38), in which the Artists participated. During the second century the independent Pergamene κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Καθηγεμόνα Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, founded by Eumenes II (see von Prott in *A.M.* XXVII [1902], p. 169f.), was united with the Ionian society; the combined names appear in *I.G.* XI 4, 1136+ 1061 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 75 = *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 211f. and in *C.I.G.* 3068 A = Michel 1016, both of the mid second century. The Pergamene society is mentioned alone in an inscription of about the time of the formation of the Roman province of Asia (*Syll.*³ 694, l. 45f.), and the Ionian-Hellespontine organization appears without the other in an inscription from Samothrace of the first century before Christ (*I.G.* XII 8, 163, l. 35f.). Both appear together, however, in a letter of Sulla to Cos, written about 81 B.C. (*Riv. Fil.* LXVI [1938], p. 253f.), at which time they were evidently still united. This letter and a second letter, addressed apparently to the Artists themselves, contain mention of privileges granted to the Society by Sulla and confirmed by a senatus consultum, which included ἀλειτουργησία and exemption both from military service and from the requisitioning of supplies. For the relations between the Artists and the city of Teos, carried on through envoys, see *I.G.* XI 4, 1136+1061 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 75 = *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 211f., l. 36f. and *S.E.G.* II 580, l. 28f. and Ziebarth *ibid.* p. 84f. For the purchase of land, costing 6000 drachmae, for the Artists see *S.E.G.* II 580, in which the Teans granted them a moratorium (ἐπο[χή]) for five years (see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 42f.). For Eumenes's letter, containing his decision after a review of the arguments presented by embassies both from the Artists and from the Teans see *Ins. Perg.* 163 = Welles, no. 53, and for his mediation see Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 96 and note 1. For the removal of the Artists from Teos and their settlement at Lebedus see Strabo XIV p. 643. It did not take place until after 153/2 B.C., since an inscription of Teos of this year (*O.G.I.* 325) mentions a ἱερεὺς τῶν τεχνιτῶν. For their removal by Antony to Priene and his confirmation of their privileges see Plutarch *Ant.* 57, 1 and below Chap. XVIII note 4. Since Strabo wrote of them as living at Lebedus, it must be supposed either that they returned there or that the statement was taken from some source earlier than the time of Antony, perhaps Artemidorus. For Horace's allusion to Lebedus see *Epist.* I 11, 7. Lebedus, however, remained in existence, for it is listed by Hierocles (660, 10) and in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*. For a religious association at Teos called Ἀτταλιασταί, which under Attalus II

had a sanctuary called the Ἀτταλειον and performed sacrifices either to the King or, more probably, to his father, see *C.I.G.* 3069 and 3070 (=*O.G.I.* 326 and p. 658 and 325) and 3071: Michel 1307: Poland *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 140.

115. For the situation of Cyzicus see Ps.-Scylax 94: Strabo XII p. 575f.: Apollonius Rhodius I 936f. and Scholia: Aristides *Orat.* XXVII 5f. Keil: Perrot *Exploration* I p. 69f.: Ruge in *Pet. Mitt.* XXXVIII (1892), p. 226f. and *R.E.* XII 228f.: Th. Reinach in *R.E.G.* VII (1894), p. 48f.: Judeich in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 551f.: R. de Rustafjaell in *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), p. 174f.: F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 1f.: Philippson I p. 49f. and *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXXIII (1916), p. 116f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, pp. 63f., 100f. and 261f. For the founding of Cyzicus by Milesians see Strabo XIV p. 635. For the similarity between the cults and the civic institutions of Miletus and Cyzicus see Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV (1920) 1, pp. 70, 103f., 120f. and 140f., and for the *isopoliteia* between the two cities in the late fourth century see *Milet* I 3, p. 291f., no. 137 (see Chap. IV note 35). The wall of Cyzicus was probably built after 411 B.C., when the city was ἀτείχιστος (Thucydides VIII 107, 1 and Diodorus XIII 40, 6) and before 364, when it was besieged, presumably by the Persians, but relieved by the Athenian Timotheus (Diodorus XV 81, 5 and Nepos *Timoth.* 1, 2). The dredging of the harbours (λιμένες) and the lagoon (λίμνη), the opening of the canals (εὔρειποι or διώρυγες), which had been filled up "in fear of war," and the rebuilding of the moles are recorded in two inscriptions of the time of the emperor Gaius; see *I.G.R.* IV 146 (=*Syll.*[3] 799 1) and 147, with notes by Wilhelm in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 427f. (see also Chap. XXI note 51).

116. For the roads leading from Cyzicus to the valley of the Caïcus and Pergamum and to Adramyttium see Chap. II notes 20 and 19. Another road, indicated on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ran parallel to the shore of the Propontis (bordering the estate of Laodice, see below), and connected Cyzicus with Cius (Prusias) in Bithynia on the east and Lampsacus on the west; see Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 124f. At Lampsacus it joined the route which led *via* Abydus along the western coast of Asia Minor (see Chap. II note 19). This road crossed the Rhyndacus, near Ulu Abat, the Aesepus, three and a half miles from its mouth, and the Granicus near Biga by Roman bridges similar in construction to that over the Macestus near Susurluk (see Chap. II note 20) and dating probably from the late third century after Christ; see Hasluck in *B.S.A.* XII (1905-6), p. 184f. and *Cyzicus*, pp. 78, 125f. and 127f. For milestone no. XXV (eastward from Cyzicus) with inscriptions of Diocletian and later emperors, found at Çamandra on the left bank of the Macestus, see *C.I.L.* III 463-465 and Hasluck in *J.H.S.* XXIV (1904), p. 26. For milestone no. VIII, at Ömer Köy, about ten miles southeast of Cyzicus, see *C.I.L.* III 14201[1]-14201.[3] For a stone of Trajan (A.D. 115/16), unnumbered, found near Cyzicus see *I.G.R.* IV 172, and for milestone no. XIII (westward from Cyzicus), near the mouth of the Aesepus, see *C.I.L.*

III 7178 and 13687 (probably the same inscription). The importance of Cyzicus as a banking-centre is shown by the fact that its electrum coins ("staters"), issued from about 600 B.C. onward, became an internationally recognized medium of exchange; see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. xv: H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* VII (1912), p. 1f.: Regling in *R.E.* XII 224f.: J. Johnston in *Hermathena* XLVII (1932), p. 134f.: J. G. Milne in *Num. Chron.* VI (1946), p. 3f. In the fifth century Athens seems to have made an arrangement with Cyzicus for the minting of gold staters for use in the Athenian Empire; see R. Weil in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXV (1905), p. 58f. In the fourth century at Olbia an attempt was made to stabilize the local coinage by establishing a definite ratio between it and the Cyzicene gold stater as the best known foreign coin; see *Syll.*[3] 218, l. 24f. The trade of Cyzicus with southern Russia and Thrace is attested by the large circulation of its coins in these countries; see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 117 and 587. The extent of the city's territory in the Hellenistic period is shown by the letters ὅρ(ος) Κυ(ζικηνῶν) cut in a rock in the Ala Dağ west of Gönen; see Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 275f. and XXX (1905), p. 328, who pointed out that at this time the territory of Cyzicus not only included the eastern bank of the Aesepus but extended a long way inland on the western bank as well. The fact that Philetaerus granted permission to the Cyzicenes to export cattle from his dominions without paying export-dues (see *O.G.I.* 748 and Chap. I note 9) suggests that his territory and theirs had a common boundary; see Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 363. In the middle of the second century the territory of Cyzicus did not include Zeleia, west of the lower Aesepus, for one of the boundaries of the estate sold by Antiochus II to Laodice (see Welles, nos. 18-19 and above note 40) was the road ἀπὸ τῆς Ζελείτιδος χώρας τῆς μὲν [π]ρὸς τὴν Κυζικηνήν (see above). On the other hand, in the time of Strabo the city's territory did include Zeleia and at least part of the plain of Adrasteia at the mouth of the Granicus as far as the territory of Priapus; this region seems to have been given to Cyzicus by the Romans after the Third Mithradatic War; see Strabo XII pp. 565 and 576 and XIII p. 583 and above p. 330. An inscription of the first century before Christ or the early first century after Christ found at Gönen on the eastern bank of the Aesepus, which is dated ἐπὶ ἱππαρχέῳ (the eponymous official of Cyzicus, see above note 20) shows that at this time the territory of Cyzicus extended some twenty-five miles toward the southwest; see *C.I.G.* 3695 b=*Klio* V (1905), p. 301 and Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 255. Toward the south and east, according to Strabo (XII p. 576), its territory included Lakes Miletopolis and Apolloniatis (modern Manyas and Apolyont, see Ruge in *R.E.* XV 1585). This is borne out by inscriptions dated by the ἱππάρχης found at Ulu Abat on Lake Apolyont and at Hamamlı south of Lake Manyas; see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 188f., nos. 2 and 5. The description of Poemanenum as a χωρίον Κυζίκου in Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* suggests that it was at one time owned by Cyzicus, but, as A. H. M. Jones pointed out (*Cities*, p. 87), Poemanenum was an independent community in 80/79 B.C. (see *I.G.R.* IV 196 and Chap. X note 25), and the Poemaneni appear in Pliny's list (*N.H.* V 123).

117. *O.G.I.* 748, see Chap. I note 9, and for the Galatian invasion see Launey in *R.E.A.* XLVI (1944), p. 217f. Because of the proximity of the estate of Laodice to Cyzicus (see above note 116), the view that at this time the city (as well as Zeleia) was subject to the Seleucids was held by Corradi (*Stud. Ellenist.* p. 177) and Ruge (*R.E.* XII 230). But, as Rostovtzeff observed (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. IV note 347), the specific mention in the inscription of the territories of the two cities indicates that both were free. The belief that coins of Antiochus Hierax (see Chap. IV note 32) were minted in Cyzicus, which was used by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 124) and Corradi (*l.c.*) to show that the city was "Seleucid," is unfounded; see Gaebler in *Nomisma* XII (1923), p. 26 and Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 226, note 9. For the marriage of Attalus I to Apollonis and for the temple at Cyzicus built in her honour by Eumenes II see Chap. I note 69. The connexion of Eumenes with Cyzicus appears also in the King's reply to the decree of the Ionian Federation (*O.G.I.* 763 = Welles, no. 52, see Chap. I note 67), in which he mentioned (l. 65) his "kinship" with the Milesians διὰ Κυζικηνούς. Cyzicus was an ally of Eumenes in the war which he fought against Pharnaces I of Pontus, for it appears among the αὐτονομούμενοι who signed the treaty of peace in 180/79 B.C.; see Polybius XXV 2, 13 and Chap. VIII note 43. For the friendly relations between Attalus III and Cyzicus see *O.G.I.* 331 III = Welles, no. 66 and Chap. I note 87.

118. For the situation of Lampsacus see Strabo XIII p. 589 and W. Leaf *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923), p. 93f. The statement of Strabo that it was a colony of Miletus is apparently incorrect; see Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV (1920), 1, p. 50. In 197 B.C. the Lampsacenes regarded Phocaea as the founder (see *I.G.R.* IV 179 = *Syll.*[3] 591, l. 26, where they describe themselves as ἀδελ[φοί] of the people of Massalia, a colony of Phocaea), and this tradition is found also in the literary sources; see Charon of Lampsacus frg. 6 Müller (*F.H.G.* 1 p. 33) = frg. 7 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* III p. 4f.): Ephorus frg. 93 Müller (*F.H.G.* 1 p. 260) = frg. 46 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 56): Mela 1 97: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Λάμψακος. Lampsacus was one of the cities presented to Themistocles by Artaxerxes I (see above note 81). A festival in Themistocles's honour was still celebrated about 200 B.C.; see *A.M.* VI (1881), p. 103. For the "staters" of Lampsacus see A. Baldwin (Brett) in *Am. Journ. of Numism.* LIII 3 (1924) and Regling in *R.E.* XII 589f. For the tribute paid to Athens in 451-428 see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* 1 p. 326f.

119. For the situation of Ilium see Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion* (Athens 1902), p. 601f. and Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, pp. 158f. and 174f. The contention of Strabo (XIII pp. 593 and 597f.), based on Demetrius of Scepsis, that the Ilium of his day did not stand on the site of ancient Troy and that the latter was situated thirty stades to the southeast has been proved incorrect by modern excavations, which show that the whole succession of cities has stood on and around the hill of Hisarlık near the junction of the Scamander and the Simois. For the history of the city in the Hellenistic period see P. Haubold *de Rebus Iliensium* (Leipzig 1888), p. 13f. For the sanctuary

of Athena Ilias in the fifth century see Aeschylus *Eum.* 397f.: Herodotus VII 43: Xenophon *Hell.* I 1, 4. According to Strabo XIII p. 593, Ilium before the time of Alexander was a mere κώμη and the sanctuary of Athena was μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελές. The place did, however, have some sort of a civic organization, for it was included by Xenophon (*Hell.* III 1, 16) among the Αἰολίδες πόλεις of the Troad, and soon after 360 the Ilians honoured an Athenian as πρόξενος and εὐεργέτης for his services in obtaining their liberty, apparently from the condottiere Charidemus; see *Syll.*[3] 188 and Judeich *Kleinas. Stud.*, p. 279f. For the freedom conferred on the city by Alexander see Strabo *l.c.* and above note 10. For Alexander's interest in the Temple of Athena see Strabo XIII *l.c.*: Diodorus XVII 17, 6f. and XVIII 4, 5: Arrian *Anab.* I 11, 7: Plutarch *Alex.* 15, 4: Justin XI 5, 12. A tribe of Ilium was still called Ἀλεξανδρίς in the late first century after Christ (*C.I.G.* 3615).

120. For the disappearance of many of the cities in the Troad see A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 86. For Abydus see Polybius XVI 29: Strabo XIII pp. 587 and 590f.: Leaf *ibid.* p. 117f. For its use as a bridge-head by Xerxes in 480 see Herodotus VII 33f.

121. See Leaf *ibid.* p. 117f. and Lehmann-Hartleben *ibid.* p 200. For the foundation of Alexandria Troas by Antigonus see above note 63 and for its enlargement by Lysimachus see Chap. IV note 17. For ναύκληροι from the city see Robert *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 67f.

122. For Scepsis see Strabo XIII p. 607 and, for the Milesian settlers, XIV p. 635. The Aeolic origin of the place is shown by the form Σκάφσιοι in the Athenian tribute lists of 452/1 and 441/40 (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor I pp. 408 and 549) and by the earliest coins bearing the legend Σκαψίον, which soon, however, was changed to Σκηψίον; see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 548. For the traces of Milesian influence see Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV (1920), 1, p. 51f. For the site, at Kurşunlu Tepe in the central Troad, see Judeich in *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert* (Berlin 1898), p. 225f. and *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 535, and for a description see Leaf in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 267f. The earlier city of Palaescepsis (Strabo XIII pp. 603 and 607) was probably in the hill-country near the upper Aesepus, much farther from Scepsis than Strabo's estimated distance of 60 stades; see Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, pp. 210f. and 271 (where the emendation σταδίοις σξ′ is suggested for the manuscript-reading ξ′). For the removal of the people of Scepsis to Alexandria Troas see above note 63 and for their return under Lysimachus see Chap. IV note 17. For the freedom of the city under Antiochus I see *O.G.I.* 221 (see above note 40), in which Aristodicides of Assus was ordered to attach the estate given him by the King to the territory of either Ilium or Scepsis. For the subjection of Scepsis to the Pergamene kings see Strabo XIII p. 609.

123. See Strabo XIII p. 610: J. T. Clarke in *Papers Arch. Inst. Am., Class. Ser.* I (1882), p. 51f. and II (1898), p. 40f.: Clarke-Bacon-Koldewey *Investi-*

gations at Assos (Cambridge, Mass. 1902-21), p. 3f.: Leaf *ibid.* p. 290f. According to Strabo (*l.c.*) and Alexander Polyhistor frg. 137 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 239) = frg. 96 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* III p. 118), Assus was founded by settlers from Lesbos. For the difficulty of rounding Cape Lectum and for the caravan-route from Assus to the valley of the Scamander see W. Leaf *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography* (London 1912), pp. 260f. and 311f. For the agricultural character of Assus see von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1906, p. 77, note 2 = *Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 173f., note 2.

124. For the situation of Adramyttium see Strabo XIII p. 606: H. Kiepert in *Ztschr. d. Berl. Ges. f. Erdkunde* XXIV (1889), p. 292f.: Judeich in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 543: Philippson I pp. 30 and 32: Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 318f. For the settlers from Delos see Thucydides V 1 and Diodorus XII 73, 1. This account is evidently more correct than that of Strabo, who calls Adramyttium an Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος πόλις. It is called a πόλις Ἑλληνίς in Ps.-Scylax 98. For the plain of Thebe see Chap. II note 39; it was sacked by Philip V in 201 B.C. (Polybius XVI 1, 7) and again by Antiochus III in 190 (Polybius XXI 10, 13f. = Livy XXXVII 19, 7f.). In the first century before Christ Adramyttium had a famous school of oratory; see Cicero *Brut.* 316 and Strabo XIII p. 614.

125. For the general topography of Lesbos see Strabo XIII p. 616f.: Boutan in *Arch. Miss. Scient.* V (1856), p. 273f.: A. Conze *Reise a. d. Insel Lesbos* (Hannover 1865), p. 15f.: W. H. D. Rouse in *B.S.A.* II (1895-6), p. 145f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* XII 2111f. For its history during the fourth century see H. Pistorius *Beitr. z. Gesch von Lesbos*, p. 12f. For Mitylene see Strabo XIII p. 617: Ps.-Scylax 97: Diodorus XIII 79, 6: Newton *Travels* I p. 49f.: R. Koldewey *Ant. Baureste d. Insel Lesbos* (Berlin 1890), p. 3f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 87f.: R. Herbst in *R.E.* XVI 1417f. For Eresus see Strabo XIII p. 618: Newton I p. 94f.: Conze, p. 27f.: Koldewey, p. 22f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 76f. For Methymna see Strabo XIII p. 616: Xenophon *Hell.* I 2, 11: Koldewey, p. 16f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 75: Zschietzschmann in *R.E.* XV 1392f. Mitylene in the fourth century owned territory on the coast south of Adramyttium (Ps.-Scylax 98), which seems to have been increased by Alexander; see Curtius Rufus IV 34 and Beloch *G.G.*² III 1, p. 636. The possession of this territory on the mainland bears out the suggestion of Fabricius in *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 93 that the words ἐπὶ Καΐκῳ in a list of properties belonging to citizens of Mitylene in the third century (*I.G.* XII 2, 74 = *Syll.*³ 968) refers to the Mysian Caïcus rather than to an otherwise unknown river of the name on Lesbos. For the plundering of the *Peraea* of Mitylene by Antiochus III see Livy XXXVII 21, 4. For the dispute between Mitylene and Pitane see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 142 = *O.G.I.* 335 = *S.E.G.* IV 680, containing decrees of the two contestants and the decision of the Pergamene arbitrators, and for the land in question (near Atarneus) see Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 107. The lettering of the inscription shows that it cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the second century, and because of the letters ον βασι in l. 90 it has been assigned to the time of the kings,

either Attalus II or Attalus III. The evidence afforded by these few letters, however, is very slight, and it seems more probable that the inscription should be dated in the period after 133, when Pergamum was a free city (see Chap. VI note 34). For a restoration of l. 90 see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 114, note 1. For the villages (Coryphantis and Heracleia, northeast of the modern Ayvalık) owned by Mitylene in the first century see Strabo XIII pp. 605 and 607 and Meyer, p. 106. For the territory of Methymna, which included Arisbe and Nape in the centre of the island, see Herodotus I 151 and Strabo IX p. 426 and XIII p. 590. For Egyptian influence at Methymna and Eresus see Chap. IV note 31. For the relations with Rhodes see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 120 (a fragment of a decree) and *Milet* I 3, p. 374, note 3. For the *koinon*, with *isopoliteia*, formed by Mitylene, Eresus, Methymna and Antissa see *I.G.* XI 4, 1064=XII *Suppl.* no. 136 and Robert in *R.E.G.* XXXVIII (1925), p. 38f. and XL (1927), p. 219, to be dated in the second century, but before 167, when Antissa was destroyed by the Romans (Livy XLV 31, 14). For the *κοινόν* see also S. Accame in *Riv. Fil.* LXXIV (1946), p. 104f., who dated its foundation in 196 B.C. or perhaps in 190 and pointed out that a coin (*B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 169, no. 3) shows that, perhaps in a reorganized form, it still existed under Commodus.

126. For the situation and early history of Cyme (Nemrut Köy) see Herodotus I 149: Strabo XIII pp. 582 and 621f.: Ps.-Scylax 98: Heracleides of Pontus frg. 11 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. 216): von Diest in *Pet Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 33f.: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 95: Philippson II pp. 5 and 16f.: *B.C.H.* XLIX (1925), p. 476f. Cebren in the Troad and Side in Pamphylia were said to be its colonies; see Ephorus frg. 22 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 239) = frg. 10 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 45) and Arrian *Anab.* I 26, 4. For Myrina (Kalabassi) see Strabo XIII p. 622: Ps.-Scylax 98: Ramsay in *J.H.S.* II (1881), p. 277f.: Pottier and Reinach in *B.C.H.* VI (1882), p. 197f. and *Nécropole de Myrina* (Paris 1887), p. 19f.: Ruge in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 615f. Its enclave, southeast of the territory of Aegae, was marked by boundary-stones; see above note 43. Its territory on the coast was restricted by the fact that in the third century, at least, it was surrounded by Pergamene territory, as is shown by the boundary-mark of Pergamum near Cape Hydra; see Chap. I note 17. For Gryneium see Strabo XIII p. 622 and for the Temple of Apollo see von Diest *ibid.* p. 32 and *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 98. In the later Athenian tribute lists (*S.E.G.* V 9 and 12f.) Myrina is designated as *παρὰ Κύμεν*, presumably to distinguish it from Myrina on the island of Lemnos. For Aegae (Nemrut Kalesi) see Strabo XIII p. 621: Ramsay *ibid.* p. 292f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 26f.: Bohn and Schuchhardt *Alt. v. Aigai = Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* II (1889), p. 8f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 263f. For Pitane (Çandarlı) see *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 99f., W. Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 329 and E. W. Buisson *Die Aeolisch-Ionische Westküste Kleinasiens, etc.* p. 21f.

127. For Iasus (Asınkale) see Polybius XVI 12, 1f.: Strabo XIV p. 658: Hicks in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 83f.: Judeich in *A.M.* XV (1890), p. 137f.: Krischen in *Arch. Jahrb.* XXVIII (1913), *Arch. Anz.* p. 476: G. Guidi in

Ann. Scuol. Atene IV-V (1921-22), p. 346f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 256f.: G. Jost *Iasos in Karien* (Hamburg 1935), p. 7f. It was supposed by Judeich that the great wall on the mainland was that of the original city, built in the sixth century and destroyed by Lysander in 405/4 (see Diodorus XIII 104, 7) and that the wall on the island dates from the building of the smaller, Hellenistic, Iasus in the early fourth century. This view, however, was disputed by Krischen, who held that the wall on the mainland was built not earlier than 400 and that the enclosure was a permanent camp for an army and not a city. For the Milesian settlers see Polybius *l.c.* and Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV (1920) 1, pp. 56 and 144. There is no trace of any Argive influence in Iasus, for the earliest inscription (*Syll.*[3] 169, of the middle of the fourth century, see below note 133) is in Ionic. The maintenance of a connexion with Ionia is shown by an offer from Samos to form an alliance; see *R.E.G.* XLVI (1933), p. 442, note 1, perhaps of the late second or early first century. For Alexander's grant of the fishing-rights *ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς θαλάσσης*, evidently a lake connected with the gulf and probably, as Hiller von Gaertringen observed (*Syll.*[3] 307, note 2), the lake still in existence near the mouth of the Sarı Çay (Cybersus), see *C.I.G.* 2672 = *Syll.*[3] 307, in honour of Gorgus and Minnion who obtained the rights. The former was a *ὁπλοφύλαξ* of Alexander; see Ephippus frg. 5 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 667): *I.G.* IV[2] 616 (restored in *A.M.* LVII [1932], p. 52f.) and 617: Paton-Hicks 21. For his services to Samos see above note 98. For Apollo as stephanephorus (see above note 24) see L.W. 252f. (see below) and *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 98f. His temple (*Ἀπολλώνιον*) is mentioned in Michel 465 (of the third century). For Artemis Astias see Polybius XVI 12, 4 and, for her appearance in inscriptions and on coins, Jost, p. 33. For the dedication of the theatre to Dionysus see *C.I.G.* 2681 = L.W. 269 and for the Dionysia see L.W. 252-268, 270-277 and 283-299 (containing the names of contributors to the expenses of the festival during several years in the second century): *C.I.G.* 2671 = Michel 462 (of the late fourth century): Michel 470: *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 156f., no. 2.

128. For Bargylia see Newton *Travels* II p. 56f.: Le Bas *Voy. Arch. Itin.* pl. 67: Guidi *ibid.* p. 359f. For Apollo at Bargylia see *R.E.A.* XXI (1919), p. 2 = Holleaux *Études* II p. 180f. For Artemis Cindyas see Polybius XVI 12, 3 and Strabo XIV p. 658, and for Cindya, near Bargylia, the seat of her worship see *J.H.S.* XVI (1896), p. 195f. See also *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 191f., no. 14 (a priest of Artemis Cindyas and the Emperor Titus): *B.C.H.* XIII (1889), p. 37f., no. 5 (a *λουτροφόρος* of the Goddess): L.W. 497 = *I.B.M.* 1038 (a fine to be paid to her). For coins with a representation of the cult-image see Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma* VIII (1913), p. 5f. For an "epiphany" see Chap. VI note 14. During the third century, probably, Bargylia accepted an invitation to participate in the festival of an unknown Dorian city and recognized its inviolability; see *C.I.G.* 2670 = *Mus. Belge* VII (1903), p. 297.

129. For Mylasa (Milâs) see Strabo XIV p. 658f.: Fellows *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor* (London 1852), pp. 193f. and 276f.: Newton

Travels II p. 47: Philippson V pp. 18f. and 39: Laumonier in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 31f.: Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX (1935), p. 334; *R.A.* VI (1935), p. 155f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1049f. A collection of the inscriptions by Robert will appear in a forthcoming volume of *M.A.M.A.* Euromus (see note 130) seems to appear in the tribute lists as Τρωμῆς and Olymus (see note 131) perhaps as Τμισσῆς; see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 559. For Pidasa see Chap. IV note 78. For the territory of Mylasa see Ruge *ibid.* 1062. For Passala see *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 291 (*G.G.M.* I p. 501): Pausanias VIII 10, 4: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*, where it is called Μυλασέων ἐπίνειον: *C.I.L.* III 7151 (of the fifth century after Christ), where it is described as a κώμη of Mylasa. For its site see Robert in *R.A.* VI p. 160. For the union of Mylasa with the Τδαιεῖς in the valley of the lower Cybersus west of the Sodra Dağ see Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX p. 338 and *R.A.* VI p. 159. For decrees of Mylasa of 367-355 B.C. passed ἐκκλησίης κυρίης γενομένης see *Syll.*[3] 167. According to Plutarch *Phoc.* 18, it was one of the cities which Alexander offered to Phocion. For Zeus Carius see Herodotus I 171: Strabo XIV p. 659: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Καρία: L.W. 415 (a ἱερεὺς Διὸς Καρίου). See also J. Schaefer *de Iove apud Cares culto=Diss. philol. Halenses* XX 4 (1912), p. 396f. For Zeus Labraundus (or Labrandos), also called Stratius, and his precinct and the Sacred Way see Herodotus V 119: Strabo *l.c.*: Aelian *Nat. Anim.* XII 30: Plutarch *Quaest. Graec.* 45: Schaefer, p. 347f.: Fellows, p. 275: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 614f.: Cousin in *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 24f.: Laumonier *ibid.* p. 41f. and *B.C.H.* LX (1936), p. 303f. For the recently discovered ruins of his temple and a series of royal letters see Persson in *Ill. London News* 1949, p. 85. For the native god called Zeus Osogoa, to whom the Greeks, because his attributes were a trident and a crab in addition to an eagle, gave the name Zenoposeidon, see Strabo *l.c.*: Pausanias *l.c.*: Athenaeus II 15, p. 42 A; VIII 18, p. 337 C: Schaefer, p. 387f.: Ruge *ibid.* 1058f. For the sanctuary of Σινυρι, another native deity, some eight miles southeast of Mylasa see Robert *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* I (Paris 1945), p. 7f.

130. For Euromus (near Mandalya), some eight miles northwest of Mylasa in a recess in the hills on the eastern side of the Plain of Mandalya, through which flows the chief tributary of the Cybersus, see Fellows *ibid.* pp. 195 and 275f. (where the ruins are mistakenly supposed to be those of Labraunda): Hula and Szanto in *S.B. Wien Akad.* CXXXII (1895), 2, p. 8f.: Philippson V p. 19: Laumonier in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 40f.: Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX (1933) p. 337. For its liberation (together with Iasus, Bargylia and Pidasa) by the treaty concluded with Philip V in 196 see Chap. IV note 44. For an attack made by Mylasa on τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις in 167 B.C. see Polybius XXX 5, 11=Livy XLV 25, 11 and Chap. IV note 65. For the *sympoliteia* of Mylasa and Euromus see L.W. 394=Michel 472, a decree of Mylasa. In this inscription, as well as in another decree of Mylasa (L.W. 409), passed soon after 75 B.C., the term ὁ σύμπας δῆμος is used to designate the combined cities. A fragmentary decree of an unnamed city found at Chalcetor (Karakuyu Tepe), in the Plain of Mandalya less than three

miles south of Euromus, contains mention of a royal order to attach the *demos* of Chalcetor in a *sympoliteia* to the *polis* in question; see *J.H.S.* XVI (1896), p. 229, no. 29=*B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 376f., no. 16=Welles, p. 134f. This unknown city may have been Mylasa (so Welles, p. 135 and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 129), but Robert pointed out (*R.E.A.* XXXVI [1934], p. 525) that it was more probably Euromus and that the expression τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις in Polybius (*l.c.*) may refer to the combined communities of Chalcetor and Euromus. On the other hand, A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Cities*, p. 76) that these πόλεις were the communities of the Edrieis and the Hymisseis, mentioned together with Euromus in the Athenian tribute lists (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, pp. 483 and 559, see above note 129).

131. Olymus seems to have been situated in the mountains north of Mylasa; its temple, dedicated to Apollo and Artemis, was near Kafaci about five miles from Mylasa; see Judeich in *A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 367f.: Hula and Szanto *ibid.* p. 4: Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX (1935), p. 337. For the *sympoliteia* with Mylasa, perhaps about the end of the second century, see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2516f.: Robert in *A.J.A. ibid.* p. 336f. Two decrees mention συγγένειαι which were "formerly" φυλαί, *i.e.* tribes of Olymus transformed into συγγένειαι of Mylasa when the two cities were united; see L.W. 338 and 339=Michel 476=*A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 390f.: Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 325f.: Robert *Sanctuaire de Sinuri* I p. 26f. Another decree (L.W. 334) apparently provided for the enrollment of the inhabitants of Olymus and Labraunda in τὰς φυλὰς καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πάτρας, evidently of Mylasa, since Labraunda belonged to the latter and since the inscription contains mention of a priest of Zeus Osogoa, whose sanctuary was at Mylasa (see above note 129). Ruge observed that in this *sympoliteia* Olymus preserved its own civic organization and retained its own territory.

132. Strabo XIV p. 658, where it is said that in the μεσογαία of Caria there were only three πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι, Mylasa, Stratoniceia and Alabanda and that the others were περιπόλιοι of these or of the cities on the coast. As examples are named Heracleia, Amyzon, Euromus and Chalcetor. Heracleia is evidently the city of this name at the foot of Mt. Latmus (see above note 79 and Chap. IV note 79). Amyzon (ἡ ἀπὸ Πέτρας, according to *Ins. Priene* 51) was at Mazin Kalesi in the mountains northeast of Mt. Latmus; see Hula and Szanto *ibid.* p. 1f. For Euromus and Chalcetor see above note 130. For Alabanda and Stratoniceia see Chap. V notes 30 and 33. It seems clear that this μεσογαία was only that portion of Caria which consisted of the basin of the Marsyas and the region on the west. In the mountain-country east of the Marsyas, Hyllarima (see Chap. V note 5) and Cys appear as *poleis* in an inscription of the first century before Christ (Maiuri *N.S.* 18). For the small number of *poleis* in southern Caria at the beginning of the second century before Christ see Robert in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 509f.

133. For the situation of Halicarnassus (Bodrum) see Strabo XIV p. 656: Ps.-Scylax 99: Vitruvius II 8, 10f.: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 265f.: Philipp-

son v p. 49f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* VII 2254f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 86f. and plan IX. For the roads on the peninsula see Paton and Myres in *J.H.S.* XVI (1896), p. 201. For the history of the city see G. Jürgens *De Rebus Halicarnassensium* I (Halle 1877), p. 3f. For Maussolus and his dynasty see Strabo XIV p. 656f.: Judeich *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 226f.: Kahrstedt in *R.E.* XIV 2414f.: Robert *Sanctuaire de Sinuri* I p. 99f.: *A.J.A.* LI (1947), p. 198. He appears to have been a native of Mylasa; see *Syll.*[3] 168 where he is called [Μυλασ]εύς, confirmed by the fact that his descendant Pixodarus has also this ethnicum in an inscription of 193 B.C. found at Delphi (*Syll.*[3] 603). He ruled over Mylasa (*Syll.*[3] 167 and 170) and also over Iasus (*Syll.*[3] 169), although both cities had civic governments of their own. In these inscriptions he has the title of satrap. For the Mausoleum see Ebert in *R.E.* XIV 2411f. and for the "Seven Wonders" see above note 88.

134. According to Callisthenes quoted in Strabo XIII p. 611 = frg. 25 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 649), Maussolus attached to Halicarnassus six of the eight πόλεις (which can hardly have been technically such) in the χώρα of Pedasis ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῶν Ἁλικαρνασσέων, leaving Syangela and Myndus in their existing status. As Strabo observed, this region was evidently the territory of the Pedaseis who were described by Herodotus (I 175 = VIII 104) as οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν. It was presumably also the place of origin of the Πηδασεύς in *Syll.*[3] 46, l. 142. The region was probably that around Gökçeller in the mountain-country north of Halicarnassus; see Paton and Myres *ibid.* p. 192f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 26f.: Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 536f.: Robert in *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p. 279: Maiuri in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* IV-V (1921-22), p. 425f. It must be distinguished both from the Pidasa near Miletus (see Chap. IV note 78) and from the Pedasum which, according to Strabo (*l.c.*), was a πολίχνιον of Stratoniceia (see Chap. X note 9). The question arises as to the connexion between this combination of communities ascribed to Maussolus and that attributed to Alexander by Pliny (*N.H.* V 107), by which *sex oppida* were "assigned" (*contributa*) to Halicarnassus, namely Theangela, Side, Mednassa, Uranium, Pedasum and Telmissus. By Pedasum is evidently meant the region described above. For the situation of Theangela above Etrim, eleven miles east of Halicarnassus, see Laumonier in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 50f. and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 1376f. Ruge showed that it is improbable (*ibid.* 1375f.) that the city was identical, as has often been supposed, with Syangela. For the situation of Telmissus near Pelen, about six miles northwest of Halicarnassus, see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 410. It was observed by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p. 279f. that Side is evidently the Σίβδα πόλις Καρίας listed by Stephanus Byzantius, and that Mednassa and Uranium are the Μαδναση̃ς and Οὐρανιη̃ται of the Athenian tribute lists (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, pp. 514 and 530). It has frequently been held that the six *oppida* were those annexed to Halicarnassus by Maussolus; see Jürgens, p. 39: Judeich in *A.M.* XII (1887), p. 340, note 2: Hicks in *Cl. Rev.* III (1889), p. 140: Bürchner in *R.E.* VII 2259: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 32. It was pointed out, however, by Ruge in *R.E.* V A 1375 that Maussolus's combination was

a synoecism, by which the six *poleis* were united with Halicarnassus, whereas in the "assignment" reported by Pliny the *oppida* were merely brought under the city's rule. The two annexations were also distinguished by Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, p. 536. In any case, Pliny's statement about Theangela is incorrect, for the city was independent from the late fourth century, when it surrendered to Eupolemus, probably a Carian dynast, (*R.E.A.* XXXIII [1931], p. 8=Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 69f., no. 52, see above note 55), down to the early second century (Robert, p. 94). The appearance of the Priest of Apollo Archegetes of Halicarnassus as *eponymus* of Theangela in a decree of the city of the second or first century shows that by this time Theangela had been united with Halicarnassus; see Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 68. Telmissus was in the possession of Halicarnassus at the beginning of the second century; for an inscription of this period honours a man who ἐκαλλιέρησεν ὑπέρ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ Τελμισσέων καὶ τῆς πόλεως (*i.e.* Halicarnassus); see *J.H.S.* XIV (1894), p. 377f.=Michel 459. For the worship of Apollo (without an oracle) see Daux in *R. Phil.* LXVII (1941), p. 11f. While it seems probable that at least some of the communities in Pliny's list were subject to Halicarnassus sometime during the Hellenistic period, the "assignment" cannot with any certainty be attributed to Alexander, nor does it necessarily follow that they were all acquired at the same time.

135. Arrian *Anab.* I 20f.: Diodorus XVII 24f.: Strabo XIV p. 657. Ada had been the wife and co-ruler of her brother Idrieus, who succeeded to the rule of Halicarnassus about 350 B.C., but after his death she had been banished by Pixodarus. After the latter's death the Persian satrap, whom he had summoned to aid him in protecting Halicarnassus, took possession of the city. Idrieus's name (as satrap) appears in an inscription from Tralles, recognizing the inviolability of a sanctuary of Dionysus (see *Syll.*[2] 573= Robert *Coll. Froehner* I p. 143f., no. 96). The inscription in its present form, however, dates from the Roman imperial period and its antiquity is questionable; see Robert *ibid.* p. 144 and Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2101. For monuments of Idrieus and Ada at Tegea (a relief) and at Delphi (erected by the Milesians) see *I.G.* V 2, 89=*I.B.M.* IV 950 and *Syll.*[3] 225. Their names appear together in Robert *Sanctuaire de Sinuri*, nos. 73 and 75. For Pixodarus see *T.A.M.* I 45, recording a grant or gift to the Lycian cities, Xanthus, Tlos, Pinara and perhaps Cadyanda (see Chap. XXII note 15). For coins of Idrieus and Pixodarus see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 629f.

136. For Myndus see Strabo XIV p. 658: Ps.-Scylax 99: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 574f.: Paton in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 66: Krischen in *Arch. Jahrb.* XXVIII (1913), *Arch. Anz.* 476: G. Guidi in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* IV-V (1921-22), p. 365f.: Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 123 and plan XVII: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1075f. Apollo is called ἀρχηγέτης in an inscription of the late first century after Christ; see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 281, no. 6. He is called ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Κυμνίσσευς Ἀπόλλων in *ibid.* p. 279f., no. 3 of the Roman imperial period. His head appears on the coins of Myndus from the second century before

Christ onward; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 136f., no. 24f. and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 622f.

137. For Cnidus see Herodotus I 174: Ps.-Scylax 99: Strabo XIV p. 656: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 363f. and *Travels*, p. 168f.: Benndorf-Niemann in *Reisen* I p. 16f. and pl. V: G. Hirschfeld in *Ztschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde z. Berlin* XXV (1890), p. 297f.: Philippson V p. 75: F. Krischen *ibid.* 476: Lehmann-Hartleben, pp. 60f. and 126f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* XI 914f. The old festival of Apollo Triopius, celebrated by the Dorian communities (see above note 5), probably survived as the Δώρεια or Δωρίεια held in Cnidus in the first century after Christ; see *Syll.*[3] 1065 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1064) and 1067. The festival of Artemis Ταχυνθοτρόφος is known from the answers from Cos and Delphi accepting the invitation to it on its foundation after the "epiphany" of the Goddess; see *Arch. Jahrb.* XX (1905), *Arch. Anz.* p. 11, no. 3 (an unpublished inscription) and *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 308, the lettering of which is said to be that of the early second century. The festival of the Hyacinthotrophia is mentioned also in *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 485= *S.G.D.I.* 3501, and the Goddess bears the additional surname Ἐπιφανής in *I.B.M.* 787 and 821=*S.G.D.I.* 3502 and 3512. The territory of Cnidus ended at the narrow neck of the peninsula, which forms the Bay of Dadya (about twenty miles east of the city), for this belonged to Bybassus, which was a deme of Rhodes; see Ernst Meyer in *R.E.* XIX 574 and above note 72.

138. For descriptions of the island of Cos and for its history see Strabo XIV p. 657: Ps.-Scylax 99: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 632f. and *Travels* I p. 241f.: O. Rayet in *Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* III (1876), p. 37f.: M. Dubois *de Co Insula* (Paris 1884), p. 5f.: Paton-Hicks, p. ix f.: R. Herzog *K.F.* p. 154f.: G. Gerola in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II (1916), p. 31f.: A. Neppi Modona *L'Isola di Coo nell'Ant. Class.* (Rhodes 1933), p. 17f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 236f. and 693. For the view that Astypalaea was on the Bay of Kamara see Herzog *K.F.* p. 167f. and *Arch. Jahrb.* XVI (1901), *Arch. Anz.* p. 138 and XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 3. For other proposed sites see D. Mackenzie in *B.S.A.* IV (1897-98), p. 95f. and F. Plieninger in *Pet. Mitt.* LXVI (1920), p. 215. Neppi Modona (p. 19f.) placed it on the site of the later city of Cos. For the synoecism in 366 see Diodorus XV 76, 2 and Strabo *l.c.* A fragment of an Attic decree of about 449 B.C., found in the city of Cos, shows that the settlement which was on this site in the fifth century was an important one, perhaps the capital of the island; see M. Segre in *Aevum* IX (1935), p. 254 and *Clara Rhodos* IX (1938), pp. 151f. and 176f. For the wine-trade of Cos see Chap. II note 111. The trade of Cos in the Propontis in the middle of the third century is shown by a promise of King Ziaëlas of Bithynia to protect Coan ships which put into his ports; see *Syll.*[3] 456= Welles, no. 25 and Herzog in *A.M.* XXX (1905), p. 182 and Chap. IV note 30. The commercial relations between Cos and other cities are shown by the decrees of the city conferring *proxenia* on citizens of these places; see Paton-Hicks 2 (Cius): Herzog *K.F.* p. 14, no. 3 (Byzantium); p. 124,

no. 187 (Athens): *B.C.H.* x (1886), p. 311 (Alabanda): Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* I² 77 = *S.G.D.I.* 3617 (Olbia): Maiuri *N.S.* 432 (Halicarnassus): *Historia* VIII (1934), p. 429, no 1 (Alexandria Troas?). For *proxenia* conferred on Coans by other cities see Herzog *K.F.* p. 17f., no. 6 (Samothrace); p. 152, nos. 26-28 and 30-33 (Oropus, Ios, Delphi, Samothrace and Tralles).

139. See Herzog in *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* pp. 5f. and 188f.; XX (1905), *Arch. Anz.* p. 2f.; XLVII (1932), *Arch. Anz.* p. 274f.: Laurenzi in *Historia* V (1931), p. 620f.: P. Schazmann *Asklepieion* = *Arch. Inst. d. Deutsch. Reiches, Kos* I (Berlin 1932): Neppi Modona *ibid.* p. 110f. According to Herzog in *Arch. Anz.* XLVII p. 274, the temple was founded about 350 B.C. by the successors of Hippocrates—the so-called Asclepiadae. On the other hand, Schazmann, pointing out that only the oldest monument in the sanctuary—an altar—may be dated about this time, supposed (p. 72f.) that only the cult was founded then and that the temple itself was not built until the third century. Schazmann's dating of the cult was accepted by Edelstein in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1302, but it was questioned by F. Robert in *C.R.A.I.* 1939, p. 91f. as incompatible with the tradition which, as early as the fifth century, connected Cos with Epidaurus (Herodotus VII 99 and Pausanias III 23, 6). For the inviolability of the temple and the participants in the Asclepieia about 240 B.C. see Chap. IV note 30. For the head of Hippocrates on a Coan coin of the Roman imperial period see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 216, no. 216.

140. Diodorus XX 27, 3: Theocritus XVII 58f.: *Marmor Parium*, l. 120 (*I.G.* XII 5, 444 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1004). For a joint resolution of Cos and Calymnos recording *φιλία καὶ συμμαχία* with either Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II see Herzog in *Riv. Fil.* LXX (1942), p. 5f., mentioned in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928, VI p. 45. For a *τεταγμένος παρὰ Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ* on Cos see *Abh. Berl. Akad. ibid.* p. 42. For gifts made by either Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II see *O.G.I.* 42 (sacrifices to "Asclepius and the other Gods") and Maiuri *N.S.* 433 (grain). For a command of "King Ptolemy" to send *dikastai* to Naxos, transmitted by Bacchon the "Nesiarch," who under Ptolemy II (see Chap. IV note 21) was the royal official in general command of the "Federation of the Islanders" (see above note 76), organized and at this time dominated by Egypt, see *O.G.I.* 43 and *B.C.H.* XXVII (1903), p. 398, note 2 (another copy). The fact that Ptolemy III *οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι τὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς* (the Coans) is mentioned in King Ziaëlas's letter to Cos (Welles, no. 25, see above note 138). See also Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 338 and Neppi Modona *ibid.* p. 39f. The question arises as to the identity of a "King Antigonus" whose name appears in a decree of Cos (*I.B.M.* 247 = *S.G.D.I.* 3611 = Delamarre in *R. Phil.* XXVI [1902], p. 314f.), in the inscription of an *εἰκών* in his honour (Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad. ibid.* p. 30 = *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX [1933], *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 26, no. 22), and in an *Ἀντιγονεῖον* (*Athenaeum* XIII [1935], p. 56). The king honoured by the *εἰκών* was supposed to be

Antigonus Monophthalmus by Herzog (*l.c.*) and by Neppi Modona in *Atti d. Secondo Congresso d. Stud. Coloniali* II (1935), p. 78, who saw a connexion between this honour and Antigonus's recommendation to Teos and Lebedus to use the laws of Cos (see above note 64). On the other hand, the Antigonus who appears in the decree was regarded as Antigonus Gonatas by Beloch (IV² 2, p. 512f.) and as Antigonus Doson by Delamarre. Segre pointed out (*Riv. Fil.* LXII [1934], p. 183 and *Rend. Pontific. Accad. Rom. d. Arch.* XVII [1940-41], p. 21f., mentioning τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου) that the lettering in the inscription on the statue seems to date it under Antigonus Doson. Segre also observed (*Riv. Fil. ibid.* p. 169f.) that a connexion between Cos and Macedonia is suggested by decrees enacted somewhat earlier than 250 both by the Coans and by cities of Thessaly, which record the exportation of grain from the latter to Cos. He pointed out (p. 184f.) that a fragmentary inscription from Cos (*I.B.M.* 336=Paton-Hicks 7), containing mention of the impending destruction of a *polisma* in Halasarna and the sending of an embassy to a "king," at the time in Athens, seems to indicate that Antigonus Gonatas even took possession of the island. For an estate of Perseus on Cos see Segre *Rend. ibid.* p. 37f. For a ὁμοπολιτεία between Cos and Calymnos in the early third century see *Riv. Fil.* LXX (1942), p. 5f., no. 2 and Segre *Rend. ibid.* p. 28, and for the annexation of Calymnos as a deme of Cos before the end of this century see Herzog *Abh. ibid.* p. 45 and Neppi Modona *Isola di Coo*, pp. 26 and 42.

141. For the "Cretan War" see Chap. I note 36. For an attack by the Cretan Hierapytnians on Cos and its island possessions, which, resisting the invaders, defeated them in a naval battle off Cape Laceter on the southern side of Cos see *I.B.M.* 259=*Syll.*³ 567 (a decree of Calymnos) and Herzog in *Klio* II (1902), p. 318f. It was pointed out by M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* LXI (1933), p. 375f. that the Coans had evidently made peace with the Cretans when, probably in 202, they sent a θεωρία to Delos (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI p. 16, no. 5 B), since these envoys could hardly have travelled overseas during a naval war. Segre, accepting the date 201 for the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna (see Chap. I note 36), argued that Cos made peace separately from Rhodes and that therefore the two states had acted independently of each other during the war, a conclusion which would be surer were the dates of the θεωρία and the treaty more certain. A decree of Cos referring to the construction of ἄφρακτα (*Riv. Fil.* LXI p. 365) was also connected with this war by Segre. During the war against Philip the Rhodian fleet after the battle of Lade (see Chap. I note 39) retired to Cos; see Polybius XVI 15, 4. The attacks "on both the city (evidently Cos) and its territory" by a hostile fleet which are mentioned in two decrees of Halasarna on Cos, *Syll.*³ 568 (with an additional fragment in *R.E.A.* XXV [1923], p. 342) and 569, were supposed by Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXV p. 342f. to have occurred in the course of this war. A decree of Cos (Paton-Hicks 10=Herzog in *Klio* II p. 317, proposed by the man who was honoured in *Syll.*³ 568), which includes a list of subscribers to a monument to "those who gave themselves for the safety of their fatherland and their allies" (the

Rhodians, according to Herzog), was connected with the war against Philip by Holleaux (p. 344) and Segre (p. 376). For the statue of Flamininus see *I.G.R.* IV 1049 = *S.G.D.I.* 3656 and for his proclamation see Polybius XVIII 46, 15 = Livy XXXIII 33, 7. For the participation of Cos with Rome and Rhodes in the war against Antiochus III see Livy XXXVII 11, 13; 16, 2; 22, 2.

CHAPTER IV

1. For the treaty of 302 B.C. see Diodorus XX 111, 2: *Marmor Parium* 26 (*I.G.* XII 5, 444 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1005). For the festival Ἀντιγόνεια καὶ Δημητρίεια (established probably in 306) and the tribe Δημητριεῖς at Samos see *S.E.G.* I 362 and 355, and for the relations of Samos with Antigonus, Demetrius and the latter's wife, Phila, see *S.E.G.* I 354 and 356 and *Syll.*[3] 333. In Greece honours were paid to Antigonus and Demetrius by Athens in 307 (Diodorus XX 46, 2f.: Plutarch *Demetr.* 10f.: *I.G.* II[2] 498 = *Syll.*[3] 342) and by Byzantium (at Olympia, *Syll.*[3] 349-351). For Lysimachus's capture of Sigeium and attack on Abydus see Diodorus XX 107, 2f.

2. For the campaign of Prepelaus in 302 see Diodorus XX 107, 2f. and W. Hünerwadel *Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Königs Lysimachos* (Zürich 1900), p. 44f. For the ἀτέλεια granted to Artemis at the request of the Ephesian γερουσία (*Syll.*[3] 353) and for the erroneous view, based on this request, that Lysimachus established an oligarchy in Ephesus see Chap. III note 38. The services of Archestratus, son of Nico, Μακεδών, οἰκεῖος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως Δ[ημητρίου] and στρατηγός at Clazomenae, who subsequently received honorary citizenship at Ephesus because he τὰ πλοῖα τὰ σιτ[αγωγὰ διέσωσε] for the city (*I.B.M.* 452 = *O.G.I.* 9), were connected by Hicks, followed by Dittenberger, with this campaign. Hicks also supposed that the Ephesian decree honouring a man from Magnesia-on-Maeander who, τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου κατὰ τὴμ πόλιν, cared for the captives and arranged for their return (*I.B.M.* 450, corrected in *Ephesos* II p. 104) should be connected with Prepelaus's capture of Ephesus. It is hard, however, to reconcile the carrying off of captives with Diodorus's statement that Prepelaus τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἀφῆκε. There is perhaps a reference to an attack by Prepelaus on Colophon in a decree of the city (*A.J.P.* LVI [1935], p. 377f., no. 3), to be dated not long after that which ordered the construction of the city-wall (see Chap. III note 59), in praise of a μέτοικος from Sinope who fought for the city on sea and land and received commendation καθ' ὃν κα[ι]ρὸν ὁ πόλεμος ἦν.

3. Diodorus XX 111, 3. The Ephesian decree honouring Antigonus and Demetrius as well as Apollonides ἀναγγείλαντα τὴν εὔν[οιαν τοῦ βασιλέ]ως (*i.e.* Demetrius) τῷ δήμῳ (*Syll.*[3] 352), which Dittenberger (*Syll.*[2] 175, note 1) supposed to have been passed after Demetrius's victory off Salamis in Cyprus in 306, was connected with his successes at this time by Hiller von Gaertringen, following Droysen (*Hellenismus*[2] II 2, p. 213, note 2). It also seems more reasonable to connect the victory won by Demetrius over Lysimachus at Lampsacus, recorded in Polyaenus IV 12, with this campaign, as did Droysen (*ibid.* p. 212), than to suppose, with Hünerwadel (p. 47f.), that it took place during Demetrius's expedition to the Chersonesus in 300 (Plutarch *Demetr.* 31, 2); it is not necessary to assume that Lysimachus was present at the battle in person. A decree of Lampsacus in

honour of Nossicas of Thasos, who gave aid to *τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ναυμαχ[ίᾳ]* (*B.C.H.* LII [1928], p. 46f.), was also connected with the campaign of 302 by M. Cary in *J.H.S.* L (1930), p. 253f. on the supposition that a battle was fought in the north Aegean, after which the Lampsacene troops (fighting presumably on the side of Lysimachus) fled to Thasos.

4. In the division of Antigonus's dominions, while Syria was definitely assigned to Seleucus (Polybius v 67, 8 and Diodorus XXI 1, 5), there is no clear statement of the share of Lysimachus. It is evident, however, that he obtained Mysia (with the Troad) and Lydia. Since the statement of Appian *Syr.* 55 that Seleucus obtained possession of *Φρυγίας τῆς ἀνὰ τὸ μεσόγειον* is clearly incorrect, it may be assumed that Lysimachus ruled over this district also, and he seems to have had control over Lycaonia and Tyanitis (with the Cilician Gates); see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 354 and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 27f. In the north, Bithynia was ruled by the native prince Zipoetes (see Chap. XIII note 32) and Pontus by Mithradates "the Founder" (Chap. VIII note 34). In the east it is perhaps more probable that Cappadocia belonged to Seleucus than, as was supposed by Tarn (*C.A.H.* VII p. 76), to Lysimachus. On the south, Lysimachus's dominions were bounded by the range of the Taurus. South of the Taurus, Cilicia was assigned to Pleistarchus, a brother of Cassander, from whom Demetrius took it in 299/8; see Plutarch *Demetr.* 31, 4f. There is little reason, however, to believe that Demetrius held Cataonia in central Cappadocia, as Beloch suggested (*G.G.*² IV 2, pp. 317 and 355), or that, as Ernst Meyer supposed (*Grenzen*, p. 28f.), his dominions reached to the Euphrates. The theory advanced by von Wilamowitz *Antigonus v. Karystos* (Berlin 1881), p. 198 that Pleistarchus ruled over Caria and Lycia also, based apparently on the statement of Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*), Πλειστάρχεια, *πόλις Καρίας, ἥ τις καὶ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον Ἡράκλεια ὠνομάσθη*, and the belief that this Heracleia must be Heracleia ad Latmum (see Chap. III note 79) were accepted by Beloch (IV 2, p. 317f.) and Tarn (*l.c.*). According to this view, Pleistarchus ruled for a few years over a sort of buffer-state extending across the whole of southern Asia Minor from the Carian coast to the Amanus. A certain amount of support was found for this theory in the belief that the city-wall of Heracleia ad Latmum, dating from about 300, was too massive and included too wide a circuit to have been the wall of an unimportant place, and that the city, accordingly, was the capital of the ruler of an extensive territory; see Krischen in *Milet* III 2, p. 51f. and W. Otto in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXIV (1915), p. 104, note 1. This theory, however, based on an uncertain identification is hard to accept. Geographical considerations alone make it extremely improbable that Pleistarchus ruled over a kingdom which stretched from Caria to the border of Syria; see Robert *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* I (Paris 1945), p. 57f. It is unlikely, moreover, that, had he been so powerful a ruler, he would have been unable to resist Demetrius's raid on the Cilician coast. It is indeed possible, as Robert observed, that after his flight from Cilicia, Pleistarchus received a

part of Caria, including not only Heracleia but also Mylasa. Even so, however, he was not very powerful in 295, for he did not prevent Demetrius's occupation of Miletus in this year (see below note 7). The wall of Heracleia can hardly be adduced as an argument, for Krischen's dating is only approximate, and it may have been built by Lysimachus in an attempt to resist Demetrius's invasion of Caria in 287 (see below note 14).

5. Polyaenus IV 7, 4, placed in the period immediately after the battle of Ipsus by Droysen (*Hellenismus*[2] II 2, p. 221), followed by Kirchner in *R.E.* v 659. Silver coins of Demetrius were supposed by E. T. Newell (*The Coinages of Dem. Poliorcetes* [Oxford 1927], p. 64f.) to have been minted at Ephesus during this period. For the marriage of Seleucus and Stratonice (at Rhosus on the Gulf of Issus in 299/8) see Plutarch *Demetr.* 31, 3f. and Diodorus XXI 20. For Nicagoras of Rhodes, who was sent by Demetrius and Seleucus to bring the announcement *περὶ τῆς [ο]ἰκειότητος τῆς γεγενημένης αὐτοῖς*, see *O.G.I.* 10 (with an additional fragment in *Ephesos* II p. 104). An Ephesian embassy which received assistance from a Boeotian from Plataea named Melesippus *διατρίβωμ παρὰ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ Φίλᾳ* (*Ephesos* II no. 3) may perhaps be dated at this time, when Phila, the wife of Demetrius, was with him at Rhosus (Plut. *Demetr.* 32, 1), or shortly afterwards, when Phila was acting as his representative at the court of her brother, Cassander (*ibid.* 32, 3).

6. For oracles said to have been given to Seleucus by Apollo at Didyma see Diodorus XIX 90, 4 and Appian *Syr.* 56 and 63. For oracles given to later Seleucids see *O.G.I.* 227 = Welles, no 22 (a letter of Seleucus II to Miletus) and *Syll.*[3] 590 (a decree of Miletus of about 200 B.C. requesting the Coans to recognize the festival of the Didymeia, see below note 37). For the probable connexion between the oracle given to Seleucus and his claim to be the son of Apollo and for this claim see Stähelin in *R.E.* II A 1232. It appears at Erythrae in a stanza added to a hymn to Asclepius after Seleucus's conquest of Asia Minor in 281 (see below note 19) and probably at Ilium in a decree honouring Seleucus, in which Apollo is called *ὁ ἀρχηγὸς [τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ]* (*O.G.I.* 212 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 172f.). He is thus called in a decree of Ilium honouring Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 219, l. 26f.), and in a decree of Iasus for Antiochus III (*O.G.I.* 237) he appears as *ἀρχηγέτης τοῦ γένους τῶμ βασιλέων*; the *συγγένεια* of Antiochus III with Apollo, Artemis and Leto is mentioned also in *T.A.M.* II 266 = *O.G.I.* 746. A cult of Apollo was founded at Daphne near Antioch by Seleucus, and the image of the God appears on coins issued at the end of his reign, as well as on those of his successors; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, p. XXXIV f. In the course of time the myth was established that Apollo had consorted with Seleucus's mother and presented her with a ring bearing the device of an anchor, which she was ordered to give to her son as a proof of his paternity; see Justin XV 4, 3f. In fact, Seleucus seems to have used a ring engraved with this device (Appian *Syr.* 56 and Clemens Alexandrinus *Paed.* III 11, 59), and the anchor appears on his coins, including those which he minted as

satrap of Babylonia; see Babelon, pp. III and VIIf. and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 454. It seems probable, as Babelon observed, that the source of the myth was his use of this symbol, whatever its origin may have been; for various views as to its origin see Stähelin *l.c.* For the return of the statue of Apollo by Canachus see Pausanias I 16, 3 and VIII 46, 3. The statue seems to be represented on bronze coins of Miletus of the second century and later; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 197, no. 134f.

7. For the stoa of Antiochus see *O.G.I.* 213 (with corrections by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXXIII 3 [1921], p. 54f.) and *Milet* I 7, p. 44f. and p. 281, no. 193 *a*. It was dated in 300/299 by Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 261f. For the statues of Seleucus and Apame see *Milet* I 3, no. 158 = *O.G.I.* 744: *O.G.I.* 745 (see Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 262) and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911 *Anh.* I p. 68f. (restored by Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 262, note 1 and *S.E.G.* IV 442 and by Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXXVI [1923], p. 2f. = *Études* III p. 100f.), containing mention of Apame's care περὶ Μιλησίων τοὺς στρατευομένου[ς σὺν] τῷ βασιλεῖ Σελεύκῳ and of Antiochus's promise to build the stoa, the income from which was to be used for the temple at Didyma. For Demetrius as stephanephorus of Miletus in 295/4 see *Milet* I 3, no. 123 = *Syll.*[3] 322, l. 22. For coins issued by him at Miletus see Newell *ibid.* p. 59f. If the honours conferred by the Ephesians on Sostratus [διατρίβων παρὰ βασι]λεῖ Δημητρίῳ καὶ καταλελειμμένος ἐν Σάμῳ (*J.O.A.I.* XVI [1913], p. 236, no. III b) may be dated at this time, it may be supposed that Demetrius had a representative of some kind in Samos; for honours bestowed on him there see above note 1.

8. *Ins. Priene* 37, ll. 66f. and 110f.: Pausanias VII 2, 10. A decree of the city, ordering the institution of a festival on the ground that [τοὺς τυραννοῦντ]ας [ἐκ]πεσεῖν [ἐ]κ τῆς πόλεως (*Ins. Priene* 11), has been connected with the expulsion of Hiero. His rule is usually dated in 300-297 B.C.; see Lenschau *De Rebus Prienensium*, p. 199f.: W. Otto in *R.E.* VIII 1513f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 29, note 1. According to *Ins. Priene* 37, a group of his opponents seized the stronghold of Κάριον in the territory of Priene and, after murdering the garrison, used it during Hiero's rule as a place from which to attack him.

9. *Ephesos* II p. 96, no. 1 A = *Syll.*[3] 363, revised and reinterpreted by Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XXIX (1916), p. 29f. The important but badly mutilated lines 9-10 were restored as [καὶ κομίσωνται τὰ δάνεια οἱ προδανείσαντες], ποήσασθαι πολίτας ἐξαμναίους ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἐξ ἐ[λ]ευθέρων, μὴ πλείους ἢ δε[καπέντε, κ.τ.λ.] by Holleaux (p. 43), who, accepting the interpretation of ἐξαμναίους suggested by Roussel in *R.E.G.* XXVI (1913), p. 480 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 333f. (accepted also by Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVII [1914], p. 90f.) as "at a cost of six minae," supposed that the Ephesians raised a loan which was repaid by a part of the money obtained by this sale, the remainder being used for the purchase of arms. Holleaux, while admitting that the exiles from Priene may have been some of those driven

out by the tyrant Hiero, pointed out that the name of the stronghold was Χάραξ and that therefore it cannot be identified, as did Hiller von Gaertringen in *Ins. Priene* p. xiv (followed by Otto in *R.E.* VIII 1514), with the Prienian stronghold Κάριον which was held by some of Hiero's opponents (see above note 8). Holleaux (p. 44f.) dated the inscription in 286, accepting the view of Hünerwadel (p. 68) that the capture of Ephesus, then under the command of Aenetus, by Lysimachus's army (see below note 11) took place in this year. This date was accepted by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, pp. 38 and 83), who regarded the strife in Priene as a consequence of Demetrius's return to Asia in 287 (see below note 14). But, since it is now known that Ephesus was captured by Lysimachus not later than 294 (see below note 11), the measures taken to supply arms to the Prienians must be dated in 295 at the latest. For other decrees of Ephesus, passed probably in the third century, providing for the sale of citizenship see *I.B.M.* 461 = Michel 495, as interpreted by Holleaux p. 45 *addend.*, and *Ephesos* II no. 5, as interpreted by Roussel in *R.E.G.* XXXVII (1924), p. 354. For the sale of citizenship in Greek cities see Robert *Hellenica* I (1940), p. 39f.

10. *Syll.*³ 364. Heberdey in *Ephesos* II p. 98 pointed out that the lettering of the inscription is that of the early third century, and the κοινὸς πόλεμος which is mentioned several times was identified by Hiller von Gaertringen with the war between Antigonus and Lysimachus. In l. 67f. there is mention of κεκαρμένα κτήματα and ἐπαύλια καθηρημένα, which suggests a shortage of food and perhaps explains why the Ephesians honoured Archestratus of Clazomenae, who "protected the grain-ships" (see above note 2), as well as the Rhodian grain-merchant Agathocles, who about this time consented, at the request of the *agoranomos*, to sell his cargo of wheat at less than the current market-price of six drachmae for a *medimnos* (*Syll.*³ 354), somewhat above the average price (see Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 313).

11. For the capture of Ephesus by the ruse of sending in soldiers in disguise, who took possession of the citadel, thus making it possible for the army to enter and seize Aenetus, see Polyaenus V 19 and Frontinus *Strat.* III 3, 7. According to Polyaenus, Ephesus was captured by Lysimachus's general Lycus, according to Frontinus, by Lysimachus himself, but, as Hünerwadel pointed out (p. 68, note 1), it is easier to explain the substitution of Lysimachus's name for that of Lycus than vice versa. The capture was dated in 287 (see below note 14) by Hünerwadel (pp. 68 and 94); but, since Lysimachus seems to have begun the rebuilding of the city in 294 (see below note 13), it must have been captured at the latest in this year—the date tentatively suggested by Niese *G.M.S.* I p. 363, note 4. This date is borne out by the statement of Plutarch (*Demetr.* 35, 3) that during Demetrius's campaign in Laconia (in 294) Lysimachus was reported as ἀφῃρημένος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις. The statement of Pausanias VII 3, 4 that the Smyrniots and Colophonians fought a battle with Lysimachus (more probably an army of his) is perhaps to be placed at this time, since

in 302 Colophon offered no resistance to Prepelaus (see above note 2). Two tombs between Colophon and Notium were supposed by Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XI (1886), p. 414f. to be the *τάφος* of the fallen Ionians mentioned by Pausanias.

12. *Syll.*² 189 = Michel 485 and *Milet* I 2, no. 10 = *Syll.*³ 368 I (see Chap. III note 50), two copies, found respectively in Smyrna and Miletus, of a decree of *Ἰώνων τὸ κοινὸν τῶν τρε[ισκαί]δεκα πόλεων* (Smyrna) or *Ἰώνων τὸ κοινόν* (Miletus), ordering a statue and *ἀτέλεια πάντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τῶν Ἰώνων* for Hippostratus of Miletus, described as *φίλος τοῦ Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου* and *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶμ πόλεων τῶν Ἰάδων* (*Ἰώνων*) *καταστα-θείς*. The Milesian copy is dated in the year of the stephanephorus of 289/8 B.C. It is not improbable that So[sthenes], described in Lysimachus's letter to Priene (*Ins. Priene* 15 = Welles, no. 6, see below note 13) as *στρατηγός*, whom the Prienians were ordered to obey, may have had a post similar to that of Hippostratus; on the other hand, he may have been merely the leader of the troops sent to the city on this occasion by the King. The view has frequently been held that the existence of a *στρατηγός* charged with the supervision of the Ionian cities shows that Lysimachus adopted the policy of subjecting the free cities to the royal authority and incorporating them in his empire (see *e.g.* Hünerwadel, pp. 118 and 127: Haussoullier *Études*, p. 28: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 36), and Bengston found in it evidence for his view that Alexander constituted Ionia as a special administrative district under a *στρατηγός* of its own, the post which he supposed was held by Hippostratus (*Strategie*, p. 215f., see Chap. III note 46). These writers (and also Geyer in *R.E.* XIV 24 and 26), accepting the surmise of Hünerwadel, supposed that because the Ionian *κοινόν* was under the supervision of a *στρατηγός*, the Ilian Federation had a similar prefect, a view for which there is no evidence. In the case of Ionia there was a reason why Lysimachus should have treated the cities as conquered territory, but in the Troad, as far as we know, this reason did not exist.

13. For the new site and the wall of Ephesus and the name *Ἀρσινόεια* see Chap. III note 90. It has sometimes been supposed that the new city was founded in 287 or 286; see *e.g.* Lenschau *de Rebus Prienensium*, p. 175, note 6 and *R.E.* IX 1891: Fredrich in *A.M.* XXV (1900), p. 105f.: Hünerwadel, pp. 68 and 123. But since Ephesus is called *Ἀρσινόεια* in the Milesian copy of the decree of the Ionians for Hippostratus (see above note 12), the city was evidently renamed before 289, and since, as Geyer pointed out (*R.E.* XIV 12), Lysimachus was in Thrace between 294 and 289, the refounding should be placed in 294, the year in which Lysimachus took the cities of Asia from Demetrius (see above note 11). For the removal to Ephesus of some of the inhabitants of Colophon and Lebedus see Chap. III note 112. It is difficult to believe, with A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 12), that this removal was the result of "megalomania" rather than of a real desire to strengthen Ephesus. The existence of a *χιλιαστύς* at Ephesus named *Λεβέδιος* which appears in *O.G.I.* 10 may not be connected with

this removal, for the inscription is to be dated in 299/8 (see above note 5). For Smyrna see Chap. III note 92. For Priene see *Ins. Priene* 15 = *O.G.I.* 12 = Welles, no. 6 and *O.G.I.* 13 = Welles, no. 7 (letters of Lysimachus to Priene and Samos respectively). The letter to Priene was a reply to a decree of the city (*Ins. Priene* 14 = *O.G.I.* 11), congratulating Lysimachus and announcing the erection of an altar and the bestowal of a wreath. In this decree and perhaps in the King's reply there is mention of aid received from Lysimachus in repelling the Magnesians and the native Pedieis (perhaps dependents of Magnesia, like those who appear in *Ins. Priene* 3 = *Syll.*[3] 282 as dependents of Priene, see Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 34f. and Chap. III note 41), who had been plundering the city's territory. There is apparently mention of ravaging on the part of these Pedieis in another royal letter, perhaps also from Lysimachus (*Ins. Priene* 16 = Welles, no. 8). The raid which was repelled with the help of Lysimachus was connected by Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 87f., by Welles (p. 43f.) and by Bengston (*Strategie*, p. 221f.) with Demetrius's invasion in 287 (see below note 14), but there seems to be no real reason for not regarding it as a purely local fray. In his letter to Samos Lysimachus was acting as arbitrator in the dispute between the city and Priene about 282 B.C. (see *Ins. Priene* 37, l. 125f. and Chap. III note 99).

14. Plutarch *Demetr.* 46, 2f., where Demetrius's invasion of "Caria and Lydia" is recorded immediately after his abandonment of the siege of Athens in the summer of 288 B.C.; see Ferguson in *C.P.* XXIV (1929), p. 28f., who dated the invasion in the spring of 287. The statement in Plutarch 49, 3 that Demetrius, when in Cilicia in 285, wished to make his way to Caunus, *οὗ τὸν ναύσταθμον εὑρήσειν ἤλπιζεν* suggests that his fleet was lying there, but it is difficult to suppose with Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 336f.) that he landed there in 287; for the march to Miletus along the coast route would have been long and devious, and the straighter road northward through the interior of Caria would not have taken him to Miletus. A fragmentary decree of Troezen (*I.G.* IV 750, l. 23f.) seems to indicate that he lost some men and ships in a battle at Halicarnassus. In Miletus he met Eurydice, the divorced wife of Ptolemy I, whose daughter he married there (Plutarch 46, 3). The other cities which, according to Plutarch, received him cannot be identified. There is no reason to believe that Ephesus was one of them, as was thought by Hünerwadel (pp. 68 and 88) and Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 38), who supposed that the seizure of the city by Lycus (see above note 11) was its recapture after surrendering to Demetrius at this time and that the exiles from Priene whom the Ephesians helped to hold Charax (see above note 9) were Demetrius's partisans.

15. See *Milet* I 3, p. 294f., no. 138, according to which seventy-five Milesians guaranteed the loan of twelve talents and ten minae obtained from Cnidus as a *δευτέρα καταβολή* to be paid to Lysimachus. The decree is dated in the year of the stephanephorus of 283/2 B.C. In view of the date, it seems much more probable that this "second payment" was an installment of an indemnity imposed by Lysimachus in 286, rather than a "contribution" or

a payment of tribute as supposed by Heuss (*Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 106), Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 139) and A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 108), or the repayment of a loan, as suggested by Andreades (*Hist. of Greek Public Finance* I p. 176), followed by Rostovtzeff *ibid.* Chap. III note 8.

16. According to Strabo XIII p. 593, Lysimachus built a wall around Ilium, forty stades in circumference, and also incorporated in the city other towns of the neighbouring region. This is at variance with Strabo's further statements quoted, respectively, from Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas and (probably) Demetrius of Scepsis, namely, that Ilium was ἀτείχιστος when the Galatians crossed over into Asia in 278 B.C. and that in 190 B.C. it was only a κωμόπολις. Dörpfeld, moreover, observed (*Troja u. Ilion*, p. 207) that the Hellenistic Ilium could not have occupied a space forty stades in circumference, and Brückner calculated (Dörpfeld, p. 585), on the basis of *C.I.G.* 3599 = Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 65, that in the second century the free population of Ilium numbered about 5000. A solution of the difficulty was proposed by W. Leaf (*Strabo on the Troad*, p. 142f.), who, pointing out that Alexandria Troas had a wall about forty stades in circumference, regarded the passage as referring to it. Accordingly, following a suggestion made by Grote, he emended the text of Strabo to read τῆς πόλεως ⟨Ἀλεξανδρείας⟩ ἐπεμελήθη, and this correction was accepted by A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 385, notes 22 and 23. While it is not improbable that Strabo blended information concerning Alexandria Troas with his description of Ilium, it is not necessary to connect the passage as a whole with the former. The statements quoted by Strabo to the effect that during the third century Ilium had no wall are inconsistent with the narrative of Polybius (V 111, 2f.) that in 216 the city resisted a siege by the Aegosagae, the Celtic mercenaries of Attalus I (see Chap. I note 30), until a relieving force from Alexandria Troas raised the siege and with the statement of Livy (XXXVII 37, 2) that in 190 the Scipios encamped *in campo qui est subiectus moenibus*. Moreover, recent excavations have shown that Ilium had a well-built city-wall dating from the early Hellenistic period, inside which there are remains of houses dating from about 300 B.C. onward; see C. W. Blegen in *A.J.A.* XXXIX (1935), pp. 26 and 564 and XLI (1937), p. 594. While it is true that this wall is considerably less than forty stades in circumference, it is presumably the one which Strabo attributed to Lysimachus.

17. For Alexandria Troas see Chap. III notes 63 and 121. For the ἐπιμέλεια of Lysimachus see Strabo XIII p. 593. For the city-wall, which enclosed an area of about 1000 acres, see Leaf *ibid.* p. 236, and for the suggestion that Strabo, in attributing to Ilium a wall forty stades in circumference, had this wall in mind see above note 16. For the return of the Scepsians to their own city see Strabo XIII p. 597 and 607. Scepsis was an independent city in the time of Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 221 = Welles, no. 10, see Chap. III note 40), and in the first century before Christ it was a member of the Ilian Federation (see Chap. III note 53). For its site see Chap. III note 122.

18. For the view that Lysimachus's policy toward the cities was harsh and oppressive and that he treated them as subjects see Lenschau *de Rebus Prienensium*, p. 175f. and in *R.E.* IX 1891: Haussoullier *Études*, p. 28f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 234f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 36: G. Corradi *Studi Ellenistici* (Turin 1929), p. 211f., note 3: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 91: A. M. Andreades in *Mél. P. Thomas* (Bruges 1930), p. 11: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 153f. Hünerwadel, on the other hand, believed (*ibid.* pp. 118 and 127) that Lysimachus wished to incorporate the cities in his kingdom but did not deprive them of their freedom except in so far as his purpose required. A similar position was taken by Geyer in *R.E.* XIV 23, who attributed the difference between the policy of Lysimachus and that of Antigonus to the need of firmer measures in order to defend himself against attack. Bengston, going farther, pointed out (*Strategie*, p. 219) that the autonomy retained by the cities shows the incorrectness of the view which saw in Lysimachus a tyrant who practically destroyed their freedom. In any case, we may not infer, as has sometimes been done (*e.g.* by Lenschau in *R.E. ibid.* and Haussoullier, p. 29), that because Erythrae, in sending envoys to Antiochus I to ask for the recognition of its independence (*O.G.I.* 223, see below note 23), used the argument that this had been recognized by Alexander and Antigonus but said nothing about Lysimachus, no such recognition had been obtained from him; for since Lysimachus, overthrown by Seleucus, was the enemy of Antiochus, no action of his would be regarded as a valid precedent.

19. See *O.G.I.* 214 = Welles, no. 5, a letter of Seleucus, with a list of the offerings, dated in an accompanying note of explanation in the year of the stephanephorus of 288/7. For the connexion of Seleucus with Apollo see above note 6. For the stephanephorate of Antiochus in 280/79 see *Milet* I 3, no. 123 = *Syll.*[3] 322, l. 37. For Ephesus see Polyaenus VIII 57, where the further statement is made that the citizens tore down the city-walls and opened the gates. Coins inscribed Ἐφ(εσίων) with the head of Artemis or the bee which was the symbol of the city were dated by Head (*H.N.*[2] p. 574) in the period 280-258. For Priene see *Ins. Priene* 18 = *O.G.I.* 215, ll. 1 and 29f. For the Σελεύκεια at Erythrae see *I.G.* XII 1, 6 and *Syll.*[3] 412 and 413, and for the hymn see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II p. 37f., no. 11 = J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925), p. 140, P. Bülow in *Xenia Bonnensia* (Bonn 1929), p. 35f. and K. Keyssner in *Phil. Woch.* LIV (1934), 990f. For the tribes at Magnesia and Colophon see Chap. III note 3. For Ilium see *O.G.I.* 212, restored by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 172f.; the month Σελευκε[ῖος] (restored as Σελευκε[ών?] by Robert) still existed in the first century before Christ; see *I.G.R.* IV 197 = *O.G.I.* 444 = *S.E.G.* IV 664. A decree of Ilium enacted for the purpose of preventing the establishment of a tyranny or an oligarchy in the place of the existing democracy (*O.G.I.* 218), which has been dated on the basis of the lettering in the early third century, was connected by Brückner (Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion*, p. 581) with a supposed tyranny under Lysimachus. There is no evidence, however, for the existence of any tyrant at this time, and Dittenberger, pointing out

that its provisions seem precautionary and do not necessarily imply the previous existence of a tyranny, suggested that it was enacted at the time of the recognition of the freedom of Ilium by Seleucus I. For the general defection of the cities to Seleucus see Justin XVII 1, 7 and for that of Philetaerus of Pergamum see above p. 4.

20. For the wars between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II see Tarn in *J.H.S.* XLVI (1926), p. 155f., *C.A.H.* VII p. 701f. and *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 446f.: W. Otto *Beiträge z. Seleukidengesch. d. 3 Jahrh. v. Chr.* = *Abh. Bayer. Akad.* XLIII (1928) 1, pp. 3f. and 28f. and *Philol.* LXXXVI (1931), p. 400f. For the war of Antiochus against Antigonus Gonatas, Bithynia and the northern cities (see Chap. VIII note 36) see also Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 100 and M. Segre in *Athenaeum* VIII (1930), p. 492f. Tarn and Otto held, on somewhat slight evidence, that there was a war between Antiochus and Ptolemy in 280/79 (called by Tarn the "Carian War"), during which, presumably, Ptolemy obtained possession of the Carian cities (see below note 21). They believed that this war was ended by the "peace" mentioned in the decree of Miletus for Ptolemy (see below note 21) and that the gift of the land which the King presented to the city in 279/8 (see *Milet* 1, 3, no. 123, l. 38f. and Chap. III note 81) is to be connected with this peace. In 278, according to Otto (279, according to Tarn), Antiochus made peace with Antigonus Gonatas and his allies. This was followed by Antiochus's war with the Galatians (until his victory in 275, see Chap. I note 12), and this in turn by the "First Syrian War," waged between Antiochus and Ptolemy, which was dated in 274-271 by Otto, in 276-272 (or 273) by Tarn. While this war seems to have brought Ptolemy a notable increase of territory, not only in Syria but along the southern coast of Asia Minor also, in the Aegean he added little but the Cyclades to his sphere of influence. These acquisitions, together with Caria, are mentioned in Theocritus's *Encomium on Ptolemy* (*Idyll.* XVII l. 85f.), dated by Otto at the close of this war. On the other hand, although in Ionia Ptolemy seems to have held nothing north of Samos (see below note 25), in the procession held during the celebration of the quadrennial festival of the Ptolemaeeia, founded in 279/8 B.C. by Ptolemy in memory of his father (Beloch *G.G.*² IV 1, p. 413 and IV 2, p. 604), as described by Callixenus of Rhodes (Athenaeus V 27, p. 197 C f. = *F.H.G.* III p. 59f.), the cities *αἵ τε ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ λοιπαὶ Ἑλληνίδες, ὅσαι τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὰς νήσους κατοικοῦσαι ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐτάχθησαν* were represented by richly dressed women (Athenaeus p. 201 E). This celebration of the festival was connected with the peace of 279 by Tarn, but with that of 271 by Otto; on the other hand, it was dated in 274 by Ernst Meyer *Untersuch. z. Chron. d. ersten Ptolemäer* = *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch., Beiheft* II (1925), p. 67f. The wars of Antiochus appear also in the decree of Ilium passed in his honour (*O.G.I.* 219, see below note 22), where, after the mention of his suppression of the rebellion in Syria (Σελευκίς), it is said that he *τάς τε πόλεις εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ τὴμ βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν διάθεσιν κατέστησεν*, but *now*, having returned to Cis-Tauric Asia, *ἅμα καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν τὴν εἰρήνην κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴμ βασιλείαν εἰς μείζω καὶ*

λαμπροτέραν διάθεσιν ἀγήγοχε. The "peace" mentioned in the first of these clauses was supposed by Otto to be that of 279, but the contrast with the second peace, which took place after Antiochus's return to Asia Minor, seems to indicate that it is to be connected, as Tarn supposed, with the restoration of the King's power after the revolt in Syria. The second "peace" may be that which was concluded with Antigonus Gonatas (see above), as was supposed by Otto and by Segre (p. 502), but, since the wording of the decree suggests that some little time elapsed between the two peaces, the view of Tarn that this εἰρήνη was established by the defeat of the Galatians in 275 seems preferable.

21. *S.E.G.* I 363, a decree of Samos recording the fact that at the command of Philocles "King of the Sidonians," who was the admiral of Ptolemy's fleet, judges were sent to Samos by Miletus, Myndus and Halicarnassus. The inscription was dated soon after 280 by W. Otto in *Beiträge*, p. 19f. Another inscription contains an order from Philocles and the "Nesiarch" Bacchon (see Chap. III note 140) to the members of the "Federation of the Islanders" (see Chap. III note 76) to send σύνεδροι to Samos to arrange for the appointment of representatives at the approaching festival of the Ptolemaeeia in Alexandria, perhaps the first celebration in 279/8; see *I.G.* XII 7, 506 = *Syll.*[3] 390 and above note 20. Philocles in his capacity of Πτολεμαίου στρατηγός was said by Polyaenus (III 16) to have captured Caunus. This, as Beloch observed (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 333), cannot refer to the capture of the city by Ptolemy I in 309 (Diodorus XX 27, 2, see Chap. III note 62), since until after 304 Philocles was in the service of Demetrius (*Syll.*[3] 337 and Beloch, p. 327f.). If we are to accept the view that Caunus was held by Demetrius in 287-285 (see above note 14), its capture by Philocles for Ptolemy must be placed after this time; see Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 102 and Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII pp. 92 and 701. There is no evidence as to the date when Cnidus came under the power of Egypt, but Egyptian control lasted until the late third century, when a statue of Sosibius, the chief minister of Ptolemy IV, was erected in the city (*O.G.I.* 79). For the gift of land by Ptolemy II to Miletus in 279/8 see above note 20. The φιλία καὶ συμμαχία of Ptolemy and Miletus are mentioned in *Milet* I 3, p. 300f., no 139, a letter of Ptolemy (Welles, no. 14) and a decree of the Milesians in reply. These two documents were dated by Tarn in 275 in *J.H.S.* XLVI (1926), p. 158f. and *C.A.H.* VII p. 702, followed by M. Cary in *Hist. of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* (London 1932), p. 388, and in 277/6 in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 446f. On the other hand, they were dated in 262/1 by Rehm (*Milet l.c.*) and Otto (*Beitr.* p. 25f. and *Philol.* LXXXVI [1931], p. 400f.), and this date has been widely accepted; see Welles, p. 73 and M. Launey in *R.E.A.* XLVII (1945), p. 36.

22. For the motives of the Seleucids in establishing relations with the cities see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 524f. It seems more probable, however. that the "political international prestige" and the prevention of "a political and cultural isolation" to be gained thereby were outweighed by more prac-

tical considerations, namely, the desire to ensure the cities' loyalty (see A. H. M. Jones, *Greek City*, p. 98). For the Seleucids' *συμμαχία* with the cities see Chap. III note 15. A view concerning the attitude of Antiochus I toward the cities which is very different from that taken in the text was expressed by Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* L (1922), p. 20f. = *Studi Ellenist.* p. 209f., namely, that both he and his father adopted the policy of keeping the cities in subjection, and that the danger from the Galatians with the resultant compulsory alliance on the part of the cities furthered the "tendency toward absolutism" of Antiochus. As illustrations of this "tendency" Corradi, following Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 222, note 2), cited the decrees of Ilium (*O.G.I.* 219, see above note 20) and the Ionian cities (*O.G.I.* 222, see below note 24) in honour of Antiochus. Corradi's argument, however, in regard to the Ilian decree was based solely on the ground that, although the merits of the King were extolled and prayers for his welfare and a golden statue decreed, there is no mention of the city's *ἐλευθερία*; in regard to the Ionian decree, moreover, it depended on the statement that the cities' envoys requested Antiochus to [*πᾶσαν ἐπιμ*]*έλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶμ πόλε*[*ων τῶν Ἰάδων ὅπως ἂν τὸ λοιπὸ*]*ν ἐλεύθεραι οὖσαι καὶ δημο*[*κρατούμεναι βεβαίως ἤδη πολι*]*τεύωνται κατὰ τοὺς πατρί*-[*ους νόμους*]. It is difficult to find in this request a "trace of uncertainty" as to the cities' liberty or to suppose that the Ionians were "impelled by the necessity of ensuring the grant of a privilege to which they could not claim a right." The "freedom" seems, in fact, to be regarded as already existent and the King is merely requested to safeguard it. Corradi, moreover, overlooked the actual purpose of the decree, which was to announce to Antiochus the action taken by the Federation in founding a festival in his honour and a *temenos* for his worship. The only other evidence which Corradi was able to adduce for his view is that found in a decree of Bargylia in honour of a *δικαστής* sent by Teos *καθ'ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺ*[*ς ἐκέλε*]*νεν* (*Syll.*[3] 426 = *S.E.G.* IV 206). Apart, however, from the uncertainty of this restoration, there is mention in the decree of a previous embassy to the King, which may well have requested the sending of this judge; this order (?), moreover, is not necessarily a parallel to that sent by Philocles to Miletus, Myndus and Halicarnassus (see above note 21), although it must be remembered that nominally these cities were in "alliance" with Ptolemy. In contrast to the supposed attitude of Antiochus I toward the cities, Corradi, adopting a frequently expressed point of view, maintained (*Studi Ellenist.* p. 217f.) that the reign of Antiochus II marked "a noteworthy change in the policy followed with regard to the Greeks of Asia" by his predecessors. It is, of course, true, as Corradi pointed out, that Antiochus II restored the liberty of Miletus and granted favours to Samos and apparently to Smyrna (see below note 27). But the general statement in Livy XXXIV 58, 10 which Corradi cited as evidence, namely, *si sibi Antiochus* (*i.e.* Antiochus III) *pulchrum esse censet quas urbes proavus* (*i.e.* Antiochus I) *belli iure habuerit, avus* (Antiochus II) *paterque numquam usurpaverint pro suis, repetere in servitutem*, taken from a speech attributed to Flamininus on the occasion of the visit to Rome of the envoys of Antiochus III in 194 B.C., cannot be regarded as an historical source, and the supposed implied contrast between

Antiochus II and his father has no real value. Even less reliance may be placed on the statement of Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XII 3, 2, §125, Ἰώνων κινηθέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς (*i.e.* Ἰουδαίους) καὶ δεομένων τοῦ Ἀγρίππου (*i.e.* Marcus Agrippa) ἵνα τῆς πολιτείας ἣν αὐτοῖς ἔδοκεν Ἀντίοχος, ὁ Σελεύκου υἱωνός, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι Θεὸς λεγόμενος, μόνοι μετέλθωσιν, κ.τ.λ. For, apart from the difficulty of determining the real substance of the alleged petition of the "Ionians" with regard to the Jews resident in their cities, the question arises whether the writer (or perhaps the petitioners) did not confuse Antiochus, "the grandson of Seleucus," with his father, who did, in fact, recognize the freedom of the Ionians. While, therefore, there is every reason to suppose that Antiochus II regularly showed consideration for the cities' rights, there is little ground for believing that this policy was an innovation of his or that it differed essentially from the practice of his father.

23. *O.G.I.* 223 = Welles, no. 15, a letter of "King Antiochus." The monarch has been varyingly regarded as Antiochus I or Antiochus II. For the former view see, *e.g.* Haussoullier *Études*, p. 58f.: Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 223, note 1 and Vol. II p. 548: Jacobsthal in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II p. 23: De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* XLVII (1911-12), p. 794, note 2: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 88. For the latter view, which is based on the argument that because of the many wars waged by Antiochus I the levy called τὰ Γαλατικά (see Chap. III note 14) would scarcely have been remitted during his reign and on the fact that the King mentions (l. 23f.) οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγο[νοι], see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 223, note 2: Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* L (1922), p. 32, note 1 = *Studi Ellenist.* p. 219, note 1: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 343: Welles, p. 81f. These two arguments, however, are not conclusive, especially as in the decree of the Ionian Federation honouring Antiochus I (*O.G.I.* 222, l. 20, see below note 24) mention is made of the King's προγόνων. In view of the policy of Antiochus I toward the Ionian cities, it seems highly probable that he was the writer of this letter. This probability, moreover, is strengthened by the mention in a decree of Erythrae passed soon after 275 B.C. (Ἀθηνᾶ XX [1908], p. 195f., no. 6) of an embassy sent to "King Antiochus," who must have been Antiochus I. There is, accordingly, no reason to accept the restoration [Πτολε]μαϊκοῖς, evidently referring to troops, in another decree of Erythrae passed about the same time (*Syll.*[3] 410) and infer therefrom that at this time Erythrae had an Egyptian garrison, as has been frequently supposed; for it was pointed out by De Sanctis (*ibid.* p. 793f.) that the restoration is highly questionable and that these troops were evidently some otherwise unknown corps, and this observation was accepted by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 87), Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 343), Corradi (*Studi Ellenist.* p. 189, note 1) and Robert (*B.C.H.* LVII [1933], p. 478f., note 6). Erythrae was free in the early part of the reign of Antiochus II, when during a war (probably the Second Syrian War) nine *strategoi* τὴν δημοκρατίαν συνδιετήρησαν τ[ῷ δή]μῳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν παρέδωκαν; see *Syll.*[3] 442. For silver coins of Erythrae issued in the early third century see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 128f. and Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 479f.

24. *O.G.I.* 222, which may be dated by the mention in ll. 33 and 39 of the later Antiochus II, the successor of his brother Seleucus (whose last known date is 27 March, 268) as co-ruler with Antiochus I, in which capacity he appears for the first time in March-April, 264 B.C.; see A. T. Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXII (1937), p. 6f. Of the names of the cities which sent envoys to Antiochus in accordance with the provisions of the decree only Ephesus and [Le]bedus are preserved.

25. For the power of Egypt on the western coast of Asia Minor under Ptolemy II see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 2, p. 337f.: M. Fritze *Die ersten Ptolemäer u. Griechenland* (Halle 1917), p. 56f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 64f.: Corradi *Studi Ellenist.* p. 175f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VII p. 128 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 334f. For the Egyptian στρατηγός and οἰκονόμος in Caria see *Pap. Cairo Zenon* no. 59341 (247 B.C.) from Calynda. The papyrus shows that although the city had local autonomy in so far as it had a βουλή and δῆμος and two ταμίαι, these ταμίαι could be summoned by the royal officials and ordered to pay a debt owed by the community; it also mentions the billeting, presumably of soldiers, on a citizen with the obligation of furnishing hay and pasture for the horses of the cavalry. For the power of Egypt over Myndus and Halicarnassus and the capture of Caunus see above note 21. For "friendship and alliance" with Cos see Chap. III note 140. Relations between citizens of Caunus and Egypt, carried on through Zeno of Caunus, steward of Apollonius the διοικητής of Egypt, appear frequently in Zeno's correspondence; see *e.g. Pap. Cairo Zenon* nos. 59045, 59046, and 59056: *Pap. Columbia* III 11. For the γαζοφύλαξ (evidently a royal official) at Halicarnassus see *Pap. Cairo Zenon* no. 59036=Preisigke *Sammelbuch Griech. Urkunden* 6773 (257 B.C.); this papyrus contains mention also of the collection of 3000 drachmae for a στέφανος for Ptolemy and of a citizen who acted as τριήραρχος, *i.e.* equipped a ship for the Egyptian navy. Under either Ptolemy II or his successor the δῆμος of Halicarnassus rebuilt a stoa in honour of "Apollo and King Ptolemy," the funds for which were to be obtained by a non-interest bearing loan raised by the citizens; see *O.G.I.* 46 and p. 649. For a dedication at Halicarnassus to Ptolemy II see *O.G.I.* 16 and II p. 539, as restored in *Philol.* LXXXV (1930), p. 159f., and for a request made to him (or to his successor) by the city, perhaps in financial difficulties, for permission to rebuild a gymnasium for the use of the Νέοι see *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 56f., no. 2. The inference that Iasus was under Egyptian domination might be drawn from the existence of a gymnasium called τὸ Πτολεμαιεῖον; see *I.B.M.* 925, l. 40, the true provenience of which is Iasus, not Didyma (see Ziebarth *Aus. d. Griech. Schulwesen*^{2}, p. 85, note 2 and Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI [1934], p. 523 and *Ét. Anat.* p. 452, note 4); but, as Meyer (who supposed that the provenience was Didyma) observed (p. 75), the name may be due to some private person, and Robert pointed out that, according to his restoration of *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 169f., no. 6, l. 22, another gymnasium at Iasus was called Ἀντιοχεῖον. Since, however, this inscription cannot be dated, it is possible that this building may have been given by (or named for) Antiochus III. For Miletus, in addition to the evidence

cited in note 21, see *O.G.I.* 35, a dedication by the δῆμος to Philotera, the younger sister of Ptolemy II (who died before 270), and two stones inscribed Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου (*Milet* I 7, p. 349f., nos. 288 and 289), which are identical with a large number of others found on Cyprus and the Aegean islands Amorgos, Ios, Lesbos (see below), Paros and Thera, as well as on Samos, and seem to indicate that the Queen (the sister of Ptolemy II and widow of Lysimachus, whom Ptolemy married about 275) owned property in these places; see *O.G.I.* 34, note 1 and p. 648 and II p. 539: Ἀρχ. Δελτ. (1927-8), Παρ. 31, no. 4. For Samos see, in addition to note 21, *O.G.I.* 29 and Vol. II p. 539 (a dedication for Ptolemy and Arsinoe): *S.E.G.* I 369 (a statue of Ptolemy's daughter Berenice): *S.E.G.* I 364 and 365 (honours conferred on Ptolemy's φίλοι). For other indications of the relations of Samos with Egypt see Robert *Études épigr. et philol.*, p. 115f. A contest in honour of Antiochus I at Bargylia is known from *Syll.*[3] 426, a decree praising a δικαστής sent by Teos at the King's command (?); see above note 22. Antiochus and his wife Stratonice are also mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Teos (*C.I.G.* 3075). For the presence of an Egyptian garrison in Ephesus (which was still an ally of Antiochus at the time of the decree of the Ionians in his honour, see above note 24) commanded by Ptolemaeus, son of Ptolemy II, see Athenaeus XIII 64, p. 593 A and below note 26. Lebedus, which bore the name Ptolemais at the end of the third century (*Ins. Magn.* 53, see below note 38) evidently came under the power of Egypt, but the exact time is unknown. Two series of coins bearing, respectively, the legends Πτο. and Πτολεμαιέων, the former with portraits of a king and a queen, were assigned to Lebedus by Dieudonné, Svoronos and Regling in *Journ. Internat. d'Arch. Num.* V (1902), pp. 45f. and 61f. and VI (1903), p. 173f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 514f. See also Robert in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 516f., who, however, pointed out that those inscribed Πτολεμαιέων probably belong to some other Ptolemais. The portraits are probably those of Ptolemy III and Berenice but may possibly be those of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe; if the latter, the supremacy of Egypt at Lebedus must be dated at this time. The dedication of a sun-dial at Heracleia ad Latmum to Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ (*O.G.I.* 24) was regarded as evidence for Egyptian supremacy at Heracleia by Beloch (*ibid.* p. 609) and Ernst Meyer (p. 79), the latter of whom regarded the King "surely" as Ptolemy II. But, as Corradi observed (p. 185), the dedicator was not the δῆμος but a private person, and Beloch himself admitted that the king in question might be either the second or the third or even the fourth Ptolemy. Similarly, Beloch inferred (*ibid.* p. 345) from a fragmentary inscription from Chios (*B.C.H.* XVI [1892], p. 324) recording a dedication [ὑπὲρ βασιλ]έως Πτολεμαί[ου καὶ βασιλίσσ]ης Ἀρσινόης that under Ptolemy II Chios was under Egyptian "protection." There is no indication, however, that this was an official inscription of the δῆμος, and, as in the case of Heracleia, no such inference may be drawn from a dedication by a private person. Moreover, as Corradi pointed out (p. 188, note 2), the monarchs may equally well have been Ptolemy IV and his wife. There is no reason to suppose that Chios belonged to the Egyptian sphere of influence when,

at some time during the third century, it acted as arbitrator between Lampsacus and Parium (*R. Phil.* LXIII [1937], p. 337f., no. 10). For the erroneous view that in the time of Antiochus I Erythrae had an Egyptian garrison see above note 23. For the stone of Arsinoe (see above) at Methymna on Lesbos see *I.G.* XII 2, 513, and for sacrifices and a priest for Ptolemy II see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 115. With the exception of Methymna and the brief occupation of Ephesus, there is no evidence, as Corradi pointed out (pp. 191 and 202), to warrant a belief that during the reign of Ptolemy II the power of Egypt over the western coast of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands extended farther north than Samos.

26. For the Second Syrian War see Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 134f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 594f. and IV 2, pp. 506f. and 634: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 710f.: Corradi *Studi Ellenist.* p. 152f. The few statements about this war to be found in the ancient authors are so meagre and so scattered that we know only of isolated events and it is impossible to arrange these definitely in chronological order. For the battle of Cos see, in addition to the writers cited above, Tarn in *J.H.S.* XXIX (1909), p. 264f., XXX (1910), pp. 209f. and 223f. and *C.A.H.* VII p. 862: Ferguson in *J.H.S.* XXX (1910), p. 189f.: Pozzi in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LXIII (1913), p. 336f.: W. Fellmann *Antigonos Gonatas König v. Mak. u. d. Griech. Staaten* (Würzburg 1930), p. 65f.: W. Peremans in *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* XII (1933), p. 54f. and *L'Ant. Class.* VIII (1939), p. 401f.: Bikerman in *R.E.A.* XL (1938), p. 369f. The battle has been variously dated: between 263 and 261 by Bikerman, who placed it at the close of the "Chremonidean War" (waged by Antigonus Gonatas against Ptolemy II in alliance with Athens and Sparta and ended probably in 261); in 261 or 260 by Rehm (*Milet* I 3, p. 303f.), followed by Kolbe (*G.G.A.* 1916, p. 458), Ernst Meyer (p. 91, note 2), Otto (*Beiträge*, p. 27) and Wilcken (*Griech. Gesch.*[3] [1931], p. 202); in 258 by Tarn, followed by Welles, p. 74, note 5; in 257 or 256 by Beloch, followed by Ferguson; in 256 by Peremans; in 254/3 by Pozzi and De Sanctis (*Atti Accad. Torino* XLIX [1913-14], p. 1239), followed by Corradi (p. 164); soon after 246 (the accession of Ptolemy III) by Fellmann. In view of this wide difference of opinion it is obvious that no date can be definitely determined. The argument of Rehm, widely accepted, that the attack on Miletus mentioned in the city's decree replying to Ptolemy's letter (*Milet* I 3, no. 139, to be dated perhaps in 262/1, see above note 21) could not have happened until the Egyptian fleet had been defeated was answered by Welles (*l.c.*), who pointed out that when the decree was passed the naval supremacy of Egypt was "threatened but still maintained." On the other hand, it would seem that the battle should be dated before the revolt of the younger Ptolemy and the seizure of Miletus by Timarchus; for although these events were placed before the outbreak of the war by Corradi (p. 161f.) and by Bikerman (p. 381), it is difficult to see how they could have taken place while the naval strength of Egypt was unimpaired. For the revolt of the younger Ptolemy as commander of the (Egyptian) garrison in Ephesus see Trogus *Prol.* XXVI and Athenaeus XIII 64, p. 593 A-B, where his subsequent murder by

"Thracians," evidently his own mercenaries, is also recorded. He was presumably the "son" of Ptolemy II mentioned in the King's letter to Miletus (see above) as present in the city. This man has frequently been identified with Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus and Arsinoe (see Chap. I note 56), who was adopted by his stepfather Ptolemy II, and has been supposed to have acted as co-ruler of Egypt from 266 to 259; see *e.g.* E. von Stern in *Herm.* L (1915), p. 427f.: Beloch IV 2, pp. 183 and 511: Cary *Hist. Greek World 323-146 B.C.*, p. 390f.: Welles, p. 75f. The identification with the son of Lysimachus was accepted, but that with the co-ruler denied, by Pridik in *Acta et Comm. Univ. Dorpat. Humaniora* V (1924), 3, p. 28f. Corradi (p. 156f.), on the other hand, rejected the identification altogether as based on no evidence. For Timarchus and his overthrow by Antiochus II see Trogus *l.c.* and Appian *Syr.* 65. He is presumably to be identified with the Aetolian adventurer Timarchus who landed with some soldiers on the coast of Asia and then burned his ships (Polyaenus V 25) and with the Aetolian Timarchus who, after killing a commander in the service of "King Ptolemy," donned his victim's uniform and thus disguised entered *in Samniorum (i.e. Samiorum) portum* (Frontinus *Strat.* III 2, 11); see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 70f.: Corradi, p. 159: Ziegler in *R.E.* VI A 1236f. The suggestion of Haussoullier and Beloch (IV 2, p. 342) that he was originally an officer of Ptolemy is not based on any evidence. For the "restoration" of the freedom of Miletus see *O.G.I.* 226, where it is stated that a certain Hippomachus *κατήγ[α]γεν τ[ή]ν τ[ὲ ἐλ]ευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν παρ[ὰ β]ασ[ιλέως Ἀντι]όχου το[ῦ] Θεοῦ*. It was supposed by Rehm (*Milet* I 3, p. 304, note 4) and De Sanctis (*l.c.*) that, because the second extant list of Milesian stephanephori (*Milet* I no. 123, see Chap. III note 23) closed with the stephanephorus (Apollo) of 260/59, still leaving some room on the stone, the next list (the first part of which is not extant) began with the recording of the city's liberation under the stephanephorus of 259/8. On the basis of this surmise the hazardous attempt has been made to date in this year the revolt of the younger Ptolemy, Timarchus's seizure of Miletus, and the restoration of the city's freedom. For the defeat of Chremonides, who after the surrender of Athens to Antigonus Gonatas became commander of the Egyptian fleet, by the Rhodian admiral Agathostratus (see above Chap. III note 76) outside the harbour of Ephesus see Polyaenus V 18 (arbitrarily connected with the Third Syrian War by Corradi, p. 163, note 1) and Beloch IV 1, p. 597, note 4. For the capture of Ephesus by a king named Antiochus (who can be only Antiochus II) with the help of the Rhodian navy see Frontinus *Strat.* III 9, 10. The war between the Rhodians and Ptolemy II recorded in the "Chronicle" of Lindus (see Chap. III note 68), c, l. 97f. may probably be identified with the naval victory of Agathostratus: see Beloch IV 1, p. 594, note 5 and Bikerman *ibid.* p. 381. Both Ephesus and Miletus were evidently under Seleucid control in 253 B.C., when by Antiochus's order the record of the sale of an estate to Laodice (*O.G.I.* 225 = Welles, nos. 18-20, see Chap. III note 40) was placed in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus and in that of Apollo at Didyma.

27. Tetradrachms were minted by Antiochus I in Magnesia-on-Maeander, Smyrna, Phocaea and Cyme, and by Antiochus II not in these places only, but also in Ephesus, Aegae, Myrina, Lampsacus, Abydus, Ilium and Alexandria Troas; see E. T. Newell *Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (New York 1941), p. 284f. and Chap. III note 44. The use of Ephesus as a royal residence is suggested by the death of Antiochus II in the city; see Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251 Schöne = p. 118 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 6 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1215). Ephesus was also the residence of Laodice after Antiochus's death, for the Egyptian army on invading Syria in 256/5 found the Seleucid στρατηγός of Cilicia on the point of sending 1500 talents εἰς Ἔφεσον τοῖς περὶ τὴν Λαοδίκην; see Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 1 and Chap. I note 22. For a tetradrachm minted in Ephesus by Seleucus II in the first year of his reign see Newell, p. 291f. For Sophron, governor of Ephesus (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου), whom Laodice tried to kill, see Athenaeus XIII 64, p. 593 B-D = Phylarchus frg. 24 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 167f.). For Miletus see *O.G.I.* 227 = Welles, no. 22, l. 2f. (letter of Seleucus II, see below note 29), and for the dedication of a building to Laodice see *Milet* I 7, p. 282, no. 194. For Samos see *S.E.G.* I 366 and (for Anaea) Chap. III note 98. For Antiochus's arbitration see *Ins. Priene* 37, ll. 132 and 151 (see Chap III note 99). For the Ἀντιόχεια at Smyrna see Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVIII (1936), p. 28 and *Ét. Anat.* p. 90f. (a decree of Temnus of the third century before Christ). For the honours paid to Antiochus and Stratonice (τὸ ἱδρῦσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν τιμωμένους τιμαῖς ἀξιολόγοις) see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 9f. (see below note 29) and Dittenberger's note 7. For the ἀσυλία obtained for the Temple of Aphrodite Stratonicis by Seleucus II see *O.G.I.* 228, ll. 3f. and 12 and below note 29. The Smyrniot envoys sent to the Roman Senate in A.D. 22 (Tacitus *Ann.* III 63, 4 see Chap. XXI note 30) attributed the foundation of the Temple (as Seleucus did in the case of the ἀσυλία) to the oracle of Apollo, but these envoys, with a view to inspiring greater respect for its privileges, evidently exaggerated the antiquity of the cult. The Goddess owned land, from which tithes and some other kind of revenue accrued εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς προσόδους; see *Syll.*[3] 990 and *A.M.* XVI (1891), p. 133 = *R.E.A.* II (1900), p. 251. A representation of her statue appears on coins of Smyrna of the second and first centuries; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 239f., nos. 19 and 21, and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 593. For the names of the months see Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVIII p. 23f., who, accepting the theory of Kubitschek in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LVII (1915), 3, p. 93f. that the months listed in the Florentine *Hemerologion* as those of Asia reproduce the calendar of Smyrna, pointed out that the correct forms of the three months named after members of the Seleucid dynasty are Στρατονικεών, Ἀντιοχεών and Λαοδικεών; the second of these Robert restored as [Ἀντι]οχεῶνος in an inscription from Smyrna, *A.M.* XII (1887), p. 248, no. 7, and he identified the third in another, fragmentary, inscription from Smyrna, M.K.B. I (1873-5), p. 82, no. 53 = II[2-3] (1876-8), p. 52, no. 121 = Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 88.

28. For the peace concluded at the end of the Second Syrian War in 255 or 353 see Chap. I note 21. In the great inscription of Ptolemy III from

Aduli on the Red Sea (*O.G.I.* 54), while Lycia, Caria and the Cyclades appear among the possessions which the King received from his father (l. 7f.), there is no mention of Ionia.

29. For Seleucus's departure for Syria in the summer of 246 see Chap. I note 22. For his letter to Miletus see *O.G.I.* 227 = Welles, no. 22. Only the beginning of the letter is preserved, so that the way in which the King proposed to increase the city's existing privileges is unknown. For Smyrna see *O.G.I.* 228 and 229. The former is a decree of Delphi granting the request made by both Seleucus II and the Smyrniots for a general recognition of the Temple of Aphrodite Stratonicis (see above note 27) and the city itself as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος* and mentioning the King's decision that Smyrna should be *ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀφο*[*ρο*]*λόγητος*; this decree also ordered the *θεωροί* who were to announce the approaching festival of the Pythia to "praise King Seleucus." The second inscription consists of a series of decrees of Smyrna, the first of which mentions the King's grant of *αὐτονομία καὶ δημοκρατία* and his request to *τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἔθνη* to recognize the *ἀσυλία* of both the city and the Temple; the other decrees contain the covenants made with the soldiers and "Greek" inhabitants of Magnesia ad Sipylum (see Chap. III note 95). The Pythia to which the decree of Delphi refers was evidently the festival held either in August 246 or in August 242. The latter date was preferred by Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 539f.), who dated the grant of freedom in 244, and this chronology was followed by Herzog in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 465. Laqueur, on the other hand, in *Epigr. Untersuch. z. d. Griech. Volksbeschlüssen* (Leipzig 1927), p. 114 placed the Pythia in question in 246. This date was advocated also by Kolbe in *Herm.* LXXV (1940), p. 401f., who held that Seleucus's request to Delphi was made in the early months of his reign and that the Delphians passed their decree before the departure of the *theoroi* who conveyed the invitations to the Pythia of 246. While it may seem difficult to crowd Seleucus's declaration of *ἀσυλία*, the presentation of the request to Delphi and the enactment of the decree into the short interval which elapsed between Seleucus's accession (not earlier than April, 246, see Chap. I note 21) and the time when the *theoroi* must have left Delphi to announce the Pythia of 246, this date seems preferable for the reason that, were the festival of 242 meant, the interval would be too long. The *ἀσυλία* of the Temple of Aphrodite Stratonicis seems to be mentioned also in a fragmentary decree found at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 483), which contains a city's acceptance of an invitation to participate in the festival of the Soteria at Delphi after its reorganization by the Aetolian League, and it was shown by Robert in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), pp. 326f. and 351 and by M. Segre in *Historia* V (1931), p. 241f. that this city was Smyrna. The decree cannot be dated earlier than 246, for in l. 21 *Βασιλέα Σ*[*έλευκον*] is to be read, rather than, as originally supposed, *Α*[*ντίοχον*]; see Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVIII (1936), p. 9f., followed by Flacelière *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris 1937), p. 149f.: Klaffenbach in *Klio* XXXII (1939), p. 196f., note 1: W. B. Dinsmoor *Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Dis-*

coveries (New York 1939), p. 117. On the other hand, the invitation to participate in the reorganized Soteria was accepted by the Athenians during the archonship of Polyeuctes (*I.G.* II² 680 = *Syll.*³ 408), whose year of office, after several attempts at dating, has most recently been placed in 249/8 or 248/7; see Dinsmoor, pp. 82, 90 and 109f. and Pritchett and Meritt *Chronology of Hellenist. Athens* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940), pp. xxi and 27 and p. 30, note 17. If this dating is correct, it must be supposed that the invitation was extended to Smyrna a few years after it was received by the Athenians. For the significance of a general recognition of ἀσυλία on the part of the kings and the cities see Usener in *Rh. Mus.* XXIX (1874), p. 38f., followed by Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 360 = *Études* III p. 153: E. Schlesinger *Die Griech. Asylie* (Giessen 1933), p. 59f.: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 152f., who, observing that this recognition meant more than a guarantee of neutrality, as supposed by Usener, pointed out that it was rather a proclamation of the city's exterritoriality, giving the citizens the status of non-combatants, since those who promised to respect their ἀσυλία renounced all claim to any reprisals for harm done to them by the inhabitants of the city. As Seyrig observed in *Syria* XX (1939), p. 35f., the recognition of ἀσυλία, unlike the grant of ἐλευθερία, was not a concession on the part of the king but a reply to a request made by him to foreign powers, whose acceptance was necessary for the validity of the status obtained thereby. For the general recognition of ἀσυλία obtained by Magnesia and Teos at the end of the third century see below notes 38 and 39, and for that granted by the Aetolians to other cities see below note 33. For lists of the cities and sanctuaries which obtained ἀσυλία see Schlesinger, p. 71f. and Bikerman, p. 153 (the Seleucid Empire). For Cyzicus as ἱερά see below note 50.

30. For the letter of Ziaëlas see *Syll.*³ 456 = Welles, no. 25 and above Chap. III note 138. For the letters of the other kings see Herzog in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 463f., nos. A, B and C = Welles, nos. 26-28. These kings were tentatively identified by Herzog with Seleucus II, Ptolemy III and Attalus I. In the first of these letters inviolability was promised not only to the Temple but also to "those who came to the Asclepieia." This letter is evidently contemporary with that of Ziaëlas, since the same Coan ἀρχιθεωρός appears in both. The attribution to Ptolemy III of the second letter is doubtful, especially since the fragment of an inscription from Cos, containing mention of τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἀρ[σινόης] and the Asclepieia (Welles, no. 21), if correctly assigned to Ptolemy II (and not to Ptolemy IV), suggests that the inviolability of the festival had already been recognized by Egypt. The attribution to Attalus I of the third letter is even more questionable. Among the cities which recognized the inviolability of the temple were several in the Peloponnese, including Sparta, and also Pella in Macedonia, Aenus and Maroneia in Thrace, Camarina, Gela and Messina in Sicily, and Neapolis and Elea in Italy; see P. Boesch Θεωρός (Berlin 1908), pp. 30 and 140: Herzog in *Herm.* LXV p. 468: A. Neppi Modona *L' Isola di Coo* (Rhodes 1933), p. 182. The festival seems also to have received official recognition in decrees, as yet unpublished, of Amphipolis, Cassandreia and

Philippi in Macedonia and of the island of Corcyra; see Laurenzi in *Historia* v (1931), p. 621 and C. Anti in *Atti Ist. Veneto* xci (1931-32), p. 1180. The action of the Macedonian cities is dated in the 41st year of Antigonus Gonatas, *i.e.* 242 B.C.; see Segre in *Riv. Fil.* lxi (1933), p. 367, note 3 and F. W. Walbank *Philip V of Macedon* (Cambridge 1940), p. 7, note 2. According to this dating, since Attalus became ruler of Pergamum in 241/40 (see Chap. I notes 1 and 20), the letter attributed to him must have been written soon after his accession. For a fragment of a law of Cos of the third century declaring the Asclepieion inviolable see Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928, vi p. 33, no. 13.

31. In his inscription from Aduli (*O.G.I.* 54, see above note 28) Ptolemy III boasted, among his other achievements, that, having received Caria and the southern coast of Asia Minor from his father, he made himself master of Ionia and the Hellespont. For Egypt's control over the islands along the western coast of Asia Minor as far as the Hellespont see also Polybius v 34, 7. For Samos see *S.E.G.* i 366, l. 25f., where Bulagoras, who had previously secured from Antiochus II the restoration of the Samians' land in Anaea (see above note 27), is praised for paying, in the current year, the travelling expenses of the *θεωροί* sent by Samos to a festival in Alexandria, evidently the Ptolemaeeia, held probably in 242 (Schede in *A.M.* xlix [1919], p. 28 and Ernst Meyer *Untersuch. z. Chron. d. ersten Ptol.* p. 68). For a statue of Ptolemy IV in Samos see Michel 1293, and for the Egyptian naval station on the island in 221 B.C. see Polybius v 35, 11. For Priene see *Ins. Priene* 37, ll. 135 and 153f., mentioning the *ἐπιστάτης* Simon, apparently an Egyptian official, and [Ἀν]*τίοχον τὸν ὑπὸ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τεταγμένον*. Ephesus was in the possession of Ptolemy III during the war between Seleucus II and his brother Antiochus Hierax about 240 B.C. (see Chap. I note 23); see Eusebius *Chron.* i p. 251 Schöne = p. 118 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 8 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* ii p. 1216). If the Sophron who commanded the Egyptian fleet at the battle of Andros (Trogus *Prol.* xxvii) was the man of this name whom, while governor of Ephesus, Laodice tried to kill (see above note 27), he may perhaps, as Beloch suggested (*G.G.*[2] iv 1, p. 678, note 2), have surrendered Ephesus to Ptolemy. A decree of Athens, passed probably soon after 222, praised Ephesus for its *εὔνοια* to the "Athenians and King Ptolemy"; see *Hesperia* v (1937), p. 448, no. 3, interpreted by L. Robert *Études épigr. et philol.* p. 62f. Coins of Berenice, wife of Ptolemy III, seem to have been issued at Ephesus (*B.M. Cat. Ptolemies*, p. 59, no. 1 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 575), and in 221 the city had an Egyptian garrison (Polybius v 35, 11). For Lebedus see above note 25. For Methymna (where under Ptolemy II Arsinoe had an estate, see above note 25) see *I.G.* xii 2, 498 = *O.G.I.* 78, dated under Ptolemy IV. For Eresus see *I.G.* xii 2, 527 = *Suppl.* p. 33 (restored by Robert in *R.E.G.* xxxviii [1925], p. 423f.), mentioning a mission *περὶ ἐπισταταείας* to one of the Ptolemies and a festival in honour of "King Ptolemy." The festival of the Ptolemaeeia at Eresus is mentioned also in *I.G.* xii *Suppl.* nos. 122 (perhaps of the time of Ptolemy IV) and 125 and in *Milet* i 3, p. 368f., no. 152, ll. 77

and 89 (which shows that the festival was still celebrated about 167 B.C.). A papyrus (*Pap. Tebtunis* I 8=Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 2) contains mention of *χρημάτων καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φό(ρων) τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Λέσβον καὶ Θράκην τόποις*. It was assigned by the editors on palaeographical grounds to the late third century, and the "fourth year" in which it is dated was regarded as that of Ptolemy V, *i.e.* 202/1 B.C. This dating was based solely on the belief that the document reflects troubled times, such as those of 201; but since any Egyptian control over Lesbos at this time is very doubtful, it seems much more probable that the "fourth year" was that of Ptolemy IV, *i.e.* 218/7, as supposed by Beloch (IV 2, p. 345f., note 1). Unfortunately, the papyrus cannot be used to aid in determining the question whether the Lesbian cities paid tribute to Egypt, for the *φό(ροι)* may have been revenues derived from estates belonging to the King (like the property of Arsinoe, see above note 25), or even to a private person. There is no evidence with regard to Miletus and Erythrae, for the fact that the former received Philip V of Macedonia in 201 (Polybius XVI 15, 6) or that in 190 both cities supported the Rhodians (and Romans) against Antiochus III (Livy XXXVII 11, 14 and 16, 2) may not be used to show, as Beloch (IV 2, p. 345) and Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 89) suggested, that they had been "Ptolemaic." The "dangers" to Smyrna are mentioned in *O.G.I.* 229, l. 2f. (see above note 29). The statement of Justin (XXVII 1, 8f.) that *universae civitates*, shocked by the murder of Berenice at the order of Seleucus II, joined Ptolemy but later, impelled by sympathy for the destruction by a storm of Seleucus's fleet, returned to their allegiance to him, is obviously of little value.

32. For tetradrachms of Antiochus Hierax minted at Lampsacus, Abydus, Alexandria Troas, Scepsis and perhaps Sigeium see Newell *Western Seleucid Mints*, p. 321f. and Chap. III note 44. The allegiance of Ilium to the Seleucids at this time is shown by an inscription in honour of *[τῆς βασιλί]σσης καὶ τῶν βασιλέων*, referring, apparently, to Laodice and her two sons; see *A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 409 and Brückner in Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion*, p. 464, no. 17. Another inscription honouring a "King Seleucus" (Dörpfeld, p. 447, no. 1) probably refers to Seleucus II. For the war between Hierax and Attalus I see Chap. I note 24.

33. For the invitation to Smyrna to participate in the reorganized Soteria see above note 29. For the invitation to Chios see *Syll.*³ 402. It was dated in 276 in *Syll.*³ but the mention of the Aetolian *στρατηγός* Charixenus (whose second term of office was placed in 248/7 by Klaffenbach in *I.G.* IX² 1, p. L) shows that it is to be dated in the year in which a similar invitation was extended to Athens under the archon Polyeuctes, who perhaps held office in 249/8 or 248/7 (see above note 29). For the admission of Chios to the Amphictyonic Council see *Syll.*³ 443=*S.E.G.* II 258=*I.G.* IX² 1, 195 (*ll.* 3-7 and 12-17 only), a decree accepting the invitation and appointing Gannon as the Chians' first representative on the Council. Gannon was present in

Delphi in the archonship of Dion (*Syll.*[3] 444 A), whose year of office has been varyingly dated, but most recently in 243/2 by Flacelière (*Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 400 and 468) in agreement with Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 403f.). For later Chian representatives see *Fouilles de Delphes* III 2, 86 (=*Syll.*[3] 539) and 134 *b* and *Syll.*[3] 545 and the references cited in note 14 on the inscription. For the significance of the Aetolians' promise of immunity from attack, *μὴ ἄγειν τὰ τῶ*[*ν Χίων μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν*], see H. A. Ormerod *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924), p. 139f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 763: Schlesinger *Griech. Asylie*, p. 63: H. Benecke *Die Seepolitik d. Aitoler* (Hamburg 1934), p. 13f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 198 and p. 1361f., notes 14 and 17. For Miletus see Klaffenbach in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1937, p. 156, a fragmentary decree of the Aetolian League, which may be dated by the lettering in the second half of the third century. For Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 15 and 16=IX[2] 1, 189 and 190, the second of which is dated by the Aetolian *strategos* Lycus, placed in 209/8 by Klaffenbach (*I.G.* IX[2] 1, p. L). The original promise of the Aetolians to Mitylene was dated between 217 and 212 by Flacelière (*ibid.* p. 311). For Magnesia see *I.G.* IX[2] 1, 4=*Syll.*[3] 554, dated in the second *στρατηγία* of Agelaus of Naupactus, which was placed in 224/3 by Klaffenbach (*ibid.* pp. L and 6), and soon after 215/4 by Flacelière (p. 325). As the decree contains no mention of the "epiphany" of Artemis at Magnesia, which took place in 221/0 (see below note 38), its assignment to 224/3 is perhaps more probable, although the earliest known vote of a Magnesian delegate at the Amphictyonic Council is recorded in the decree guaranteeing the inviolability of the Temple at Teos about 205/4 (see *Syll.*[3] 564 and below note 39).

34. For these agreements (with Gortyn, Cnossus and Phaestus) see *Milet* I 3, p. 307f., no. 140=*Ins. Creticae* I p. 60, no. 6 + p. 271, no. 1, dated by Rehm before 220 B.C. See Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 199 and, for an interpretation of the documents, W. Felgenträger *Ant. Lösungsrecht* (Berlin 1933), p. 63f. For the Cretan pirates see H. A. Ormerod *Piracy in the Ancient World*, p. 138f.: Benecke in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 291f.: Rostovtzeff, p. 222f. For the Cretan mercenaries at Miletus see *Milet* I 3, p. 173f., nos. 33-35 (228/7 B.C.) and nos. 36-38 and p. 404, no. 36 aa (223/2 B.C.) and pp. 199f. and 347f.: von Wilamowitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 91f. A Cretan named Lichas, mentioned in *Milet* I 2, p. 115f., no. 12 a, was perhaps instrumental in enlisting them. For the assignment of land to these men in the territory of Myus see Chap. III note 81. The suggestion was made by Rehm (*Milet* I p. 201f.) that these were the Cretans mentioned in decrees of Gortyn and Cnossus in which the two cities, refusing the Magnesians' offer to arbitrate in the war between them, refused also to take back, with the restoration of their civic rights, those Cretans who had emigrated to Miletus and had become citizens; see P. Deiters in *Rh. Mus.* LIX (1904), p. 565f. (=*Ins. Magn.* 65a + 75 + 76 + 65b), dated by the editor after 216 B.C. For the enrollment during the late third century of a large number of other persons as citizens of Miletus see *Milet* I 3, p. 203f., no. 41f. and p. 211f.

35. For the agreement with Pygela (see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 543), which seems to have been independent in the late fourth century (*S.E.G.* IV 513), see *Milet* I 3, p. 316, no. 142 and von Wilamowitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 90. For Olbia and Cyzicus see *Milet* I 3, p. 289f., nos. 136 (=*Syll.*[3] 286) and 137 (see Chap. III note 115), dated by Rehm before 323 B.C. See also Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV (1920) 1, p. 137f. For Istrus see *B.C.H.* LII (1928), p. 170f., dated by the editor in the early third century. For the commercial purpose of this isopolity see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 175. For Cius, Tralles and Mylasa see *Milet* I 3, nos. 141 (228 ? B.C., a one-sided arrangement, granting rights in Miletus to the Cians), 143 (212/1 B.C.) and 146 (209/8 B.C.), and, for the arrangements, p. 364f. The close relations between Miletus and Cyzicus in the early second century are illustrated by the fact that on at least four different occasions in the period between 178/7 and 165/4 (or 162/1) B.C. the Cyzicenes presented a *φιάλη* worth 100 drachmae to the Temple at Didyma; see *R. Phil.* XXII (1898), pp. 114 and 127f. and Haussoullier *Études*, p. 199f.

36. According to Polybius V 77, 2f. (218 B.C.), the cities which previously *Ἀχαίῳ προσεκεχωρήκεισαν διὰ τὸν φόβον* but during his expedition to Pisidia (see Chap. I note 28) received Attalus were Cyme, Myrina (*Σμύρνα* in the manuscripts, emended by Wilcken in *R.E.* II 2162), Phocaea, Aegae and Temnus, the last two *καταπλαγέντες τὴν ἔφοδον*. In addition to these, envoys were sent to Attalus by Teos and Colophon, *ἐγχειρίζοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις*, as well as by Smyrna, whose deputation he treated *φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τούτους* (*i.e.* the Smyrniots) *τετηρηκέναι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν πίστιν*. From this last statement it may be supposed that Smyrna had previously maintained friendly relations with Attalus and it may be inferred from the same words in Polybius V 78, 6 that this was true also of Lampsacus, Alexandria Troas and Ilium. For a tribe in Ilium named *Ἀτταλίς* see *C.I.G.* 3616=*I.G.R.* IV 216. Because of the statement of Polybius (V 77, 6) that Attalus received the envoys of Teos and Colophon *ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς καὶ τὸ πρότερον* it was supposed by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 85, note 3), followed by Ruge in *R.E.* V A 547, that these two cities also had formerly been in alliance with him but had been forced to join Achaeus. Hansen (*Attalids*, p. 41) referred the *πρότερον* to the period after the defeat of Hierax. It has generally been assumed that these various cities received different treatment at the hands of Attalus, some remaining wholly free while others were forced to pay tribute to him; see Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 390, note 5. This view was accepted by Cardinali (pp. 85f., 90f. and 227), who examined their cases separately. Basing his conclusions on the arrangements for the cities made at the conference of Apameia in 188 (see below notes 60 and 75), he placed in the class of cities which became subject to Attalus and paid tribute, Cyme, Phocaea, Myrina, Aegae, Temnus, Teos, Colophon and Notium. His conclusions were accepted by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), pp. 71f., 76, 94, 102f., who invented a new name for the category formed by these cities, calling them compulsory (or dependent) allies. Ghione regarded their status as an alliance only in name,

supposing that one of the contracting parties was in a condition of submission to the other, although the "dependent" ally enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy in internal affairs. Cardinali's list was accepted, in part at least, by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 105), who held that Cyme, Phocaea, Teos and Colophon paid tribute to Attalus, and for Teos and Colophon by both Holleaux (*R.E.A.* XXV [1923], p. 334) and Bikerman (*R.E.G.* L [1937], p. 221, note 1), who, interpreting the words *ἐπὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις αἷς καὶ τὸ πρότερον* (see above) as "aux mêmes conditions qu'autrefois," supposed, somewhat arbitrarily, that they referred to tribute paid by these two cities.

The classification attempted by Ghione is highly complicated, and the distinction between "dependent allies" and subject cities was not made clear (see De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LIII [1925], p. 76f.). There seems to be no reason for accepting the existence of this middle category. There is no evidence to prove that any of these cities paid tribute to Attalus and no ground for supposing that, even though some of them were forced to enter into an alliance with him, this alliance curtailed their independence. In view of their subsequent relations with Rome (see below notes 51, 52 and 53 and Chap. I note 35) there can be no doubt that Lampsacus, Alexandria Troas, Ilium and Smyrna were independent. While the language of Polybius is none too clear, it may be supposed that Phocaea, Cyme and Myrina, described as *μεταθεμέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν* (*i.e.* Attalus) *πρῶτον*, were free, since it is hardly probable that the King would have reduced to subjection those cities which were the first to join him at this time, and in the case of the first two no argument may be drawn from the arrangements made at Apameia, for by these both cities were permitted to retain their independence. With regard to Aegae and Temnus, which joined Attalus because of fear of attack, there might be some reason to suppose, with Cardinali, that they were made subject. Both cities, however, were free in the second century (see below note 75), and since in the arrangements made at Apameia in 188 (see below note 60) those cities which had been subject to Attalus were to continue to be subject to Eumenes II, it seems highly improbable that Aegae and Temnus were subject to the former, for there was no occasion between 188 and the middle of the second century when it may be supposed that they were freed from Pergamene rule. With regard to Teos and Colophon, the statement of Polybius that Attalus took hostages from them can hardly be used to show that they became subject to him, for it may be assumed that these were taken for the purpose of ensuring the cities' fidelity to the terms of the alliance and preventing them from abandoning their agreements and once more joining Achaeus. In the case of Teos, a reason for regarding it as subject to Pergamum might be found in a decree of the city (*S.E.G.* II 580, restored by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 39f.), which was dated by Holleaux (*B.C.H.* XLVIII [1924], p. 25, note 5 = *Études* II p. 96, note 2) either in the period 218-201 or after 188 B.C., preferably the former, and by Ruge (*R.E.* V A 562) not later than 225. In this decree, which authorized the purchase of some land for the society of the Artists of Dionysus (see Chap. III note 114), the provisions were made that the land

was to be ἀτελὲς ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπιβάλλει and that the payment was to be made in part ἐκ τ[ῶν πρ]ώτων δοθησομένων αὐτοῖς (*i.e.* ταμίαις) ἐγ βασιλικοῦ εἰς τ[ὴν τῆ]ς πόλεως διοίκησιν. This was regarded by Bikerman in *Herm.* LXVII (1932), p. 68 as evidence that Teos paid tribute to Attalus. But it has been shown that the clause granting exemption from taxes imposed by the city was a conventional formula (see Chap. III note 14), and the gift of a sum of money by the king may be paralleled by the present made by Eumenes II to Miletus (see Chap. I note 69), which was not subject to Pergamum. It is difficult to explain why Teos, if subject to Attalus in the period following 218, was free in 205, when its inviolability received general recognition (see below note 39), or in 196, when it was one of the mediators between Miletus and Magnesia (see below note 47), or in 193, when, although under the influence of Antiochus III, it was recognized as independent by Rome (see note 39). With regard to Notium, friendly relations between the city and the royal house of Pergamum are shown by a decree which ordered the erection of a statue of Athenaeus, the youngest son of Attalus I, to be placed in the Temple of Apollo Clarius beside the statue of his mother and perhaps those of his brothers; see *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 161f., no. I = IX (1906), *Beibl.* 57f. = Holleaux *Études* II p. 51f., dated by Holleaux (p. 59) shortly before the death of Attalus I in 197, by Ruge (*R.E.* V A 550f.) perhaps earlier. The honours thus conferred, however, do not necessarily show, as Holleaux suggested (p. 60, also in *R.E.A.* XXV p. 334, note 5), that Notium was "more or less directly" dependent on Pergamum.

37. *Syll.*[3] 590, a decree of Miletus requesting the Coans to recognize the local festival of the Didymeia (see Chap. III note 83) as Pan-Hellenic and announcing the promises of cities and kings to guarantee the inviolability of the Temple of Apollo. For the date see Herzog in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 466f. The inviolability of Miletus and its territory was also recognized by Aptera in Crete; see *Ins. Creticae* II p. 30, no. 16 and Robert *Hellenica* I (1940), p. 113f. The new festival was pentaeteric; see *Syll.*[3] 577 (in 200/199, see below note 46). Originally called τὰ Διδύμεια, the festival, after it became Pan-Hellenic, usually appears as τὰ μεγάλα Διδύμεια; see *C.I.G.* 2888 = L.W. 224: L.W. 229 and 1568: *I.B.M.* 928: *J.H.S.* VI (1885), p. 350, no. 98 (but τὰ Διδύμεια in *O.G.I.* 472 and *R. Phil.* XX [1896], p. 99f., no. 4).

38. For the "epiphany" of Artemis and the response of the Oracle of Apollo in 221/20 B.C. with the consequent institution of the Leucophryena see *Ins. Magn.* 16 = *Syll.*[3] 557, Kroll in *R.E.* XII 2287f. and Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVIII (1936), p. 12f. For the replies given by the kings and cities see *Ins. Magn.* 18-64, 66, 68-73 and 78-81. The envoys who carried the invitations set out in 207/6 at the latest; for those sent to Antiochus III (see below) met him at Antiocheia in Persia, which he traversed in the spring of 205 after wintering in Carmania (Polybius XI 34, 13); see Holleaux in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), p. 259 and *C.A.H.* VIII p. 142. Those who accepted the invitations included Antiochus III and his son Antiochus (*O.G.I.*

231 and 232=Welles, nos. 31 and 32), Attalus I (*O.G.I.* 282=Welles, no. 34) and Ptolemy IV (Welles, no. 33), and, among the Asianic communities, Mitylene (see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 138), Methymna and Antissa on the island of Lesbos, the Ionian cities (Μιλήσιοι is presumably to be supplied in the lacuna), Rhodes, Cnidus, Laodiceia-on-Lycus (?), Antiocheia-on-Maeander, Euromus and Alinda. No actual reply from Philip V is extant, but, as the response from Chalcis (*Syll.*[3] 561) was written on the receipt of instructions from him, it is safe to conclude that he also received an invitation. It is noteworthy that none of the royal personages, except perhaps Ptolemy (whose letter is fragmentary), promised to respect Magnesia's inviolability, and only Attalus promised a contribution toward the expenses of the festival. The free communities on the other hand, recognized the inviolability as requested, and, for the most part, agreed to send representatives to the festival, and, in some cases, to make a contribution. In A.D. 22 the Magnesian envoys to the Senate claimed that inviolability had been granted to the Temple of Artemis by Lucius Scipio and by Sulla after their respective victories over Antiochus and Mithradates; see Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 1. For the festival see also Kern in *Herm.* XXXVI (1901), p. 491f., and for the city's envoys and their procedure and the contributions which were promised see Boesch Θεωρός, pp. 31f., 44f., 59f., 77f. For acceptances of invitations to participate in the Asclepieia at Mitylene, the Hyacinthotrophia at Cnidus and the Claria at Colophon see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 3, above Chap. III note 137 and Picard *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 142f.; for the date, soon after 200 B.C., see Robert in *B.C.H.* XLIX (1925), p. 237f.

39. For the cult of Dionysus at Teos see Chap. III note 113. For the replies to the requests of the Tean envoys see *I.G.* IX[2] 1, 192=*Fouilles de Delphes* III 2, 134 a=*Syll.*[3] 563 (Aetolian League): *Syll.*[3] 564 (Amphictyonic Council): L.W. 84=*G.G.A.* 1898, p. 218f. and *Syll.*[3] 565 (Delphi): L.W. 83=*G.G.A.* 1898, p. 217f. (Athamanians): L.W. 61-74=*S.G.D.I.* 5165-5180 (Cretan cities). The reply of the Aetolians is dated under the *strategos* Alexander of Calydon, whose year of office was placed in 204/3 by Klaffenbach (*I.G.* IX[2] 1, 95, note 1 and p. L); the same envoys were received by the Amphictyonic Council and the Delphians under the archon Megartas, whose year was dated about 205/4 by Flacelière (*Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 322, 412 and 491f.). The envoys sent to the three Cretan communities Eleuthernae (L.W. 71=*S.G.D.I.* 5177), Rhaucus (L.W. 63=*S.G.D.I.* 5167) and Lappa (L.W. 68, corrected in *Klio* XIII [1913], p. 146, note 5) were accompanied by Hagesandrus, an envoy of Antiochus III. At Eleuthernae, as well as in seven other cities, the envoys were accompanied by Perdiccas, a citizen of Teos, who acted as the representative of Philip V. Because of the preponderance of instances of his appearance over that of Hagesandrus, Holleaux concluded (*Klio* XIII p. 138f.) that Philip's influence was dominant in Teos at the time and that, therefore, the embassies were sent to Crete in 201, after his invasion of Asia Minor (see Chap. I note 39). There is no evidence, however, that Philip occupied Teos during this invasion, and

there is no reason to suppose that the envoys to Crete were not sent at the same time as those who went to Greece. As Ruge pointed out (*R.E.* v A 549), the presence of a representative of Antiochus would be hard to explain were Philip master of Teos, whereas that of Philip's representative, in view of the King's great influence in Crete, is readily understandable. For the reply of the Senate see *I.G.R.* IV 1557 = *Syll.*[3] 601, a letter of M. Valerius Messalla, praetor in 193 B.C. Menippus, who, according to this letter, presented the Teans' request, was one of Antiochus's envoys sent to Rome in the spring of this year; see Livy XXXIV 57, 6f.: Diodorus XXVIII 15, 2f.: Appian *Syr.* 6. Holleaux observed (*ibid.* p. 156f.) that Antiochus, whose representative had aided the Teans in Crete and who was still nominally on friendly terms with Rome, was the natural intermediary. Messalla's letter declared Teos and its territory *ἱεράν, καθὼς καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, καὶ ἄσυλον καὶ ἀφορολόγητον ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων*; this last adjective, since there was no question of any payment of *φόρος* by Teos to Rome, can mean only the recognition of the city as independent (see below note 85).

40. For the relations between Rome and the city-states see the present author in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 161f., containing much of the material included in the following pages. For the appearance of the myth of the Trojan foundation of Rome in the third, perhaps even in the fourth, century see Bickerman in *Class. Weekly* XXXVII (1943-44), p. 94. For the "inclusion" of Ilium in the Treaty of Phoenice see Chap. I note 35. In 197 B.C. the envoys of Lampsacus based their plea for Roman protection (*I.G.R.* IV 179 = *Syll.*[3] 591, see below note 51) on the ground of their *συγγένεια* with Rome, a "kinship" evidently founded on the theory that Lampsacus, as a member of the Ilian Federation (see Chap. III note 53), was "akin" to Ilium and so to Rome. For the "ancient letter" see Suetonius *Claud.* 25, 3 and for the date and circumstances see Tacitus *Ann.* XII 58, 1, where we are told that the young Nero by an eloquent speech, in which he related the story of Aeneas *aliaque haud procul fabulis vetera*, brought it to pass *ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur*. The genuineness of the "letter" has been widely accepted and the monarch (*Seleucus rex*) generally identified with Seleucus II; see *e.g.* De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* III 1, p. 277 and III 2, p. 416: Stähelin in *R.E.* II A 1240: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 663. Its authenticity was rejected, on the other hand, by Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 153, note 4 and p. 281, by Willrich in *Klio* III (1903), p. 404, by Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 203, and especially by Holleaux in *Rome, la Grèce et les Monarchies Hellénistiques*, pp. 5f. and 46f. and in *C.A.H.* VII p. 823. Holleaux pointed out that little credence can be placed in the statement of Justin (XXVIII 1, 5f.) that (about 239 B.C.) the Romans bade the Aetolians set the Acarnanians free because their ancestors had not taken part in the war against Troy, and also that Rome could not have made a treaty with Seleucus II, since, according to all precedent, this would have been renewed by his sons, whereas in 198 Antiochus III had no such treaty and, in fact, attempted in 193 to conclude one. Both Niese and Holleaux, however, assumed that

the "letter" was an invention of the Romans; it is much more probable that it was a fabrication of the Ilians, who presumably bolstered up their request for *immunitas* by what they hoped would be regarded as documentary evidence.

41. For the occupation of Samos by Philip see Polybius III 2, 8 and XVI 2, 4: Appian *Mac.* 4, 1. For the "ships in Samos," which, according to Polybius XVI 2, 9, took part in the battle of Chios (see Chap. I note 39), and the 700 Egyptians captured by the Rhodians and Attalus in this battle (Polybius XVI 7, 6) see Holleaux in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 454f. and *R.E.A.* XXIII (1921), pp. 181f. and 187f., who showed that as many of the Egyptian ships lying in the harbour as could be manned were added to the Macedonian navy. A decree found in the Samian Heraeum, which praises a physician for his services during a "blockade of the city" and a "siege of the acropolis," published by Klaffenbach in *A.M.* LI (1926), p. 28f., no. 2, was connected by the editor with Philip's occupation of the place, but the connexion was doubted by Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 153, note 1.

42. The unnamed city which, according to Polybius XVI 2, 1f., Philip was vainly besieging just before the naval battle of Chios was evidently Chios; see van Gelder *Gesch. d. alten Rhodier*, p. 123, note 3 and Holleaux in *Klio* IX p. 450f. and *R.E.A.* XXII (1920), p. 252f. Philip's siege of Chios is mentioned in Plutarch *Mul. Virt.* 3; the statement of Appian (*Mac.* 4, 1) that he captured it is clearly incorrect.

43. Polybius XVI 15, 6; 24, 9. In the latter passage the territory is said to be that of Myus (see Chap. III note 81); the statement, however, that Philip gave it to the Magnesians "in return for figs," with which, having no grain, they supplied him, can hardly be taken literally. For the war between Miletus and Magnesia which in all probability resulted from this gift see below note 47.

44. Polybius XVIII 44 = Livy XXXIII 30, an abbreviated form of the senatus consultum containing the terms of peace. It particularly specified in regard to Euromus, Pedasa (Pidasa, see below note 78), Bargylia, Iasus, Abydus, Myrina on Lemnos, Perinthus in Thrace and the island of Thasos that Philip must *ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖναι, τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταστησάμενον* (see also Livy XXXIV 32, 5). The evacuation of the Carian cities, as well as Abydus (captured in 200, see Chap. III note 120) and Perinthus had, in fact, been part of the Rhodians' original demands; see Polybius XVIII 2, 3f. and 8, 9 = Livy XXXII 33, 6f. and 35, 10. According to Polybius XVIII 44, 2, the senatus consultum declared that *τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους Ἕλληνας πάντας* (inaccurately rendered by Livy as *omnes Graecorum civitates*) should be free and autonomous. The *ἄλλους* is scarcely to be understood with Larsen in *C.P.* XXXI (1936), p. 345 as indicating all cities "for which other arrangements were not made"; for the phrase is evidently antithetical to the following (§ 3) *τοὺς δὲ ταττομένους ὑπὸ Φίλιππον καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐμφρούρους*, which the King was ordered to surrender to the Romans.

The more general statement in Appian *Mac.* 9, 3, *τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ἦσαν Ἑλληνίδες ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ πάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι* is hardly accurate. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, Roman commanders went to Bargylia and Thasos to arrange for their freedom and, in the case of the former, probably also for the departure of the soldiers of Philip who had retreated to the city in 197 (see Chap. I note 40); see Polybius XVIII 48, 2 and 50, 1 = Livy XXXIII 35, 2 and 39, 2: Plutarch *Flam.* 12, 1. It may be presumed that plans were made to arrange for the freedom of other cities also, but in the case of Iasus, at least, any such action was forestalled by the surrender of the city to Antiochus III (see below note 49). It was pointed out by Täubler (*Imp. Rom.* I p. 433f.) that the recognition in the treaty of the freedom of these cities amounted to a guarantee by the two contracting parties, and (p. 438) that the Asianic cities, as already existing independent states not occupied by Roman forces, received a recognition of full sovereignty—a sure indication that the Romans at this time were really in earnest in regard to refraining from entering Asia.

45. *Milet* I 3, p. 334f., no. 147, with comments by von Wilamovitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 103f., E. Weiss in *J.O.A.I.* XVII (1914), *Beibl.* 257f. and A. M. Andreades *Hist. of Greek Public Finance* I p. 177. This loan bore interest at twelve per cent, payable as an annuity to the subscriber during his life and, after his death, to a beneficiary named by him, but without the ultimate return of the principal.

46. *Milet* I 3, p. 326f., no. 145 = *Syll.*[3] 577 = E. Ziebarth *Aus. d. Griech. Schulwesen*[2] (Leipzig 1914), p. 2f., a decree of the *demos* ordering that the donation be deposited in a special account in the public bank, drawing interest at the rate of ten per cent annually, which was to be used for carrying out the purposes of the gift. The decree also specified the salaries to be paid to the instructors (four *παιδοτρίβαι* and four *γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι*) and ordered that the excess income should be spent for an annual sacrifice to Apollo with a procession of the teachers and the boys.

47. *Milet* I 3, p. 341f., no. 148 = *Syll.*[3] 588 = F. Mezger *Inscr. Miles. de Pace cum Magnetibus facta* (Munich 1914), p. 1f. The Asianic states, besides Rhodes, which acted as mediators were Cnidus, Myndus, Samos, Halicarnassus, Caunus (?), Mylasa (?), Teos and Cyzicus. Those from Greece, in addition to the Achaeans and Athenians, were Megalopolis and Antigoneia. It was observed by Rehm (*Milet* I pp. 344f. and 348) that in the year in which the treaty was concluded the Magnesians founded a festival for Zeus Sosipolis (*Ins. Magn.* 98 = *Syll.*[3] 589), from which it may be inferred that they regarded the outcome of the war as a victory. The services of a citizen of Priene [*ἐν τῷ πο*]*λέμῳ τῷ γενομένῳ ἡμ*[*ῖν πρὸς Μι*]*λησίους*, praised in *Ins. Priene* 26, are perhaps to be connected with this war.

48. For Magnesia and Teos see above notes 38 and 39. For Alabanda see *O.G.I.* 234 (about 203/2 B.C.) and below Chap. V note 31. See also E. Degen

Krit. Ausführung z. Gesch. Antiochus d. Grossen (Basle 1918), p. 30f. For Amyzon see Welles, nos. 38 (203 B.C., a promise of the privileges enjoyed during the city's alliance with Ptolemy) and 39-40 (*ἀσυλία* of the sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis). For Tralles and Nysa see Welles, nos. 41 and 43 and Chap. V notes 29 and 27. Antiochus later sought to extend his influence in southwestern Phrygia by appointing a high-priestess for his wife Laodice, similar to the high-priests appointed in other places in his kingdom; see *O.G.I.* 224 = Welles, nos. 36-37, dated, after a long controversy, by Holleaux (*B.C.H.* LIV [1930], p. 250f. = *Études* III p. 169f.) in May, 204, after Antiochus's return from the East to Antioch, but in 193 by Robert (*Hellenica* VII [1949], p. 14f.) on the evidence of a similar inscription from Persia. Berenice, described as daughter of Ptolemaeus, son of Lysimachus, who was the first incumbent, was probably a descendant of the Ptolemaeus, son of Lysimachus, who appears in *T.A.M.* II 1 = *O.G.I.* 55 (240 B.C.) as having "received" Telmessus in Lycia from Ptolemy III; see Welles, p. 161 and, for the identity of this man, Chap. I note 56.

49. Livy XXXIII 20, 11f. It was pointed out by Klaffenbach in *A.M.* LI (1926), p. 32, note 3, that the statement of Livy, *curam non omiserunt (Rhodii) tuendae libertatis civitatum sociarum Ptolomaei*, does not mean, as frequently supposed (see *e.g.* Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 640), that the Rhodians declared these cities free. Nor may we assume with Holleaux in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 178 that they were taken under the "control" of Rhodes. The subsequent claim of the Rhodians that they had bought Caunus from the generals of Ptolemy V (see Chap. III note 73) indicates that at least the three Carian cities remained in their "alliance" with Egypt. The "defence" of the independence of these communities—*quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat*—was, accordingly, the assurance of protection against any act of aggression such as the King committed in Cilicia and in Lycia. Samos, Halicarnassus, Myndus and perhaps also Caunus were all free city-states in 196 B.C., when they were mediators in the war between Miletus and Magnesia (see above note 47). For Cos see Herzog in *Arch. Jahrb.* XX (1905), *Arch. Anz.* p. 11 and *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 231, note 2, mentioning an unpublished fragment of a letter of Antiochus to the city. For Iasus and Rhodes about 204 see above Chap. I note 37. For the decree honouring Antiochus for preserving the [δημοκρ]ατ[ί]αν καὶ αὐ[τ]ονομίαν of Iasus see *O.G.I.* 237, and for the King's garrison in the city in 190 see Livy XXXVII 17, 3f.

50. *I.G.* XI 4, 1298 = *Syll.*[3] 1158 I and *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 93 (declaration of Delphi, copies from Delos and Delphi), dated, on the basis of the lettering, at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century: *I.G.* XI 4, 1027 = *Syll.*[3] 1158 II (decree of Delos). The declaration of the oracle was made on the occasion of the foundation by Cyzicus of the festival of the Soteria in honour of Κόρη Σώτειρα. The festival is called τὰ Κόρεια in Strabo II p. 98. For the Goddess see Appian *Mith.* 75: Plutarch *Luc.* 10: *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 17: *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 537, no. 2; LIX (1935), p. 93:

I.G.R. I 802; IV 949: *Coll. Wadd.* nos. 697f. and 716f. See also Chap. XXVI note 11. For the mysteries of the Goddess, held in the precinct called *τὸ κάλλιον*, see Hasluck *Cyzicus*, pp. 213 and 252 and Robert *Hellenica* I (1940), p. 11, note 8.

51. *I.G.R.* IV 179=*Syll.*[3] 591, a decree honouring the leader of the embassy, interpreted by Bikerman in *Philol.* LXXXVII (1932), p. 277f. Since the envoys appeared before the Senate before the signing of the treaty in the early summer of 196 and had previously travelled from Lampsacus to Massalia and back to Rome, they can scarcely have left home later than the autumn of 197 and so about the time of Antiochus's arrival in Ephesus (see Chap. I note 49). It was supposed by Degen (*Krit. Ausführung*, p. 44f.) that Antiochus's attempts against both Lampsacus and Smyrna (see below notes 52 and 53) were made at this time; while this may be true in the case of Smyrna, which he attacked *ab Epheso* (Livy XXXIII 38, 4), it can hardly apply to a place as far distant as Lampsacus. For the significance of the petition of the Lampsacene envoys *ὅπως συμπεριληφθῶμεν [ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις] ταῖς γενομέναις Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τὸμ [β]α[σιλέα]* as a request to be taken under the protection of Rome see Bikerman *ibid.* p. 278f. and in *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 61f. and Chap. I note 35. The account of the envoys' interview with Flamininus has been lost, but since there is no mention of Lampsacus in the summary of the treaty with Philip contained in Polybius XVIII 44, 2f.=Livy XXXIII 30, 2f., the city was evidently not "included" in it. Since Lampsacus, like the other cities of the Troad, was not subject to Attalus (see above note 36), there seems to be no ground for Bikerman's assumption (*ibid.* p. 285) that during the war between Attalus and Philip it made itself independent of Pergamum. The incorrectness of the frequent assumption that this decree shows that Lampsacus was in danger of an attack by the Galatians was pointed out by Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XVIII (1916), p. 1f.

52. Alexandria Troas, Smyrna and Lampsacus appear together in Livy XXXV 42, 2 (192 B.C.) as the three cities which Antiochus *neque vi expugnare ad eam diem poterat neque condicionibus in amicitiam perlicere*. As this is the first appearance of Alexandria Troas among the cities threatened by Antiochus, Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 69, note 2) and Bikerman (*Herm.* LXVII [1932], p. 65), followed by Hansen (*Attalids*, p. 73), assumed that it did not join Lampsacus and Smyrna in their resistance until this year. The wording of the passage, however, suggests that Antiochus's efforts against all three cities had been maintained for some time, and it is hard to see how Alexandria, if it had once submitted to him, could have defied him later, especially as he had a garrison at Abydus. Moreover, the statement in Livy XXXIV 57, 2 and 59, 4 that in 193 there were envoys in Rome *ex universa Graecia et magna parte Asiae*, while doubtless exaggerated, shows that cities other than Lampsacus and Smyrna were represented, and it seems very probable that Alexandria, which was resisting Antiochus in 192, was one of them. For Antiochus's sacrifice to Athena Ilias in 192 see Livy XXXV

43, 3. A letter written to the Ilians by a monarch, who promised to "preserve their ancestral privileges," (*I.G.R.* IV 192 = Welles, no. 42), to be dated, because of the lettering, at the end of the third century, was probably written by Antiochus. A fragment of an inscription containing an oath either in the name of a king called Antiochus or of allegiance to him, has been connected, because of the mention of Lysimacheia in Thrace, with Antiochus III; see Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion* p. 448, no. III.

53. Livy XXXIII 38, 3f. For the envoys of Smyrna and Lampsacus at the conference held at Lysimacheia see Polybius XVIII 52 and Appian *Syr.* 2. For the creation of the cult of Roma see Tacitus *Ann.* IV 56, where it is said that the temple was built in 195 B.C. For the significance of its creation see O. Hirschfeld in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 835 = *Kl. Schriften*, p. 473f. and Wissowa *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*[2] (Munich 1912), p. 338f. For this cult in the Asianic cities see Appendix III.

54. For Antiochus's hope see Livy XXXIII 38, 2. According to Appian *Syr.* 2, the majority of the Greek cities, fearing capture, joined Antiochus and received his garrisons. The presence in Rome in 193, however, of envoys from "a large part of Asia" (Livy XXXIV 57, 2, see above note 52) suggests that Appian's statement is exaggerated; in any case, it shows only that if many cities did submit, it was not for long. The version found in Hieronymus *in Daniel.* XI 18 (V p. 589 Migne) = Porphyrius frg. 47 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1224) that Antiochus captured Rhodes, Samos, Colophon and Phocaea is clearly incorrect; of these places only Phocaea surrendered to him (see below note 56).

55. For the negotiations with Antiochus see Chap. I note 50. For the view that the freedom of the Greeks was a mere pretext see Holleaux *Rome, la Grèce etc.* p. 326f.: De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 226f.: Bikerman in *Herm.* LXVII (1932), p. 66f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 113f. For the suggestion that had Antiochus accepted their terms the Romans would have sacrificed the cities see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 69, note 1: Degen *Krit. Ausführung*, p. 64f.: Passerini in *Athenaeum* X (1932), p. 333. For the significance of the policy adopted by Rome see Bikerman *ibid.* pp. 53 and 60f., who held without good reason that Antiochus could not accept the existence of the cities as buffer-states without danger to his dominions in Asia. Bikerman also, in conformity with his view that the cities formed part of the territory "won by the spear" (see above Chap. III note 12), advanced (p. 50f.) the argument (Livy XXXV 16, 4f.) that the cities belonged to the King by right of conquest and regarded (p. 58f.) their autonomy as revocable by Antiochus at his pleasure. In view of the position taken by both the Greeks and Rome that Antiochus's measures constituted a direct aggression, we are perhaps hardly justified in supposing with A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 99) that "the later attitude of the kings to the question of Greek autonomy is well illustrated" by them.

56. For Ephesus see Livy XXXVI 41, 1; 42, 6; 45, 4f.; XXXVII 10, 10; 11, 2; 13, 6; 14, 6; 17, 1; 26, 1 (=Polybius XXI 11, 13): Appian *Syr.* 24. For Magnesia, Iasus and Teos see Livy XXXVII 10, 12f. (where the addition of *ad Sipylum* in 11, 3 is evidently a gloss); 17, 3; 27, 3f. For Phocaea see Polybius XXI 6, 1 (=Livy XXXVII 9, 1f.); 6, 2f.: Livy XXXVII 11, 15; 32: Appian *Syr.* 22 and 25. It afterward surrendered to the commander of the Roman fleet, who, after his soldiers had pillaged the city, gave back its territory and its civic rights (Livy XXXVII 32). For the surrender of Cyme and other places in Aeolis to Antiochus's son Seleucus see Livy XXXVII 11, 15 and Appian *Syr.* 25. For Chios and Samos see Livy XXXVI 43, 11; XXXVII 10, 11f.; 12, 6f.; 27, 1f. For the incorrect statement that Samos surrendered to Antiochus see above note 54. For Cos, Erythrae, Mitylene, Smyrna, Miletus, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Myndus see Livy XXXVII 10, 11; 11, 13f.; 12, 5 and 10; 16, 1f.; 21, 6; 22, 2. Clazomenae seems also to have supported the Allies, for in the arrangements made at Apameia (see below note 60) it received the island of Drymussa, presumably as a reward. Adramyttium, evidently sympathizing with the Allies, was saved from an attack by Antiochus by the appearance of the Roman fleet; see Livy XXXVII 19, 8; 21, 4. Notium was besieged by a force commanded by Antiochus himself, but after his defeat in the naval battle of Myonnesus the King abandoned his attempt to take the city; see Livy XXXVII 26, 5f.; 31, 3.

57. Polybius XXI 13, 3f.; 14, 2=Livy XXXVII 35, 2f.: Diodorus XXIX 7: Appian *Syr.* 29. The inference of Degen *Krit. Ausführung*, p. 43f. from the use of the words *παραχωρεῖν* and *ἐκχωρεῖν*, attributed by Polybius to Antiochus's envoy, that Lampsacus, Smyrna and Alexandria Troas had meanwhile surrendered to the King does not seem justified.

58. A letter written by the Roman commander to the "Council and People" of Heracleia ad Latmum in reply to a decree brought by envoys promised freedom and the right to be governed by its own laws both to Heracleia and to *τ[αῖς ἄλ]λαις πόλεσιν ὅσαι ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔδωκαν*; see *Syll.*[3] 618=*S.E.G.* II 566. The name of the commander is lost, but it was shown by De Sanctis in *Atti Accad. Torino* LVII (1921-22), p. 117f. and Holleaux in *Riv. Fil.* LII (1924), p. 29f. that the letter was written, not, as previously supposed, by Cn. Manlius Vulso, but by the Scipios. A fragment of a decree (*S.E.G.* II 536), attributed to Heracleia by Robert in *Istros* II (1935-36), p. 2, contains mention of a king, who was regarded as Antiochus III by M. Segre in *Rend. Pontific. Accad. Rom. d. Arch.* XVII (1940-41), p. 34f. If so, Heracleia was under his domination. Another letter, found in the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Clarius between Colophon and Notium, which was written by the Scipios in reply to a request brought by envoys, presumably in 190, to *Κολοφ(ω)νίων τῇ [βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δή]μῳ* appears to have guaranteed the inviolability of the Temple; see *S.E.G.* I 440=IV 567=*Ann. Ép.* 1925, 107. It was supposed by Keil in *R.E.* XVII 1076 that the *Κολοφώνιοι* of this letter were in reality the people of Notium. It seems more probable, however, that the request to the Scipios was made

by the mother-city. A letter from the Scipios to Heracleia Pontica is quoted in Memnon 26, 2.

59. Polybius XXI 17, 11f.; 18, 2; 22, 3; 24, 4 = Livy XXXVII 45, 21; 52, 1; 54, 2f.; 55, 4. For the speeches of Eumenes and the Rhodian ambassador see Polybius XXI 19-21 and 22, 6-24, 12 and Livy XXXVII 53 and 54, 3-28 (free and, in places, amplified versions of Polybius). For the view that they were composed by Polybius for the purpose of showing the attitude toward the cities of the Pergamenes and the Rhodians, respectively, in the second century see Bikerman in *R.E.G.* L (1937), p. 232f. For the ancient historians' practice of inserting fictitious speeches see Diodorus XX 1f.

60. For the arrangements made at Apameia see Polybius XXI 24, 6f. = Livy XXXVII 55, 5f. (the general instructions given by the Senate to the commissioners) and XXI 46 (48), 2f. = Livy XXXVIII 39, 7f. (the actual measures taken) and the briefer and inaccurate accounts in Diodorus XXIX 11 and Appian *Syr.* 44. Polybius's accounts are obviously incomplete and lacking in precision. Whereas they contain information concerning the rewards given to certain of the free cities, there is no mention of Lampsacus or Alexandria Troas and no general statement about the arrangements made for all those which supported Rome during the war. Such a statement, however, is found in Livy XXXVII 56, 2, where the instructions given to the commissioners include the order that Eumenes was to receive Mysia, Lydia and Ionia *extra ea oppida quae liberae fuissent quo die cum rege Antiocho pugnatum est* (*i.e.* at Magnesia), a clause not found in the version of Polybius and so presumably taken from some Roman source but evidently a reliable one, perhaps depending on an official document containing the Senate's instruction; see Mommsen *Röm. Forsch.* II p. 523f., followed by De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 225, note 184, Holleaux in *R.E.G.* XLV (1932), p. 13, note 1 and Bikerman in *R.E.G.* L (1937), p. 223f. It is evident from this clause that the independence of those free cities which had supported Rome was to be confirmed. Polybius's account of the measures taken at Apameia, moreover, omits all mention of Ilium, whereas the corresponding version of Livy contains (§ 10) the information that the commissioners gave the Ilians Rhoeteium and Gergis and declared the neighbouring Dardanus free, an addition which is probably an insertion from some Roman annalist, who wished to emphasize the relationship of Ilium to Rome; see Mommsen *ibid.* II p. 538 and Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 760, note 2. There is no reason, however, for supposing that it is untrue. Ilium had, to be sure, received Antiochus in 192 (see above note 52), but both it and Dardanus, as well as Rhoeteium, surrendered to the Romans on their arrival in Asia; see Livy XXXVII 9, 7 and 37, 1f. But the inaccuracy of Polybius is most evident in the statement (XXI 46, 2f.) that those *autonomous* (Ἑλληνίδες in XXI 24, 8) cities which had previously paid a φόρος to Antiochus but had supported Rome in the war were to be exempt from φόρος, while those which had paid a σύνταξις to Attalus should

continue to pay a φόρος to Eumenes and those which, deserting Rome, had sided with Antiochus should likewise pay a φόρος to Eumenes. The use in this statement of the terms φόρος and σύνταξις as synonyms, without regard to the distinction between them, has given rise to considerable confusion as to the precise meaning of the two terms; see Chap. III note 14. But a more serious error, as Bikerman pointed out (*ibid.* p. 229f.), was Polybius's failure to state clearly that all the cities (save, of course, those in Caria), whether Pergamene or Seleucid allies, which had supported Antiochus during the war should be subject to Eumenes. This principle was enforced in the case of Ephesus, which did not surrender until after the defeat of Antiochus (Livy XXXVII 45, 1). It was not enforced, however, in the case of Phocaea, which recovered its πάτριον πολίτευμα (Polybius XXI 46, 7), or perhaps in that of Magnesia-on-Maeander, which, although it did not surrender to the Romans until after the war (Livy *l.c.*), obtained from the Scipios (or so its envoys claimed in A.D. 22) the right of inviolability for its temple (Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 1). Another source of confusion is Polybius's implication that cities which were "autonomous" (or Ἑλληνίδες) had paid a φόρος either to Attalus or to Antiochus, since this represents them as at the same time autonomous and tributary, a condition for which there is no convincing evidence (see Chap. III note 14). There is no reason to believe that the free cities which entered into an alliance with Attalus in 218 became his subjects or paid tribute to him (see above note 36), and the explanation of Bikerman (*ibid.* p. 219) that during the years 196-193 Antiochus had exacted tribute from the cities which he had seized is based only on the demand attributed to the Romans by the King's envoy at Corinth in 193 as recorded in Diodorus XXVIII 15, 2 (Ἀντίοχον) παρ' ἐνίων (*i.e.* πόλεων) τοὺς ὀφειλομένους φόρους μὴ λαμβάνειν (somewhat differently stated in the parallel passages in Livy XXXIV 57, 10 and Appian *Syr.* 6). The difficulty may be explained by supposing that in this case αὐτόνομοι does not denote the "free and autonomous" cities but is used loosely for those which were in fact subject but had Hellenic civic institutions permitting a certain degree of local autonomy. Such, for example, were the Seleucid cities Sardis and Tralles (see Chap. V note 40) and possibly certain Pergamene communities, such as Stratoniceia on the upper Caïcus and Attaleia on the border of Lydia. It is perhaps more probable, however, that the confusion, if not due to Polybius himself (or to his source), may have arisen from the wording of the instructions given to the commissioners, which, after the usual manner of such documents, envisaged all possibilities and provided that any autonomous cities (if such there were) which had paid tribute to Attalus should continue to pay it to Eumenes and any (if there were any) which had paid it to Antiochus and had opposed Rome should also pay it thenceforth to the Pergamene King. In any case, this lack of precision in Polybius's account of the arrangements at Apameia is highly unfortunate, for it has served as a basis for the frequently expressed view that a "free and autonomous" city paid a regular and fixed sum of money to the kings.

61. For the territory granted to Rhodes in 188 see, in addition to Polybius XXI 46, 8 (see above note 60), the somewhat fuller statement in Livy XXXVII 56, 5f. (from a Roman source), according to which the Rhodians received Lycia, except Telmessus (which was given to Eumenes II, see Chap. I note 56), and all Caria south of the Maeander, except those cities which were free at the outbreak of the war with Antiochus. The gift, therefore, did not include the coast cities of Miletus, Heracleia ad Latmum, Iasus, Bargylia, Myndus, Halicarnassus and Cnidus, or the inland cities of Euromus, Pidasa and Mylasa, for these were either recognized as free by the Romans at the time of their treaty with Philip in 196 or declared free by the commissioners at Apameia. The possessions of Rhodes in interior Caria were governed by a ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας (*Syll.*[3] 619 and *Clara Rhodos* II p. 192, no. 20, see below note 62). These possessions included, in addition to Stratoniceia (see Chap. III note 73), the neighbouring Panamara (Holleaux *Études* I p. 411 = Michel 479, an ἀποσταλεὶς ἐπιστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων, see below note 62), Mobolla (Muğla) (Holleaux p. 410 = Michel 1189 = *S.G.D.I.* 4276, a Rhodian ἐπιστάτης, perhaps after Sulla's restoration of this region to Rhodes, see below note 68), and Hyllarima in the mountains between the Marsyas and the Harpasus (*B.C.H.* LVIII [1934], p. 345f., no. 39 and p. 371, a priesthood of τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου). For Euromus and Orthosia (attacked by Mylasa) see below note 65.

62. *I.G.* XII 1, 49 = *Syll.*[3] 619, a list of officials, contains a στραταγὸς [εἰ]ς τὸ Πέραν (corresponding to the στραταγὸς ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν on the island of Rhodes), a ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καύνου, a ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας and a ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας. It was pointed out by Hiller von Gaertringen in *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 385f. and *R.E. Suppl.* V 793 that this list belongs to the period 188-167 and is not to be dated about 60 B.C., as supposed by Holleaux in *R. Phil.* XVII (1893), p. 182f. = *Études* I p. 393f.; see also Robert in Holleaux *Études* I p. 394, note 1. The στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸ Πέραν or ἐν τῷ Πέραν appears also in other inscriptions of the second and first centuries; see *I.G.* XII 1, 1036 = *Syll.*[3] 586: *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 382f., no. 4 = *S.G.D.I.* 3789: Maiuri *N.S.* 18: *Clara Rhodos* II p. 192, no. 20 and p. 198f., no. 31 (all from Rhodes): *J.H.S.* XVI (1896), p. 221, no. 15 (from Cyllandus in Caria): *Ann. Scuol. Atene* IV-V (1924), p. 479, no. 33 = *S.E.G.* IV 178 (from Cedreae in Caria). The longer form, στραταγήσας ἐπὶ τᾶς εἰς τὸ Πέραν χώρας, is found in *Clara Rhodos* II p. 188f., no. 18 (from Rhodes). In the list of officials cited above, the ἀγεμών is evidently subordinate to the στραταγός; this relationship between the two offices appears also in *Clara Rhodos* II p. 192, no. 20 and in the inscription from Cedreae cited above, in the former of which the στραταγός is described as γενόμενος ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας, in the latter as ἀγεμὼν [γενόμ]ενος ἐν Μεγ[ί]στ[ῃ] κατὰ πόλεμον. A γενόμενος ἀγεμὼν ἄμισθος ἐπί τε Ἀρτούβων καὶ Παραβλείας appears in an inscription of the κοινὸν τῶν Ταρμιανῶν found at Muğla in inland Caria and dated, on the evidence of the lettering, in the first century before Christ; see Michel 1188 = *S.G.D.I.* 4275. In the first century the coast district belonging to Rhodes was under the command of a ἀγησάμενος ἐπὶ

Ἀ[π]ε[ίρου] καὶ Φύσκου καὶ [Χε]ρσο[ν]ά(σ)ου κ[αὶ] Σύμας δὶς πρᾶτος, the neighbouring island of Syme being included in his command; see Holleaux *Études* I p. 432f.=*S.G.D.I.* 4267. Under the Roman emperors the official in charge of this district was called ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Χερσο[νά]σου καὶ Σύμας (Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1911, p. 60f., no. 52 β′=*Syll.*[3] 819, A.D. 81-96), or στρατηγὸς Χερρονήσου καὶ Σύμας (*ibid.* no. 52 γ′=*Mnem.* XLI [1913], p. 12f., A.D. 210), or [στρατη]γὸς ἐπὶ Χερσο[νάσου] καὶ Σύμας (*ibid.* p. 63, no. 53), all found at Ortaci (ancient Thyssanus) on the western side of the peninsula of Loryma. Of a lower rank than the ἡγεμόνες were the ἐπιστάται, charged by the Rhodian government with the general supervision of the individual communities and with the duties both of a civil governor and of a military commander; see Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XVII (1893), p. 52f.=*Études* I p. 409f.; XVIII (1894), p. 392f.=*Études* I p. 429f.; LVII (1933), p. 26f.=*Études* III pp. 217 and 254: van Gelder in *Mnem.* XXIV (1896), p. 248f. and *Gesch. d. alt. Rhodier*, p. 261f.: A. Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher d. Hellenismus*, p. 29f. They are found in the following places: Stratoniceia (Holleaux *Études* I p. 411=Michel 479, a decree of the κοινὸν τῶν Παναμαρέων, apparently of the early second century); Mobolla (Muğla) (Holleaux, p. 410=*S.G.D.I.* 4276=Michel 1189); Daedala (*T.A.M.* II 163); the island of Megiste (Holleaux *Études* I p. 427f.=*S.G.D.I.* 4332: *C.I.G.* 4301 b=*S.G.D.I.* 4330: *B.C.H.* XVI [1892], p. 304f., no. 1 [=*S.G.D.I.* 4331] and no. 2; XXIII [1899], p. 333, no. 1: *Rev. Biblique* XIV [1917], p. 291f., nos. 12 and 23). The island of Syros, which was independent but regarded itself under Rhodian protection, requested the Republic to send it an ἐπιστάτης; see *I.G.* XII 5, 652=Holleaux *Études* I p. 412.

63. Polybius XXII 5 (188 B.C.), where it is related that the Roman commissioners, in spite of a request from the Ilians to pardon the Lycians, gave the latter to Rhodes ἐν δωρεᾷ. The Lycians, however, expecting to be allies and not subjects of the Rhodians, refused to submit to their rule. It was pointed out by O. Treuber *Gesch. d. Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887), p. 159 that this refusal was the first of the three "wars" which the Rhodians, according to their envoy at Rome, had been forced to wage against Lycia; see Polybius XXX 31 (XXXI 7), 4 and Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 81f. For the assistance given to the Rhodians by Eumenes II see Polybius XXIV 15 (9), 13 (180 B.C.). They had previously (in 182 B.C.) prevented him, during his war with Pharnaces I of Pontus, from blockading the Hellespont in order to keep merchantmen from entering the Euxine (Polybius XXVII 7, 5).

64. Polybius XXV 4f.: Livy XLI 6, 8f., containing a highly-coloured description of Rhodian rule in Lycia. The arrival of the Lycian embassy in Rome was placed by Polybius in 177, by Livy, from an annalistic source, in 178, evidently a year too early. In 174 the Rhodians were again engaged in suppressing a revolt in Lycia, which, in spite of Eumenes's previous assistance against the Lycians, they afterward declared had been fomented by him; see Livy XLI 25, 8; XLII 14, 8: Polybius XXVII 7, 6: Appian *Maced.* II, 3. It was suggested by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923 VIII p. 20f. that

the union of Miletus and Pidasa in 176/5 and the treaty between Miletus and Heracleia in 173/2 (see below notes 78 and 79) indicate a troubled condition of affairs connected with the diminution of Rhodes's power which resulted from the Senate's declaration of 177. The clause of the treaty, however, by which the Milesians and Heracleots bound themselves to do nothing *ὑπεναντίον τῇ πρὸς Ῥοδίους συμμαχίᾳ* shows that the prestige of Rhodes was still considerable.

65. Polybius xxx 5, 11 and 13f. = Livy xlv 25, 11f., recording the revolt of Caunus, aided by Cibyra, and relating that troops sent by Mylasa seized *τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις* (see Chap. III note 130) and that a combined force from Mylasa and Alabanda attacked Orthosia (presumably the place of this name near the lower Harpasus). For the overtures made by Alabanda to Rome see Chap. V note 32.

66. In 171 the Rhodians replied to Perseus's envoys, who came to ask for the good offices of the Republic in the event of war, that they would do nothing contrary to the wishes of Rome, and after the war broke out they offered the Romans some warships; see Polybius xxvii 4, 3f.; 7, 13f.: Livy xlii 56, 6. There was, however, a faction in Rhodes which favoured Perseus and sought to alienate the Rhodians from the Romans; see Polybius xxvii 7, 10f.; xxviii 2, 3f.; 16, 1; 17, 12. In 169 Rhodian envoys approached the Roman general Philippus in Macedonia, but were referred by him to the Senate (Polybius xxviii 16f. and Appian *Mac.* 17), and in the following year, after Perseus had tried to persuade the Republic to join him against Rome (Polybius xxix 3, 7f. and 4, 7f. = Livy xliv 23, 4f. and 9), the Rhodians voted to send envoys both to the Romans and to Perseus to negotiate a peace (Polybius xxix 10f.: Livy xliv 29, 7f.). The envoys to Rome, however, did not arrive until 167, after the war had been decided by Paullus's victory at Pydna, and they were forced to substitute their congratulations for an attempt at negotiation (Polybius xxix 19, 1f. = Livy xlv 3, 3f.: Diodorus xxx 24). On the arrival of further envoys, later in the year, a praetor attempted to persuade the Romans to declare war on Rhodes, but the proposal was not successful and the envoys were dismissed with a reproof; see Polybius xxx 4f.: Livy xlv 20, 4f. (partly from an annalistic source): Diodorus xxxi 5, 3: Cassius Dio frg. 68, 2f. Boiss. For Cato's speech in their favour see Gellius vi 3, 7f.

67. Polybius xxx 5, 12: Livy xliv 15, 1 (where the "liberation" is dated two years too early); xlv 25, 6: Appian *Syr.* 44; *Mith.* 62. A monument erected on the Capitoline Hill at Rome contained a dedication to Jupiter by the *κοινόν* of the Lycians, *κομισάμενον τὴν πάτριον δημ[ο]κρατίαν*; see *C.I.L.* i² 725 = vi 30920 = *I.G.* xiv 986 = *I.G.R.* i 61 = *O.G.I.* 551 = Dessau 31. Another monument contained dedications by King Mithradates Philopator Philadelphus, described as *[φίλος καὶ] σύμμαχος* of the Romans, and the *demos* of Tabae in Caria, also described as *φίλ[ος κ]αὶ σύμμαχος Ῥω[μαί]ων*; see *C.I.L.* i² 730 a and b = vi 30922 a and b = *I.G.R.* i 62 and

63 = Dessau 30 = *O.G.I.* 375 (Mithradates only). These monuments were dated by Mommsen and Hülsen in the time of Sulla (see *C.I.L.* I² p. 534), but only on the ground that the Senate's action of 167 resulted merely in the withdrawal of the Rhodian garrisons and that the Lycians did not receive their liberty until Sulla's time and in the belief that this Mithradates was a hypothetical son of Mithradates Eupator (see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 71f.). It was shown, however, by Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 129 that this king was Mithradates IV, who succeeded to the throne of Pontus between 159 and 156 B.C.; see Chap. VIII notes 46 and 48. In view of this date it seems evident that the dedication of the Lycian κοινόν is to be dated, as Franz originally observed (commentary to *C.I.G.* 5880), not long after their liberation in 167; see Treuber *ibid.* p. 167f., note 1 (p. 169): Fougères *De Lyciorum Communi* (Paris 1898), p. 18: Reinach *l.c.* The dedication of Tabae, therefore, should also be dated at this time, which suggests that on the liberation of Lycia and Caria the city was declared a friend and ally of Rome. Another group of monuments, which seems to have stood on the Esquiline Hill, also contained a dedication expressing gratitude to the Roman people *cognatum amicum sociu*[*m*] for a *beneficium erga Lucios in comu*[*ne*] (*C.I.L.* I² 726 = VI 30927 = Dessau 32), and it seems most natural to connect this *beneficium* with the same act of liberation. This monument also included a Latin inscription by the *demos* of Ephesus, *quod optinuit maiorum souom leibertatem*, and a bilingual dedication of Laodiceia-on-Lycus to the Roman people as σωτῆρ καὶ εὐεργέτης, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν; see *C.I.L.* I² 727 and 728 = VI 30925 and 30926 = Dessau 33 and 34 = *I.G.R.* I 65 (Laodiceia only). All these inscriptions were likewise dated by Mommsen and Hülsen in the time of Sulla, but only on the ground that he granted to Ephesus the freedom which had been abolished under the rule of Mithradates Eupator and that the Laodiceians, who had surrendered to the Pontic King (see above p. 214), could have regarded the Romans, when finally victorious, as their "saviours." If, however, the inscription of the Lycians is to be dated soon after 167, it seems most natural to place those of the Ephesians and the Laodiceians about the same time and to suppose that Ephesus, which was evidently independent in 131, when it manned a fleet to aid Rome against Aristonicus (see Chap. VI note 16), and at the end of the first century before Christ, when it sent an envoy to the Senate (Strabo XIV p. 642, see above p. 166), recovered its freedom before the middle of the second century, and that Laodiceia also received some favour about this time; see Magie in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 176, note 1. The Senate's revocation of the grant of Caria and Lycia has served as the basis for a frequently held view that Rome's rights over the territory taken from Antiochus were not given up when this territory was distributed among his allies and that the gifts of land made at this time were revocable; see *e.g.* Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 234: De Sanctis *Stor. d. Rom.* IV 1, p. 355f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 56. It was pointed out, however, by A. Heuss in *Die Völkerrecht. Grundlagen d. röm. Aussenpolitik in Republ. Zeit* = *Klio, Beih.* XXXI (1933), p. 106f. that the enforced surrender by the Rhodians of Caria and Lycia,

like the subsequent evacuation of Caunus and Stratoniceia (see below note 68), was an act of violence on the part of Rome, which could have been resisted only by war. The presence of two Roman commissions in Lycia, perhaps soon after the middle of the second century, is mentioned in a recently-found decree of Araxa; see Chap. X note 30.

68. Polybius XXX 21 (22), 2f.: Appian *Mith.* 23. For the Rhodians' acquisition of Stratoniceia and Caunus see Chap. III note 73. On the basis of two inscriptions from Muğla, one mentioning a Rhodian *ἀγεμών*, the other an *ἐπιστάτης* (*S.G.D.I.* 4275 and 4276, see above note 62), and two other inscriptions, from Pisye and Muğla respectively (*Mnem.* XXIV [1896], p. 193, no. 18 and p. 196, no. 22), in which Rhodians are mentioned, it was maintained by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 56f. and *R.E.* XIX 579) that this region, which may have been Rhodian before 188 (see Chap. III note 72), was not taken from Rhodes at this time. All these inscriptions, however, date from the first century before Christ, and it is perhaps more probable that, as supposed by Holleaux (*Études* I p. 395) and van Gelder (*Gesch. d. alt. Rhodier*, p. 204f.), this part of interior Caria was given back to the Rhodians after the First Mithradatic War by Sulla, who restored to them some of the islands and apparently Caunus also (Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 33); see above p. 233. The objections of A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 389f., note 41) that the Tarmiani (around Muğla) could not have been independent in the second century, since a dispute between Rhodes and Stratoniceia (Holleaux *Études* II p. 194f., see below note 84) shows that the two states had a common boundary and that Sulla would have had to take them from Stratoniceia, whereas in fact he increased the territory of this city (*O.G.I.* 441, see Chap. X note 9), are not necessarily valid; for the common boundary may have been in the neighbourhood of Idyma, at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cos, and Muğla lies well east of the line from Stratoniceia to Idyma.

69. Polybius XXX 31 (XXXI 7), 10f., where the Rhodian ambassador in Rome is represented as saying that the creation of Delos as a free port had resulted in a great diminution of Rhodes's *ἐλλιμένιον*, usually interpreted, *e.g.* by Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 291, note 4 and p. 299, Busolt *Griech. Staatskunde*^{3} I p. 614, note 3, and A. M. Andreades *Hist. of Greek Public Finance*, p. 138, note 5 and p. 147, as customs-duties, a meaning which it has also in *Milet* I 3, no. 149, l. 42f. (see below note 78), but as harbour-dues by Boerner in *R.E.* V 2437, Schwahn in *R.E.* V A 243, van Gelder *ibid.* p. 156, note 1 and Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 356. According to the ambassador, the annual *ἐλλιμένιον* had previously amounted to one million drachmae, which, if the duties were calculated at the usual two per cent, meant that the total volume of trade was estimated as worth fifty million drachmae; see Beloch, p. 299f. and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. V note 96. The interpretation of the passage has been complicated by the emendation of the manuscript-reading *εὑρήκατε* in §12 to *ἀφῃρήκατε* by Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst, which was accepted by Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 196) and

van Gelder (*ibid.* p. 156, note 1). According to this reading, the customs-duties were reduced *by* the sum of 150,000 drachmae, *i.e.* a loss of 15 per cent. It was pointed out, however, by W. S. Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* (London 1911), p. 333, note 1 that so small a loss would scarcely have led to such a bitter complaint and that the reduction was evidently *to* 150,000 drachmae, and this interpretation (in which Bekker's reading εὑρίσκει was adopted) has been widely accepted; see P. Roussel *Delos, Col. Athénienne* (Paris 1916), p. 13, note 7: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* v 797: Larsen *l.c.*: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 771. The *ateleia* of Delos and the consequent trade are mentioned also in Strabo x p. 486.

70. Polybius xxx 4f. (=Livy xlv 20, 4f.); xxx 21 (22), 1f. (=Livy xlv 25, 7); xxx 23 (xxxi 1), 3f.; xxx 31 (xxxi 7), 19f. (=*Livy Per.* xlvi). The *societas* (συμμαχία) was evidently the usual relationship of *amicitia et societas* (see below note 76). The *foedus* whose renewal in 51 B.C. is mentioned in Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* xii 15, 2 cannot be dated.

71. For Calynda see Polybius xxxi 4 (15)f. (163 B.C.). For Ceramus see *J.H.S.* xi (1890), p. 113f., no. 1=Michel 458, dated soon after 167 by the editor (Hicks), followed by van Gelder (p. 158) and Hiller von Gaertringen (*R.E. Suppl.* v 798). The city had recently undergone a δυσχερὴς κατάστασις. Previous to this it had been in a συνπολιτεία (l. 4), which was supposed by Hicks to refer to its membership in the σύστημα of the Chrysaoreis (see Chap. V note 77). It was pointed out by Robert (*Villes*, p. 60f.), however, that membership in this organization did not constitute a *sympoliteia*, but Robert's own suggestion that the *sympoliteia* in question was with Stratoniceia was based solely on the fact that in 81 Ceramus was assigned to Stratoniceia by the Senate (see Chap. X note 9), an arrangement from which no conclusion can be drawn as to its status eighty years earlier.

72. Polybius xxxiii 4; 15, 3-17: Diodorus xxx 37-38; 43-45: Trogus *Prol.* xxxv: Niese *G.M.S.* iii p. 324f.: van Gelder, p. 160f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* v 798f.: Benecke in *C.A.H.* viii p. 292. A decree of the κοίνα ἃ Ποτιδαιέων on Rhodes (*I.G.* xii 1, 1033=*Syll.*[3] 570) honouring a certain Pamphilidas, who defended a stronghold, and a decree of this κοίνα honouring the same man and mentioning a war [ὃν ἐπήνεγκον] Κρηταιεῖς τῷ σύμπα[ντι δάμῳ] were connected with this war by M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* lxi (1933), p. 379f. On the other hand, a decree of Nisyros (*Syll.*[3] 673) in which Hiller von Gaertringen (*l.c.*) saw a reference to this war is rather to be connected with the "Cretan War" of 204 (see Chap. I note 36).

73. For the increase in piracy in the second century see Chap. XII note 9. The Rhodians, nevertheless, continued to maintain a navy; for their ships contributed largely to the failure of Mithradates to capture the Island in 88 B.C.; see Chap. IX note 40.

74. For Rhodes and Mitylene as resorts for those banished from Rome see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* IV 7, 4 and VII 3, 5: Livy *Per.* LXIX: Plutarch *Mar.* 29, 8. For Cicero's stay in Rhodes see Cicero *Brut.* 316 and Plutarch *Cic.* 4, 4. For the visits of Marcus Antonius in 102 B.C., Caesar in 74 and Pompey in 62 see Chap. XII note 12, Chap. X note 44 and Plutarch *Pomp.* 42, 5. For that of the later emperor Tiberius in 6 B.C.-A.D. 2 see Suetonius *Tib.* 11f. In the law enacted under Augustus in A.D. 12, by which exiles from Italy were forbidden to live on the mainland or on an island less than 400 stades from it, there was a special clause excepting Rhodes, Cos, Samos and Lesbos; see Chap. XX note 55.

75. For a description of the status which the cities severally had after the conference at Apameia see Bikerman in *R.E.G.* L (1937), p. 235f. In this list the following cities appear as free: Aegae, Alexandria Troas, Caunus, Chios, Clazomenae, Cos, Cyme, Cyzicus, Dardanus, Erythrae, Halicarnassus, Heracleia ad Latmum, Ilium, Lampsacus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Methymna, Miletus, Mylasa, Myndus, Notium, Phocaea, Pidasa, Priene, Samos, Smyrna, Tenedos. From this list Caunus should be removed, since it was subject to Rhodes and had a Rhodian governor; see Chap. III note 73 and above note 62. On the other hand, Cnidus and Mitylene should be added, since they aided Rome against Antiochus (see Livy XXXVII 12, 5; 16, 2; 21, 6; 22, 2, see above note 56), and, probably, also Eresus, Pitane and Bargylia, since the first two were involved in controversies, and Bargylia acted as referee in a territorial dispute; see below note 84. Of the other cities, according to Bikerman, Lebedus, Priapus, Scepsis, Temnus and Teos were awarded to Pergamum, and the status of Colophon, Iasus, Myrina and Parium is unknown. The subjection of Priapus and Scepsis to the Pergamene kings is definitely stated by Strabo (XIII pp. 588 and 609), but the evidence cited by Bikerman with regard to Temnus, *i.e.* the sack and burning of the Temple of Apollo by Prusias II in 156 B.C. (Polybius XXXII 15 [27], 12) and a fragmentary letter of Eumenes II to the *βουλὴ καὶ* [*δῆμος*] of the city (Welles, no. 48), does not prove that Temnus was subject. In fact, the mention of *πρ*[*ε*]*σβ*[*ευταί*] in Eumenes's letter suggests the contrary, and this is borne out by a decree of Temnus conferring citizenship on a man from Sardis, which is phrased in the customary terms of a decree of a free city; see Keil-Premerstein I p. 96, no. 202, to be dated by the lettering not later than the second century. As regards Lebedus, the fact that the society of the Artists of Dionysus (see Chap. III note 114) moved to it from Teos (Strabo XIV p. 643) affords no proof as to its status. This applies also to the evidence adduced by Bikerman for Teos, namely, the letter of Eumenes II to the Artists (Welles, no. 53); for, while they, it is true, were under the patronage of the King, they did not belong to the city-community, and Eumenes's purpose in writing to them was to put an end to the friction existing between them and the Teans. The view that Teos was made subject to Eumenes was held also by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 94, note 5), who based his conclusions not only on Eumenes's letter but also on inscriptions mentioning the existence in the city of cults of the

King, his mother and his wife; see *O.G.I.* 309 (=Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 18f.) and 325 and Chap. I note 68. This evidence was accepted by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), p. 94f. and by Ruge in *R.E.* V A 551, but it cannot be regarded as convincing; for cults of Eumenes existed also at Miletus and Cos (see Chap. I notes 67 and 68), neither of which was subject to him. Even should the decree of Teos ordering the purchase of land for the Artists of Dionysus (*S.E.G.* II 580), which has been previously discussed (see above note 36), be assigned to the time of Eumenes II rather than of Attalus I, the arguments based thereon have no more validity for this period than for the earlier one. It is true that Teos, although its independence was recognized by Rome in 193 (see above note 39), supported Antiochus during the war and that its territory was plundered by the Roman naval commander (Livy XXXVII 27-28, see above note 56). But Teos was evidently free when, about 167, it sent two envoys to Rome to intercede for its former colony Abdera (see *I.G.R.* IV 1558=*Syll.*[3] 656 and below note 76), and also under Attalus II, when on the removal of the Artists to Myonnesus it likewise appealed to the Romans, requesting them not to permit the King to fortify this peninsula (Strabo XIV p. 643). Since there was apparently no occasion between 188 and 167 when the liberation can be dated, it seems most reasonable to place it in 188. Of the cities whose status, according to Bikerman, is unknown, Parium was presumably a free city when the people, *θεραπεύοντες τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς* (*i.e.* the Pergamene kings), received part of the territory of Priapus; see Strabo XIII p. 588. The status of Myrina is, indeed, in doubt, for the presence of a *Μυρινᾶιος* among the five *theoroi* sent by Eumenes II in 182 to invite the Coans to recognize the festival of the Nicephoria (Herzog in *Herm.* LXV [1930], p. 455f.= Welles, no. 50) does not prove, as supposed by Herzog and Ruge (*R.E. Suppl.* VI 617), that Myrina was subject to Pergamum; for it was pointed out by Robert in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), p. 341 and note 4 that these *theoroi* were the personal representatives of Eumenes and were not necessarily chosen from a subject city. In the case of Colophon, if the fragmentary letter of the Scipios concerning the inviolability of the Temple of Apollo Clarius (*S.E.G.* I 440, see above note 58) was indeed addressed to Colophon and not to Notium, the submission of the city to Rome in 190 might be regarded as proof that in 188 it retained its freedom. In any case, Colophon was free about 150 B.C., when, together with Samos and Magnesia (presumably Magnesia-on-Maeander), it acted as arbitrator in a dispute between Narthacium and Meliteia in northern Greece (*I.G.* IX 2, 89=*Syll.*[3] 674), and about 100 B.C., when an envoy was sent to it, as well as to a number of other cities, by Priene (*Ins. Priene* 121). With regard to Iasus, the assumption of Hicks in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 97f. that it was included in that part of Caria which was given by Rome to the Rhodians and held by them until 167 is not founded on any evidence. A decree of the city honouring the Rhodians (who had sent *dikastai* to Iasus) as *συγγενεῖ[ς τε ὑπάρχοντες καὶ φίλοι κ]αὶ [σ]ύμμαχοι τῆς πόλ[εως]* (*B.C.H.* XIII [1889], p. 23f., no. 1) may not be used as proof, since it is impossible to determine the date of the inscription.

76. For the analogy between the status of the cities and that of Pergamum see P. Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), p. 74. For the relationship of the cities to Rome between 188 and 133 B.C. see Magie in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 173f. and *The Greek Political Experience* (Princeton 1941), p. 182f. For *amicitia* see Mommsen *R.St.R.* III pp. 591f. and 652f.: L. E. Matthaei in *Class. Quarterly* I (1907), p. 185f.: Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I pp. 5, 47f. and 399f.: A. Heuss *Die Völkerrechtl. Grundlagen d. Röm. Aussenpolitik in Republ. Zeit=Klio, Beih.* XXXI (1933), pp. 12f., 25f. and 78f.: L. Gallet in *Rev. hist. d. Droit Franç. et Étr.* XVI (1937), p. 284f. Matthaei, pointing out that the use of the terms *amici* and *socii* by the ancient authors (especially Livy) was inexact and that the essential difference between the two lay in the fact that the latter (originally the Italian "allies") were bound to furnish Rome annually with a fixed number of troops or ships, whereas the former were merely bound to remain neutral, sending troops or ships if they wished, showed that the expression *amicus et socius* (see below note 87) was never applied to a *socius* but was equated with *amicus*, often appearing as a synonym in the same document. These "friends and allies," while resembling the *socii* inasmuch as they furnished or received aid in a war of defence, also resembled the *amici* in that when either they or Rome made an offensive war there was no such obligation. The relationship of *amicitia*, as Heuss showed, was not based on a treaty, as had been held by Mommsen and Täubler (followed by Bikerman in *Philol.* LXXXVII [1932], p. 286). Consequently, the *amicitia et societas* might be formally renounced by the Senate, as in the cases of Perseus in 172 B.C. (Livy XLII 25, 1) and Prusias II of Bithynia in 155 B.C. (Polybius XXXIII 12, 5); in the former case Rome subsequently declared war, while in the latter she only called upon Attalus II and the Asianic cities to attack the aggressor. Entrance into the relationship of *amicitia* was a definite act, called *in amicitiam venire* (see *e.g. C.I.L.* I² 585=Bruns *Fontes*⁷ II, l. 79) or εἰς τὴν φιλίαν παραγίγνεσθαι (*Syll.*³ 674 and 679) or τῇ φιλίᾳ προσέρχεσθαι (*Syll.*³ 785), and the communities (and individuals) admitted to this relationship appear in inscriptions of the early first century as οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ; see Chap. VII note 48. The *amici* were enrolled by order of the Senate *in amicorum formulam* (εἰς τὸ τῶν φίλων διάταγμα); see *C.I.L.* I² 588=*I.G.R.* I 118, l. 24 (see Chap. X note 10). Mommsen pointed out (*ibid.* p. 593, note 2) that in Livy XLIV 16, 7 a Macedonian who had opposed the war with Rome was inaccurately said to have been enrolled by the Senate *in formulam sociorum*. The inaccuracy is greater in Livy XLIII 6, 7f., where it is stated (in a passage taken from a Roman annalist and in part, at least, fictitious, see Nissen *Krit. Untersuchungen*, p. 257f.) that when, in 170 B.C., envoys from Lampsacus appeared in Rome, bringing a golden wreath and asking *ut in amicitiam Populi Romani reciperentur*, the Senate ordered the praetor *Lampsacenos in sociorum formulam referre*. It is evident that in both cases the status granted was that of *amicus et socius*. For the presentation of other golden wreaths to Jupiter Capitolinus (as they had been presented to the Hellenistic kings, see Chap. III note 14) see Livy XXXVI 35, 12 (Philip V

in 191 B.C.); XLIII 6, 5f. (Alabanda in 170); XLIV 14, 3 (the Pamphylians in 169); XLV 25, 7 (Rhodes in 167). Envoys were sent to Rome by Teos to intercede for Abdera in Thrace, part of whose territory the Thracian King Cotys was attempting to seize; see *I.G.R.* IV 1558=*Syll.*[3] 656 and Robert in *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 507f. This episode must be dated after 167, when Cotys's son, Bithys, who had been captured in the war against Perseus, was sent back to his father by the Senate; see Polybius XXX 17 (18) and Livy XLV 42, 6f. For envoys sent to Rome in connexion with the adjudication of disputes between cities see below notes 82 and 83, and for other envoys sent by Asianic cities see Livy XLII 14, 5f. and XLV 20, 4. For the consideration shown by Rome to her "friends" see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 15, §233, a letter of C. Fannius Strabo, Consul in 161, to the magistrates of Cos, in which, pursuant to a senatus consultum, he requested the Coans to give safe passage to some Jewish ambassadors on their return-voyage from Rome; for the date see Niese in *Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet* (Giessen 1906), II p. 817f. and Holleaux Στρατηγὸς Ὕπατος (Paris 1918), p. 5. For the decree of the Senate (during the war against Perseus) forbidding commanders to take supplies unless authorized see Livy XLIII 17, 2 (cf. Polybius XXVIII 3, 3) and Polybius XXVIII 13, 11.

77. For the honours conferred on Eumenes II and Attalus II by the cities and for the gifts of these kings see Chap. I notes 67f. and 82 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 641, 805 and 1646. Grants from the royal treasury were made to Teos (*S.E.G.* II 580, see above note 36) and to a Hellespontine city, formerly free but taken over by Pergamum in consequence of a war (*S.E.G.* II 663, see Chap. V note 55). It has been suggested (see Welles, p. 196) that the words [εἰς τὴν διο]ίκησιν τῆ[ς π]όλεως in a fragment of a letter of Eumenes II to Temnus (Welles, no. 48 D, l. 4, see above note 75) indicate a similar grant, but the condition of the inscription scarcely permits any sure inference. There is no reason to suppose that the funds at Magnesia used εἰς πόλεως διοίκησιν (*Ins. Magn.* 89, l. 86 and 98, l. 67), which were administered by the οἰκονόμοι of the city, were royal grants. The available evidence, therefore, does not seem to justify the view of A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 109) that the Pergamene kings "appropriated so many taxes that the cities had not enough left to carry on their own services, and then returned a portion of the revenues to the cities in the form of treasury grants." For the sending of envoys between cities see *e.g. Ins. Priene* 121, in honour of a citizen who acted as the city's envoy to eleven Asianic cities, as well as to Seleucus VI (before his accession). For the συμμαχία of Miletus and Heracleia with Rhodes see below note 79. On the other hand, the Rhodians in 163 B.C. did not take Calynda under their protection until the Senate gave its approval; see above note 71. This, however, may have been due to precaution, for at the time Rhodes was held in none too high favour at Rome. For what appear to be agreements between Mylasa and some of the cities of Crete see *S.G.D.I.* 5157-5164. For Cyzicus as a signatory of the treaty between Eumenes II and Pharnaces I

of Pontus see Polybius XXV 2, 13 and Chap. VIII note 43. For the treaties of Miletus with Pidasa and Heracleia see below notes 78 and 79.

78. *Milet* I 3, p. 350f., no. 149, dated in 176/5 by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923 VIII p. 11f. For the question of the site of this and two other places of the same or a similar name see, most recently, Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 26f.: Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX (1935), p. 339f.: Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I p. 535f. Since this Pidasa was evidently not far from Miletus and since the document mentions (l. 39f.) some of the Pidaseis as land-owners in the territory of Euromus (on the eastern edge of the Plain of Mandalya, see Chap. III note 130) and provides (l. 44f.) for the maintenance of a road from Pidasa to Ioniapolis on the Gulf of Latmus (see Chap. III note 82), the city was evidently situated between Euromus and the Gulf and therefore, as Robert pointed out, in the region of Mt. Grion. The purpose of the road may well have been, as Rostovtzeff suggested (*Hellenist. World*, p. 671), to divert the export-trade of Pidasa and Euromus from the Carian ports to Ioniapolis. Pidasa was evidently the Πήδασα which was declared free in the treaty concluded with Philip V (see above note 44); it is also presumably to be identified with the Πηδασεῖς to whom Darius in 494 assigned the *ὑπεράκρια* belonging to Miletus (Herodotus VI 20); the identification with the Πηδασῆς of the early tribute lists, suggested by Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, is perhaps more questionable. On the other hand, this city is to be distinguished from the Pedasis (or Pedaseis) which was owned by Halicarnassus (see Chap. III note 134) and from the Πήδασον which was a *πολίχνιον* of Stratoniceia (see Strabo XIII p. 611 and Chap. X note 9).

79. See *Milet* I 3, p. 357f., no. 150 = *Syll.*[3] 633, dated in 173/2 by Rehm *ibid.* p. 12f. The treaty also provided (l. 78f.) that *δικασταί* from some free city to be chosen by the contracting parties should adjudicate a dispute over a certain part of *ἡ χώρα ἡ ὀρείνη* which the Milesians claimed on the ground that it belonged to *ἡ Μυησία* (see Chap. III note 81), as well as over the region around *τὸ πλινθούλκιον*, which, according to the Milesians, was part of *ἡ Ἰωνοπολῖτις* (see Chap. III note 82). For Heracleia see Chap. III note 79. The city had evidently been independent, like Miletus, in alliance with Rhodes, for both parties to the treaty bound themselves (l. 35f.) to take no measure for the common defence which was *ὑπεναντίον τῇ πρὸς Ῥοδίους συμμαχίᾳ*. In spite of the *isopoliteia* with Miletus, Heracleia continued to exist as an independent community with a stephanephorus of its own; for, apparently in the latter part of the second century, it concluded an agreement with the neighbouring Amyzon over some land (see *Ins. Priene* 51 and Chap. III note 132), and in 78 B.C. it was one of the cities which guaranteed the inviolability of the Temple and festival of Hecate at Lagina; see *O.G.I.* 441, l. 147 and below Chap. V note 35. It was called by Strabo (XIV p. 635), however, a *πολίχνιον*, and it, rather than Heracleia Salbace, as supposed by Bürchner (*R.E.* VIII 432f.), was evidently the Heracleia included by Strabo (XIV p. 658, see Chap. III

note 132) among those communities of Caria which were *περιπόλιοι* of the larger cities; see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *ibid.* p. 510, note 2. Nevertheless, if a list of names containing those of Augustus and his grandson Gaius (*O.G.I.* 459, see Chap. XX note 9) may be regarded as a list of the stephanephori of Heracleia, the place had its own civic organization at the beginning of the Christian Era.

80. For the *isopoliteia* of Priene and Bargylia see *Ins. Priene* 47. For Miletus and Apollonia see *Milet* I 3, no. 155, a decree of Apollonia, of which all except a long preamble has been lost; see also Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV 1 (1920), p. 45f. and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 36f.

81. See E. Sonne *De Arbitris externis quos Graeci adhibuerunt, etc.* (Göttingen 1888), p. 52f. and H. F. Hitzig in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung, Roman. Abt.* XXVIII (1907), p. 236f. The earliest instances of *δικασταί* among the free cities of Asia Minor known from inscriptions are those sent by Phocaea, Astypalaea and another city to Priene in the late fourth century (*Ins. Priene* 8), by Magnesia to Cyme by order of Antigonus (*O.G.I.* 7, see Chap. III note 60), by Rhodes, Cos, Delos and Paros to Ilium about 300 B.C. (*C.I.G.* 3598 = *S.E.G.* IV 662), by Naxos and Andros to Chios about 300 B.C. (*B.S.A.* XLI [1940-45], p. 45f.) and by Iasus to Calymnos in the late fourth or early third century (*C.I.G.* 2671 = Michel 417 + 462). For the second and first centuries Sonne cited cases of the sending of *dikastai* by Priene to Alexandria Troas, Erythrae, Iasus, Laodiceia-on-Lycus and an unknown Aeolian city (*Ins. Priene* 44, 50, 53, 59 and 60); by Erythrae to Mitylene, Tenedos and an unknown city (*I.G.* XII *Suppl.* nos. 137 and 147 = *S.G.D.I.* 215 and 305 and *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1866 I p. 250, see Wilhelm *Beiträge*, p. 175); by Samos to Bargylia (?) (Sonne, p. 101f. = *S.E.G.* IV 207); by Clazomenae to Colophon (?) (rather than Smyrna, *C.I.G.* 3184, see Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 172f.); by Lampsacus to Cyme (?) (*C.I.G.* 3640 = *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 143 = *S.G.D.I.* 318); by Assus to Cebren, an unknown city (perhaps Magnesia) and Stratoniceia (*P.A.S.* I p. 7f., nos. 4, 7 [see Wilhelm in *Herm.* XLI (1906), p. 71f.] and 8 [= *I.G.R.* IV 247 = *S.E.G.* IV 658]); by Antandrus to Peltae (*C.I.G.* 3568f. = Michel 542, see Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI [1934], p. 524); by Methymna to Colophon (?) (*B.C.H.* L [1926], p. 469f. = *I.G.* XII 2, 509 + 658); by Eresus to an unknown city (*I.G.* XII 2, 530); by Mylasa to the Thessalian *κοινόν* (*I.G.* IX 2, 507, corrected by Robert in *B.C.H.* L [1926], p. 479f.); by Paros to Mylasa (*I.G.* XII 5, 305); by Andros to Adramyttium (*I.G.* XII 5, 722); by Astypalaea to Smyrna (*I.G.* XII 3, 172 restored by Robert *Hellenica* VII [1949], p. 185f.). To these may be added the *dikastai* sent by Miletus to Eresus, Byzantium and Eretria (*Milet* I 3, nos. 152 a [= *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 140], 153 and 154); by Rhodes to Iasus (*B.C.H.* XIII [1889], p. 23f., no. 1); by Priene to Bargylia, Chios, Iasus, Eresus, Magnesia, Parium and four unknown cities (*Ins. Priene* 47, 49, 52 [= *S.E.G.* IV 478], 54, 60 [= *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 141], 61, 63 [= *S.E.G.* IV 481], 71, 73 and 124); by Magnesia to Antiocheia-on-Maeander (?), Larba and Demetrias (*Ins. Magn.* 90, 101 [see Chap. V note 50] and 104 [= *S.E.G.* IV 511]); by Chios

to Priene (*Ins. Priene* 49=*S.E.G.* IV 477); by Erythrae to Antiocheia-on-Maeander (L.W. 41, restored in *C.R.A.I.* 1926, p. 169f.=*S.E.G.* IV 621 and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II p. 56f., no. 13); by Mylasa to Larisa in Thessaly (*B.C.H.* LIX [1935], p. 64f., no. 3, l. 44f.) and to an unknown city, perhaps Tralles (*S.E.G.* IV 233); by Phocaea to Tralles (*R. Phil.* LX [1934], p. 279f.); by Eresus to Parium (*I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 121); by Tenos to Tralles (*I.G.* XII 5, 869, see Robert in *R. Phil.* LIII [1927], p. 109f. and LX [1934], p. 282); by Thasos to Smyrna (*I.G.* XII 8, 269=*B.C.H.* XLVIII p. 331f.); by Caunus to Smyrna (Robert *Hellenica* VII p. 171f.); by Colophon to an unknown city (*B.C.H.* XXXVII [1913], p. 236f., no. 40). Of uncertain date are the cases in which a *dikastes* was sent by Samos to Lebedus (*B.C.H.* LII [1926], p. 165f., no. 26); by Mylasa to Teos (?) (*B.C.H.* LVIII [1934], p. 307f., no. 5 and p. 512); by Smyrna to an unknown city, perhaps Stratoniceia (*B.C.H.* LII [1928], p. 169f., no. 27 and p. 426, note 1 and LVII [1933], p. 485, note 1); by Cos to an unknown city (*R.E.G.* IX [1896], p. 415f., no. 1); by Melos to Perge (*I.G.* XII 3, 1073, see Chap. XI note 9). For *dikastai* in the Roman period see Chap. XXVII note 49.

82. For these disputes see Chap. III note 43. For the action of the commissioners at Apameia see Polybius XXI 46 (48), 1. For the war between Miletus and Magnesia see above note 47. For Priene and Magnesia see *Ins. Magn.* 93=*Syll.*³ 679, containing a Magnesian decree, a letter of the praetor M. Aemilius M. f. to Mylasa, quoting the Senate's decision, and a decree of Mylasa; the case was dated between 174 and 160 by Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 396=*S.E.G.* IV 508.

83. For the controversy between Mylasa and Stratoniceia see *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 101f., no. 6, where, however, the part of the inscription dealing with the apparent dispute is almost entirely lacking; the fragment was supposed by Sonne (*De Arbitris externis*, p. 17) to refer to an arbitration between the two cities, but such an interpretation was regarded by Tod (*Greek Internat. Arbitration*, p. 47) as "highly doubtful." For Priene and Miletus, whose dispute was settled by Smyrna, see *Ins. Priene* 27=Welles, no. 46 (a mere fragment); Welles pointed out (p. 190) that the peremptory tone of this letter suggests that the writer was a Roman official rather than one of the Pergamene kings. Another inscription (*Ins. Priene* 28) contains part of an agreement between the two cities which provided for a joint defence of their territories and an arrangement for the conduct of law-suits between their respective citizens; it is, however, impossible to determine the chronological order of this document and the letter concerning the dispute. The Senate referred a controversy between Messene and Sparta to Miletus (*Inschr. v. Olymp.* 52=*Syll.*³ 683, about 140 B.C.) and one between Itanus and Hierapytna in Crete to Magnesia (*I.G.R.* I 1021=*Syll.*³ 685, a combination of two copies, dated by the mention of the Consul L. Calpurnius L. f. Piso, probably the Consul of this name who held office in 133 B.C., see *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 183, note 2).

84. For the dispute between Priene and Samos see Chap. III note 99. For the decision of the Senate, including a senatus consultum of 135 B.C., and the final settlement see *Ins. Priene* 40, 41 (=*Syll.*[3] 688) and 42. For Mitylene and Pitane see Chap. III note 125. For Rhodes and Stratoniceia, whose quarrel was arbitrated by Bargylia, see Holleaux *Études* II p. 194f. For Eresus and Methymna see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 139=*Milet* I 3, p. 368f., no. 152 and Robert in *R.E.G.* XXXVIII (1925), p. 29f. For a disagreement of some sort between Smyrna and Phocaea, which was arbitrated by an envoy sent by Priene, see *Ins. Priene* 65. A controversy in the early first century between Priene and Miletus, previously settled in part by Erythrae, was finally adjudicated by Sardis, even though steps had been taken to bring it before the Senate; see *Ins. Priene* 111, ll. 143f. and 120, regarded by Tod (*ibid.* p. 45f.) as referring to the same dispute, and Chap. VII note 32. A clause in the treaty between Miletus and Heracleia in 173/2 B.C. (see above note 79) provided for an adjudication of their respective boundaries by some neutral city. The fragments from Mylasa, L.W. 423 and 424 and *A.M.* XV (1890), p. 265f., no. 18, containing descriptions of boundaries, which Tod (p. 48) regarded as referring to disputes between Mylasa and other cities, are too meagre to serve as the basis for any conclusion. For the salt-pans at Priene see *Ins. Priene* 111, l. 113f., with restorations by Holleaux *Études* I p. 309f., and Chap. VII note 27.

85. The independence of a city was expressed in the senatus consulta of the time of Sulla by the clause (with variations) *ὅπως νόμοις καὶ ἐθισμοῖς ἰδίοις χρῶνται*; see *I.G.R.* IV 943=*Syll.*[3] 785 (Chios): *O.G.I.* 442=*M.A.M.A.* VI 162 (Tabae): *O.G.I.* 441, ll. 47 and 89 (Stratoniceia). It appears as *legibus suis utunto* in the *Lex de Termessibus* (properly a plebiscitum) of about 70 B.C., by which the people of Termessus in Pisidia were declared *leiberei amicei socieique Populi Romani*; see *C.I.L.* I[2] 589= Bruns *Fontes*[7], no. 14=Dessau 38 and Chap. XII note 34. The right of trial in the city's own courts is expressed *τῷ* [*τε*] *δικαίῳ καὶ ταῖς* [*κρίσισιν ταῖς ἰδίαις*] *χρῆσθαι* in the senatus consultum for Aphrodisias and Plarasa of about 39 B.C.; see *C.I.G.* 2737=Bruns *Fontes*[7], no. 43=*O.G.I.* 455 and Chap. XVIII note 15. The *Lex de Termessibus* also authorized the city to impose whatever customs-duties it might wish, but with the special proviso that none might be levied on produce belonging to Roman tax-farmers while in transit through the city's territory. Similarly, the senatus consultum for Aphrodisias, granting the united communities freedom and exemption *πάντων τῶν πραγ*[*μάτων . . . καθ*]*άπερ καὶ τίς πολιτεία τῷ καλλίστῳ δικαίῳ καλλίστῳ τε νόμῳ ἐστίν*, guaranteed their ownership of all villages and other landed property which they possessed on becoming "friends" of Rome with full exemption from any levies thereon, as well as from the imposition of any [*φόρος*]. It is true that neither Termessus nor Aphrodisias-Plarasa belonged to the number of originally free cities, but the "law" dealing with Termessus was evidently a standard form used for city-states on the Aegean seaboard (see Chap. XII note 34) and presumably containing rights regularly recognized; and the use of the "most

favoured nation" clause in the decree concerning Aphrodisias declared that the exemption granted to it was enjoyed by the other "friends and allies" of Rome (see above note 76). For the exemption of free cities from tribute to Rome (*immunitas*) see Mommsen *R.St.R.* III p. 682f., where it is pointed out that in the full designation *libera et immunis* ([ἐλευ]θερία καὶ ἀνισφορία in *I.B.M.* 792=*S.G.D.I.* 3504, see Chap. XVII note 5) the latter word was often omitted. Rome's recognition of Teos in 193 B.C. as ἀφορολόγητος ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων (*I.G.R.* IV 1557=*Syll.*[3] 601, see above note 39) implies that *libertas* and *immunitas* were regarded as synonymous, and this was perhaps implied also in the δόγμα περὶ τῆς ἀφορολογησίας subsequently obtained by Alabanda; see *R.E.G.* XI (1898), p. 258f. and Chap. V note 32. There seems to be no evidence in the Republican period for the suggestion of A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 321, note 45) that "the very phrase *liberae et immunes* seems to imply that a city could be *libera* and not *immunis*," and there is no good ground for his argument (p. 119) that *immunitas* was granted by Rome as a privilege and that therefore the free cities were merely subject states without the right of sovereignty.

86. See Chap. III note 44. Lists of the cities which during the second century minted "Alexandrine" and "Lysimachian" tetradrachms were compiled (on the basis of Head *H.N.*[2]) by Rostovtzeff in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 295, note 1 and *Hellenist. World*, Chap. V note 69; see also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 205. An examination of these compilations shows that in the course of this century tetradrachms of either the "Alexandrine" or a local type were coined in the following cities: Abydus, Aegae, Alabanda, Alexandria Troas, Antiocheia-on-Maeander, Chios, Clazomenae, Cnidus, Colophon, Cos, Cyme, Cyzicus, Ephesus, Erythrae, Heracleia ad Latmum, Ilium, Lampsacus, Lebedus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Methymna, Miletus, Mitylene, Mylasa, Myndus, Myrina, Parium, Phocaea, Priene, Rhodes, Samos, Sardis, Smyrna, Temnus, Tenedos, Teos, Phaselis in Lycia and Aspendus, Perge, Side and Sillyum in Pamphylia. These coins were of a uniform standard and evidently intended for international use. Since many of the cities which coined them were under the political or economic influence of Pergamum, Rostovtzeff suggested (*Hellenist. World*, p. 655f.) that these issues were encouraged by the Pergamene kings in consequence of an agreement with the Seleucids for the purpose of developing trade between western Asia Minor and Syria, where, Rostovtzeff observed, these coins "circulated almost exclusively." See also Heichelheim in *A.J.P.* LXIII (1942), p. 91 (India). For Caria see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. xxvi: Head *H.N.*[2] p. 607f.: Robert *Villes*, pp. 143f. and 205f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 491f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 56f. In addition to the old coast cities Bargylia, Caunus, Ceramus and Halicarnassus, which issued small silver and bronze coins during the second or first century, small silver pieces were issued at Callipolis on the coast (on the southern shore of the Bay of Giova, according to Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 491f.) and in the following places in the interior: Alinda, Amyzon, Aphrodisias, Attuda, Bargasa, Cidramus, Cys, Euippe, Euromus,

Gordiuteichus, Harpasa, Hydissus, Larba, Neapolis ad Harpasum, Orthosia, Plarasa, Stratoniceia and Tabae.

87. For the *φιλία καὶ συμμαχία* of Rome and the Greek cities see above note 76. For the *συμμαχία* with Rhodes see above note 70. For the admission of Lampsacus to this status see Livy XLIII 6, 9f. and above note 76. For Priene, Magnesia and Samos see *Syll.*[3] 679 and 688 and above notes 82 and 84. For Tabae and the Lycians see above note 67.

88. The view of Mommsen (*R.St.R.* III p. 655f.) that the independence of the *civitates liberae*, as based on decrees granting freedom, was revocable, while that of the *civitates foederatae et liberae*, as based on treaties, might not be revoked, which has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LIII (1925), p. 77, as offering an analogy to the status of an "autonomous" city subject to a monarch (see Chap. V note 42), and by A. H. M. Jones in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 112f., seems incompatible with Rome's recognition of the full sovereignty of the Asianic cities as independent states (see above note 44). Mommsen's view was regarded as untenable by A. Heuss (*Die Völkerrechtl. Grundlagen*, p. 99f.), who characterized the recognition of the cities' previous freedom as a declaratory, rather than a "constitutive," act. The statement of Jones (*ibid.* p. 113) that the federate cities were "gradually assimilated in status to free cities under the sovereignty of Rome," while applicable to the later period (see above pp. 235-6) does not hold for the second and first centuries.

89. See Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 99f. and A. O'Brien-Moore in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 732f. If we may believe Memnon (26, 4), Rome and Heracleia Pontica not long after 188 concluded a treaty of alliance, which was to be inscribed on tablets placed, respectively, in the Capitolium in Rome and in the Temple of Zeus in Heracleia. The earliest treaty between Rome and an Asianic state existing in documentary form is that with Cibyra, to be dated not later than 167 B.C.; see *O.G.I.* 762 and Chap. X note 30. It bound each party by an oath to aid the other in the event of a defensive war, and, like the treaty with Heracleia, it was inscribed in the Capitolium, as well as on the base of the statue of Roma in Cibyra. Among the Greek city-states of western Asia Minor Methymna is the earliest known to have had a sworn treaty with Rome; see *I.G.* XII 2, 510=*I.G.R.* IV 2=*Syll.*[3] 693. This inscription, dated on the basis of the lettering before the First Mithradatic War, was assigned to the time of the revolt of Aristonicus by Mommsen in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1895, p. 900f., and this dating has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by Dittenberger, Täubler (*Imp. Rom.* I p. 45) and Rehm (*Milet* I 7, p. 294). There is no reason, however, why the treaty should not be placed somewhat earlier. The order given by the Senate to Prusias II of Bithynia in 154 to indemnify Methymna for the damage which he had inflicted (see below note 91) suggests that the city was an ally of Rome at the time, and an inscription of the Νέοι of Methymna probably passed during the war with Aristonicus mentions *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς* (*i.e.* *Ῥωμαίους*) *συμμαχίαν* (*S.E.G.*

III 710, see Chap. III note 37 and Chap. VI note 7). The clause in this treaty by which each party bound itself to aid the other in case of an attack agrees closely with those in the treaties with Cibyra and with Astypalaea (see below), and the agreement by each party to refuse passage through its territory as well as arms, money and ships to the enemies of the other is identical with the corresponding section of the treaty with Astypalaea; see Täubler *ibid.* p. 55f. This close similarity makes it evident that the form of this treaty was a standard one, used generally, and since there is no reason to suppose that a community as insignificant as Methymna was given special distinction as the recipient of a formally sworn treaty, it seems highly probable that during the second century, before Rome obtained the province of Asia, similar treaties were concluded with other city-states. After the formation of the province, treaties were made with other cities also: Pergamum (probably) soon after 129 B.C. (*I.G.R.* IV 1692 = *Syll.*[3] 694, see Chap. VI note 34); Astypalaea in 105 B.C. (*I.G.* XII 3, 173 = *I.G.R.* IV 1028); Cnidus, perhaps about 45 B.C. (Ἀθηνᾶ XI [1899], p. 283f., nos. 3 and 4 = Täubler *ibid.* p. 450f., see Chap. XVII note 5); Mitylene in 25 B.C. (*I.G.* XII 2, 35 = *I.G.R.* IV 33).

90. Polybius XXVII 7, 13f. and Livy XLII 56, 6 (Rhodes, Samos, Heracleia Pontica and Chalcedon): Livy XLIII 6, 1f. (*multae civitates* and Miletus). According to Livy XLIII 6, 10, *munera* of 2000 asses were given by the Senate to all the envoys who had brought offers of assistance. These were evidently the *munera ex formula* (*ξένια κατὰ τὸ διάταγμα*) granted, together with other privileges, to envoys of the friends and allies of Rome, as in the senatus consulta for Priene and Samos (*Ins. Priene* 41 and 42, see above note 84) and Astypalaea (*I.G.R.* IV 1028, see above note 89), and even to Asclepiades and his two fellow ship-captains (*C.I.L.* I[2] 588 = *I.G.R.* I 118, see Chap. X note 10); see also Mommsen *R.St.R.* III p. 597, where, however, the envoys should not be described as those of states having a treaty of *amicitia* with Rome (see above note 76).

91. Polybius XXXIII 12, 5f. For this war see Chap. XIII note 42. A dedication to Poseidon Caseus erected by *οἱ [στρατευσ]άμενοι ἐν τοῖς καταφράκτοις* (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 188, no. 2), found at Ulu Abat in the territory of Cyzicus (see Chap. III note 116), may perhaps be connected with the participation of the ships of the city in this war.

92. Appian *Lib.* 112. The participation of Rhodes in this campaign was inferred by Cichorius (*Rh. Mus.* LXIII [1908], p. 220f.), followed by Hiller von Gaertringen (*R.E. Suppl.* V 800), from the fact that the *Index Stoicorum* preserved in a papyrus from Herculaneum (see W. Crönert in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1904, p. 476f.) mentions (col. LVI) the philosopher Panaetius of Rhodes as *στρατευσάμενος* with seven ships. According to Velleius Paterculus I 13, 3, Scipio had Polybius and Panaetius with him *domi militiaeque.* For the aid rendered by Halicarnassus, Bargylia, Mylasa, Ephesus and Smyrna during the war against Aristonicus see Chap. VI notes 14 and 16

and Aristides *Orat.* XIX 11 Keil. For a Rhodian ship which seems to have taken part in the war against the Cilician pirates in 102 B.C. see *I.G.R.* IV 1116 and Chap. XII note 12. For the ships contributed for the war against the Italian Allies in 91-89 B.C. by Heracleia Pontica, Miletus, Clazomenae and Carystus on Euboea see Memnon 29 and *C.I.L.* I² 588 = *I.G.R.* I 118 (see Chap. X note 10), and for those furnished during the First Mithradatic War by Cos and Cnidus see above p. 226 and *I.G.* XII 8, 260 = *I.G.R.* I 843 (see Chap. X note 20). See also A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 321, note 46.

93. Polybius XXXIII 6: Diodorus XXXI 32. For the Senate's action see *Ins. Priene* 39 = *O.G.I.* 351. See also *Ins. Priene* p. xviii. Tetradrachms of Orophernes, presumably coined in Priene, have been found in the city (see Regling *Münzen v. Priene*, pp. 9f. and 44f. and the references cited in Hansen *Attalids*, p. 124, note 4), and a letter to Priene referring to the erection of a statue is probably to be attributed to him; see *Ins. Priene* 25 = *S.E.G.* I 438 = Welles, no. 63.

94. For Ephesus see above note 67. For Ephesus and Sardis in 94/3 B.C. see *O.G.I.* 437 and Chap. VI note 35. For Pergamum see Chap. VI note 34. For Miletus see *Milet* I 6, p. 94f. and I 8, p. 124: Röhlig *Der Handel v. Milet*, p. 62: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 670 and note 78. Early in the second century, during the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164), two natives of Miletus, Timarchus and Heracleides, important officials of the King (Niese *G.M.S.* III pp. 97 and 219), built a *bouleuterion* with a *propylon* in Antiochus's honour; see *Milet* I 2, p. 95f. For the general wealth at the beginning of the first century as shown by the presentation of φιάλαι by several cities to the Temple at Didyma see Chap. VII note 31. On the other hand, the statement of Pliny (*N.H.* VII 127 and XXXVI 21) that "King Nicomedes," probably Nicomedes III of Bithynia (see above p. 318), offered to discharge the large public debt of Cnidus as payment for the famous statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles indicates, even though the offer was refused, that the city's finances were in a bad condition.

CHAPTER V

1. For the distinction between a free, allied city-state and a dependent, subject city see Cardinali *R.P.* pp. 218f. and 229f.: Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), pp. 73f. and 92f., who, unfortunately, complicated the question by assuming an intermediate category, consisting of "dependent allies" (see Chap. IV note 36): Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 166f.: Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus* II² (1926), pp. 348f. and 356f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VII p. 177f. and VIII p. 604 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 641: W. Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1108. This distinction was not considered valid by A. Heuss (*Stadt u. Herrscher d. Hellenismus*, p. 183, note 2 and pp. 244 and 252), who divided the cities into "monarchical" and "absolutely free" (see *e.g.* p. 245, note 1 and p. 248) but among the communities of Asia Minor was able to cite only Rhodes as an example of the latter type. For the royal governors, who acted as the representatives of the rulers, see Heuss, p. 17f. and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 105 (where their functions are regarded as purely military). Unfortunately, there is little evidence for any direct control on their part of the subject cities. Neither in the letters of Antiochus I written to Meleager, governor of the "Satrapy on the Hellespont," with regard to the grant of land to Aristodicides (Welles, nos. 10-12, see Chap. III note 40) nor in the letter of Antiochus II to Metrophanes concerning the sale of an estate to Laodice (Welles, no. 18) nor in that of Antiochus III to Anaximbrotus, dealing with the appointment in his "satrapy" of a priestess for Queen Laodice (*O.G.I.* 224 = Welles, no. 36, see Chap. IV note 48) is there anything which throws any light on the relations of these Seleucid governors with any of the subject cities. Antiochus III, on the other hand, in acting on the Magnesians' request concerning the festival of Artemis (see below note 53), sent orders to τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις (evidently governors) to arrange for the granting of the request by the subject communities; but the fact that some of the replies were sent in the names of groups of cities, *e.g. Ins. Magn.* 59 and 61 (= *O.G.I.* 233), hardly seems to justify the inference of Kaerst (II² p. 357f.) that these groups were administrative units. The official honoured in a decree of a Lydian city (*Ins. Sardis* 2, see below note 56) for having granted favours and concessions was perhaps a Pergamene governor, as were Corrhagus ὁ τεταγμένος στρατηγὸς τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον τόπων, who persuaded the King to come to the relief of a Hellespontine city (*S.E.G.* II 663, see below note 55), Strato, ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Χερρονήσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τόπων, who obtained some favour for Sestus in the Thracian Chersonese (*O.G.I.* 339, see Chap. I note 90), and probably Artemidorus, to whom Eumenes II wrote when granting the petition of a village-community near Telmessus (*Clara Rhodos* IX [1938], p. 193f., see below note 69). Similarly, the ἐπιστάτης who appears in a decree of Prusa in Bithynia may have been a governor appointed by a Bithynian king; see Robert *Ét. Anat.*, p. 229 and Chap. XIII note 18 and, for the *epistates* in general, Holleaux in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 26f. = *Études* III pp. 217 and 253f. No

inference may be drawn, however, from the presence of a Seleucid *epistates* in Seleuceia in Pieria (Welles, no. 45=*S.E.G.* VII 62, see also Polybius v 60, 1) or in Seleuceia on the Tigris (Polybius v 48, 12), for no Seleucid official bearing this title is known in Asia Minor. The man whose ἐπιστατεία is mentioned in a decree of Eresus on Lesbos (*I.G.* XII 2, 527) was evidently a Ptolemaic official. A Pergamene ἐπιστάτης who had previously been στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως, mentioned in an inscription found at Bakır and usually assigned to the military colony of Nacrasa (*O.G.I.* 268), may have been a royal governor; but both the provenience of the stone and its connexion with Nacrasa are so doubtful (see below note 14) that no conclusion as to the nature of his office seems possible. There is also great uncertainty in the case of the official at Pergamum who appears as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως in *O.G.I.* 483, l. 57 and was regarded as a royal governor by Dittenberger (note 27) and Swoboda (p. 169). No information valid for Asia Minor may be obtained from the presence of a representative of the Pergamene king in Aegina, called ὁ καταστα θεὶς ἐπ' Αἰγίνας (*I.G.* VII 15=*Syll.*[3] 642) or [ἐπιστ]ά[της] τῆς πόλεως (*I.G.* IV 1=*O.G.I.* 329); for Aegina, purchased by Attalus I (see Chap. I note 34), may have had a status different from the Asianic dominions of the Pergamene kings; see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 236 and Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 54, note 2=*Études* II p. 122, note 4.

2. For the royal foundations see V. Tscherikower *Die Hellenist. Städtegründungen=Philol. Suppl.* XIX 1 (1927), pp. 139f. (Alexander), 154f. (Antigonus and Lysimachus), 165f. (Seleucids), 178f. (Pergamene kings): Hansen *Attalids*, p. 161f. For the foundation of Alexandria Troas by Antigonus see Chap. III note 63. For Nicaea in Bithynia, originally Antigoneia but renamed by Lysimachus, see Chap. XIII note 13. Two places in Asia Minor called Antigoneia are listed by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*), one in Bithynia πρὸς τῷ Δασκυλίῳ, the other a φρούριον τῆς Κυζικηνῆς, neither of which is known otherwise; the former was probably Antigoneia-Nicaea. For the policy of the Seleucids in founding cities see Appian *Syr.* 57: Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 8, 6: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 254f.: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 157f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 42f. and *Greek City*, p. 7f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 477f. and 491f. (where, however, cities and rural settlements or κατοικίαι [see below note 69] are treated together). According to Appian, Seleucus I founded 34 cities throughout his empire, named after himself, his parents and his wives, namely nine Seleuceias, sixteen Antiocheias, five Laodiceias, three Apameias and one Stratoniceia. These presumably include also the foundations of Antiochus I. For an identification of a large number of them see Tscherikower, p. 174f. Only a comparatively small proportion were in Asia Minor. For the general policy of Eumenes II and Attalus II see above p. 29. Of the foundations ascribed to them by Tscherikower, only Philadelpheia in Lydia and Eumeneia in Phrygia (see below notes 17 and 21) and Attaleia in Pamphylia (see Chap. XI note 4), all of which were founded by Attalus, are assured. The connexion of these kings with Dionysopolis in Phrygia is doubtful

(see below note 66). Of the other places, Apollonis seems to have been founded by Attalus I and Stratoniceia in Mysia by Antiochus I (see below notes 16 and 12), Apollonia near Pergamum long antedated the rule of the Pergamene kings (see below note 13); there is no reason save for a fancied connexion of the name with Apollonis for ascribing to these monarchs the foundation of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (regarded in the second century as a colony of Miletus, see Chap. IV note 80) or of Apollonia in Pisidia, which may equally well have had a Seleucid origin (see Chap. XIX note 20), and Eumeneia in Caria never existed (see Robert *Villes*, p. 151f.). For the general method used by the Hellenistic kings in founding cities by bringing together the inhabitants of smaller cities or of rural communities (or even veterans) see A. Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 99f. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, pp. 5f. and 11) that the Successors "felt it to be an integral part of their royal prerogative to found cities" and that it was considered "a primary duty of a king to advance the civilization of his kingdom, or in other words to promote civic life within its boundaries," but that the Hellenistic foundations, unlike Alexander's, were not "new centres of political life in barbarian lands" but were "created in areas where city life already flourished and at the expense of existing cities." Jones also observed (*ibid.* p. 259) that while the kings (and the Roman emperors) chose sites with a view to a promise of future prosperity, their purpose in founding cities was not necessarily to promote the economic development of the country.

3. For the colonies of "Macedonians" in western Asia Minor see Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 80f., note 2: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, pp. 44f. and 386, whose lists amplified those previously compiled by Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 1f. and Ed. Meyer in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 643f. and eliminated those erroneously included by Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 199f. (followed by Oehler in *R.E.* XI 3f.): Hansen *Attalids*, p. 159f. Geographically arranged, they are as follows: in the basins of the upper Caïcus and the Hermus: Thyateira, Nacrasa, Acrasus, Doedye, · espura, Cobedyle (see below notes 10, 14, 16 and 17); Hyrcanis (see Pliny *N.H.* V 120: Tacitus *Ann.* II 47, 4: Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1908, p. 159f. = Schwyzer *Dial. Graec. Exempla Epigr.* 369: *I.B.M.* 498: *I.G.R.* IV 1354: Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 83f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 122f.: Robert *Hellenica* VI [1948], p. 16f.); Dechtheira (Robert *ibid.* p. 22): in the region of Mt. Tmolus or Mt. Messogis: Mysomacedones (see Pliny *N.H.* V 120: Ptolemy V 2, 13: *A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 102f., and, for the site, Keil-Premerstein III p. 58 and Keil in *R.E.* XVI 1191f.): on the frontier between Lydia and Phrygia: Cadi and Blaundus (see below notes 36 and 37): in Phrygia: Peltae (see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 348, no. 12f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 401f.) and Docimeium (see below note 37): in Caria: Stratoniceia (not in Bikerman's list, see below note 33). The fact that at Thyateira the "Macedonians" are described as "in" or "around" the city and at Doedye and Cobedyle as "from" the communities suggests that the colonists at first formed separate groups distinct from the other inhabitants; later, however, they amalgamated with these inhabitants,

as is shown by the combination in many cases of the word "Macedonians" with the original name of the community. Because of the appearance of οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται of the Macedonians at Thyateira and of a στρατ[ηγός] at ·espura it has been widely held that the colonists, although no longer in active service, had certain military duties, especially that of defending their several districts against invasion; see *e.g.* Schuchhardt *ibid.* pp. 7f. and 11: Swoboda, pp. 201 and 204f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 500. This view, however, was challenged by Bikerman (p. 81f.), who pointed out that the officers and soldiers at Thyateira may have been merely a military contingent and not the entire Macedonian population of the place, and that the *strategos* at ·espura was not necessarily a military officer but possibly the civil official frequently found in Hellenistic communities (see below note 47). Bikerman also observed that, with the exception of Docimeium, which might conceivably have served as a means of defence against the Galatians, the settlements on the Lydo-Phrygian frontier afforded no protection against invaders, and those in the basins of the upper Caïcus and the Hermus were not needed for defence against the Pergamenes, since until the death of Philetaerus in 262 Pergamum was part of the Seleucid Empire.

While it is not impossible that some of these colonies were founded by Alexander or one of his immediate successors, it is much more probable that, as has been generally assumed, the founders were the early Seleucids. This seems assured in the case of Thyateira, where the Macedonians honoured Seleucus I, and in the case of Stratoniceia, which was evidently named after the wife of Antiochus I. On the other hand, no information as to the time of founding can be obtained from the inscriptions of Cobedyle, Doedye and ·espura, which are dated, respectively, in 163/2, 161/60 and 153/2, or from that of Acrasus, of the time of Eumenes II, for these colonies might conceivably have been founded by the Pergamene kings. "Macedonian" units, however, served in the armies of Antiochus III at Raphia in 217, Panion in 200, Thermopylae in 191 and Magnesia in 190 (see Polybius v 79 4f., and 82; xvi 18, 4f.: Livy xxxvi 18, 2; xxxvii 40, 1: Appian *Syr.* 18f. and 32), and Antiochus IV had a garrison of "Macedonians" in Jerusalem and 20,000 "Macedonians" in the army which paraded at Daphne in 167/6 B.C. (see Hieronymus *Comm. in Daniel.* xi 29 = Porphyrius frg. 50 Jac. [*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1226]: Polybius xxx 25 [xxxi 3], 5 = Athenaeus v 22, p. 194 D). On the other hand, "Macedonians" in Pergamum appear only once, when, immediately after the death of Attalus III, they were granted citizenship (see *O.G.I.* 338, l. 14 and Chap. VI note 8). It was suggested by Bikerman (p. 174f.) that it was for the purpose of supplying men for these units that the Seleucids founded "Macedonian" colonies, composed partly of the descendants of veterans of Alexander and Seleucus I and partly of new-comers, who became "Macedonians" by reason of their domicile. It is a question, however, whether the "Macedonian" units in the Seleucid armies were really national. In the accounts of the battles at Raphia and at Magnesia these troops (at Raphia men "selected from the whole empire" in addition to the phalanx) are described as "armed in

Macedonian fashion." It seems more probable, therefore, that the term "Macedonian" denoted the organization and equipment rather than the nationality of these soldiers, and that the colonies were founded not as sources of supply for the armies of the Seleucids but for the double purpose of strengthening the rulers' hold on the country and providing land for old soldiers—as was done also at Palaemagnesia by Antiochus I (see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 95f. and Chap. III note 95). A special problem arises with regard to the origin of the colony of the Mysomacedones. "Mysian" troops served in the armies of the later Seleucids, Achaeus in Pisidia (Polybius v 76, 7), Antiochus III at Magnesia, where they are described as *sagittarii* (Livy xxxvii 40, 8) and Antiochus IV (Polybius xxx 25, 3 and *II Maccab.* v 24, see Niese in *Herm.* xxxv [1900], p. 296). Since none of these rulers included the district of Mysia among his possessions, these troops were evidently mercenaries, like the "Mysians" in Egypt who received land and seem to have formed a special category among the inhabitants (*Pap. Petrie* iii p. 279f., no. 112 E 1 l. 2 and II ll. 4 and 19 and *Pap. Hibeh.* i 32), and it is a question in their case likewise whether the term denoted nationality or equipment. Mysians, however, served also in the armies of Attalus I (see Chap. I note 34) and Eumenes II (Livy xlii 57, 7), and Mysians, as well as Macedonians, received citizenship in Pergamum after the death of Attalus III (see above). These were also, in accordance with the usual practice of the Pergamene kings, mercenary soldiers; see A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* xii (1908), p. 368f.: K. Grote *Das Griech. Söldnerwesen d. Hellenist. Zeit* (Weida i. Thür. 1913), p. 76: G. T. Griffith *Mercenaries of the Hellenist. World* (Cambridge 1935), p. 171f. It may be supposed, therefore, that the Mysians who appear in the name of the Mysomacedones were a group taken from a similar corps of mercenaries and settled here, possibly by one of the Seleucids but perhaps more probably by one of the Pergamene kings, who either combined them with Macedonians in his service or added them to a colony of the latter already in existence; see Buresch in *A.M.* xix (1894), p. 123f.: Ed. Meyer *ibid.* p. 645, note 2: *O.G.I.* 338, note 14: A. J. Reinach *ibid.* p. 386, note 2. It seems probable also that the community called Mysotimolitae in Pliny *N.H.* v 111 had a similar origin, but in this case the "Mysian" veterans were combined with natives of the region of Mt. Tmolus in a settlement perhaps in eastern Lydia, as was suggested by Keil-Premerstein III p. 49f. and Keil in *R.E.* xvi 1194, in the general neighbourhood of Blaundus.

4. For the situation of Sardis see Strabo xiii p. 625f.: Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1872, p. 84f.: Philippson II p. 72: H. C. Butler in *Sardis* I (1922), p. 16f. Most of the summit of the acropolis has been carried away by erosion and landslides due to earthquakes, until only a narrow peak remains. The Roman city extended into the plain of the Hermus; the ruins of its theatre and stadium are northeast of the acropolis. The expression *τὴν Σάρδεων ἀκρόπολιν καθήρηκας* was used to signify the accomplishment of a difficult feat in Lucian *de Merc. Cond.* 13. In Polybius viii 20, 12 the citadel is described as *ὀχυρώτατος τόπος τῆς οἰκουμένης.*

For the Temple of Artemis see Butler in *Sardis* II (1925), p. 15f., who dated the oldest portions of the extant structure, probably built on the site of an earlier one, in the latter part of the fifth century; much of it, however, is of a later date. It was an octastyle peripteral building with Ionic columns and about 300 feet in length. It was one of the five sanctuaries in which the record of the sale of the estate to Laodice was inscribed by order of Antiochus II (Welles, no. 18, see Chap. III note 40).

5. Arrian *Anab.* I 17, 3f.: Diodorus XVII 21, 7. The statement of Arrian that Alexander Σαρδιανοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκε καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν cannot mean that he gave the Sardians (still less "the other Lydians") real "freedom and autonomy." For the "friendship" offered to Miletus see *Milet* I 3, p. 286, no. 135=*Syll.*[3] 273, a decree of Miletus, accepting the offer and granting privileges to Sardians resident in Miletus. The Milesians in Sardis were placed under the care of οὓς ἂν ἀποδέξωσι Σαρδιανοὶ ἑαυτῶν. It was suggested by von Wilamowitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 89 that the lack of any regular officials in Sardis shows that this offer is to be placed in the Persian period; but it may equally well date from the time immediately after Alexander's grant, before any public officials could be created.

6. For the surrender of Sardis to Seleucus see Polyaenus IV 9, 4. The existence of a record-office of the Seleucids at Sardis is shown by the fact that the sale of the estate to Laodice (Welles, nos. 18-19, see above note 4) was entered by command of Antiochus II "in the royal records in Sardis"; see W. L. Westermann in *C.P.* XVI (1921), p. 19. Antiochus, after the grant to his "friends" of a part of the mainland territory of Samos, "went up" from Ephesus to Sardis (*S.E.G.* I 366, see Chap. IV note 27). In 218 Sardis was the residence of Achaeus (Polybius V 77, 1). For the coins minted at Sardis by all the Seleucid rulers (including Achaeus) of the third century except Seleucus III see E. T. Newell *Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints*, p. 242f.

7. For Sardis in the war against Antiochus III see Polybius XXI 11, 1; 13, 1; 16, 1: Livy XXXVII 18, 6; 25, 2; 26, 1; 44, 5; 45, 3: Appian *Syr.* 36. For the relations of Sardis with Eumenes II see Daux in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) I pp. 289f. and 296 (=*O.G.I.* 305), two decrees of Delphi (both reprinted in *Herm.* LXIX [1934], p. 220f.); the second was enacted, probably, after Eumenes's defeat of the Galatians in 167 (see Chap. I note 62), the first perhaps in 162. These decrees record the Delphians' acceptance of the "Panathenaea and Eumeneia," a festival established by the *demos* of Sardis as a musical and gymnastic contest, to which, a little later, an ἀγὼν ἱππικός was added. In the first decree the *demos* is praised for τῇ προαιρέσει ἣν ἔ[χει ποτὶ τὸν Θε]ὸν καὶ Βασιλῆ Εὐμένη. The festival was still celebrated in the later first century before Christ; see *Ins. Sardis* 27. A decree of Sardis, passed, apparently, under Attalus II (*Ins. Sardis* 4), which mentions the Council and People, *strategoi* and a *grammateus* of the *demos*,

shows that at this time the city had the right of self-government (see below note 44). In 164/3 B.C. Sardis was chosen by Sulpicius Galus as a place in which to hear the charges against Eumenes II; see Chap. I note 66. For the pact with Ephesus, showing that in 94/3 both cities were independent, see *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437 and Chap. VII note 47.

8. For the situation of Magnesia (Manisa) see Strabo XIII p. 621: Keil-Premerstein I p. 1f.: Philippson II p. 23. The prehistoric colossal rock-relief of the seated woman which was regarded by Pausanias (III 22, 4 and V 13, 7) as a representation of the Great Mother is still to be seen in a rock-cut niche on the mountain-side about three miles southeast of the modern town; see G. Weber *Le Sipyle et ses Monuments* (Paris 1880), p. 37f.: Ramsay in *J.H.S.* III (1882), p. 39f.: Humann in *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 28f.: C. J. Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 25. The earliest mention of Magnesia is in Hellanicus frg. 125 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 61) = frg. 191 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* I p. 151), describing the peculiar qualities of a spring near the city. Magnesia is called *ἡ ἐπὶ Σιπύλου* by Hellanicus, *ἡ ὑπὸ Σιπύλῳ* by Strabo (*l.c.*), and *ἀπὸ Σιπύλου* in *C.I.G.* 2933 = *O.G.I.* 501, *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 81f., no. 5 and *C.I.L.* III 7112 = *I.G.R.* IV 1545; on the coins it is usually called *Σιπύλου* but *ἀπὸ Σιπύλου* is sometimes found (see *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 137f.). *Πρὸς Σιπύλῳ* occurs in a decree of the city of the second century before Christ (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 410f., no. 12, see below note 9) and on a coin of the same period (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 139, no. 12), and this is probably the most correct form; *ad Sipylum* is used in Livy XXXVII 56, 3 and *ab Sipylo* in Livy XXXVII 44, 4 and Pliny *N.H.* V 120.

9. Coins of Seleucus I and of Antiochus Hierax and perhaps of Seleucus II were assigned to Magnesia by Newell (*Western Seleucid Mints*, p. 271f.). For the agreement with Smyrna see *O.G.I.* 229 and Chap. III note 95. Magnesia, however, was not absorbed by Smyrna, as its subsequent autonomy shows (see below). For Antiochus III in Magnesia and the battle in which he was defeated by the Scipios see Livy XXXVI 43, 9 and XXXVII 39f. According to Kromayer *Antike Schlachtfelder* II p. 163f. and Kromayer and Veith *Schlachtenatlas* II p. 43f. and bl. 9, the battle took place on the north side of the Hermus, just above its junction with the Phrygius (Hyllus) about nine miles northeast of Magnesia. For the surrender of Magnesia after the battle and its acquisition by Eumenes II see Livy XXXVII 44, 4 and 56, 3. For its autonomy in the second century see Keil-Premerstein II no. 1, a decree of the *demos*, convened *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις*, honouring a stephanephorus and gymnasiarch, and *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 410f., no. 12, a decree passed by the Council and People as a *γνώμη στρα[τηγῶν]* in honour of a *dikastes* (see below note 50). For the grant of freedom see above p. 234. For the territory of Magnesia, extending to the northern bank of the Hermus, see Keil-Premerstein I p. 44. The city seems to have owned the villages (*κατοικίαι*, see below note 69) of the *Τυανωλλεῖται*, *Ὀρμοιτηνοί* and *Δαρειουκωμῆται*; see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 394f. = *I.G.R.* IV 1332, 1343 and 1352 and M.K.B. V (1884-5), p. 77, no. *νπέ* and Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 138.

10. For the situation of Thyateira (Akhisar) see Strabo XIII p. 625: Schuchhardt in *Alt. v. Perg.* I p. 143: Philippson II p. 12. For its history see M. Clerc *de Rebus Thyatirenorum Comm. epigr.* (Paris 1893), p. 11f.: Keil-Premerstein II p. 28: Keil in *R.E.* VI A 657f. See also Tscherikower *Hellenist. Städtegründungen*, p. 21f. The stream which flows near Thyateira is called Lycus by Pliny (*N.H.* V 115); its name appears also in an inscription found near the city (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 100, no. 23). According to Pliny, Thyateira was originally called Pelopia and Euhippia, according to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*), Pelopeia and Semiramis; an inscription (*Cl. Rev.* III [1889], p. 136, no. 2) reads Σεμίραμις, Πελώπια, Θυάτειρα, but, since it may be merely a fragment, it is impossible to guess at the connexion between these words. It is also difficult to accept the tradition which assigns these supposed early names to the city; see Clerc, p. 9f. The name Thyateira is evidently Asianic; the suffix found also in other place-names, *e.g.* Ἀπατεῖρα, Τημενοθύραι and Γριμενοθύραι, is perhaps the Lydian equivalent of *stronghold*; see S. Reinach in *R.E.G.* III (1890), p. 64: Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 165: Keil-Premerstein III p. 87. The statement of Strabo (XIII p. 625) that Thyateira was a κατοικία Μακεδόνων and that of Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*) that the place received its name from Seleucus I (although the supposed derivation from Θυγάτειρα is of course fanciful) are supported by a dedication to "King Seleucus" by τῶν ἐν Θυατείροις Μακεδόνων οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, dated by the lettering in the early third century (*O.G.I.* 211), as well as by the mention of [οἱ π]ερὶ Θυάτε[ιρα Μα]κεδόνες in *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 466, no. 32. A "Macedonian" appears also in *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 398, no. 1. The place was evidently one of the Seleucid "Macedonian" military colonies (see above note 3). It was supposed by Ed. Meyer in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 647 that, because Seleucus I after his victory at Corupedium hastened on to Thrace, the colony was founded, not by him, but by Antiochus I. But since the battle took place near the northern bank of the Hermus not far from its junction with the Phrygius (see Chap. I note 5) and so not more than 25 miles from Thyateira, there is no difficulty in supposing that Seleucus, after his victory, settled some of his soldiers in the neighbourhood. In any case, there was a settlement in the place in 275 B.C., for a dedication to Apollo Pityaënus, presumably the deity of a neighbouring village, is dated in the 37th year of the Seleucid era; see Keil-Premerstein II no. 19. The mention of the dedicator's son as "captured by the Galatians" indicates that the territory had been plundered by the Galatians (see Chap. I notes 11 and 12).

11. The subjection of Thyateira to Attalus I (as well as to Eumenes II) is shown by the inscription on a statue erected in the second century after Christ by οἱ ἀπὸ Βασιλέων Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμένους κατοικοῦντες Μερνούφυτα (evidently a village, see below note 69) Ἡρακληασταί (Keil-Premerstein II no. 51). For bronze coins issued in the third century see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 147, no. 2 and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 292. For Philip's invasion see Chap. I note 39 and for the raid of Eumenes in 190 see Livy XXXVII 8, 7 and Chap. I note 81, where it is pointed out that the minting

of cistophori in Thyateira in 196/5 shows that at this time the city was held by Pergamum. Nevertheless, it was evidently occupied by Antiochus III in 190, when he encamped *circa Thyatiram* (Livy xxxvii 37, 6 and 38, 1), and after the battle of Magnesia the city surrendered to the Scipios (Livy xxxvii 44, 4). For its organization in the second century see Keil-Premerstein II no. 44 and *R. Phil.* xxxvii (1913), p. 326f., no. 18 (wreaths presented by ὁ δῆμος, οἱ Νέοι and οἱ παῖδες).

12. For Stratoniceia (near Siledik) near the place where the Gelenbe Çay breaks through hills into the broad plain of Kırkağaç, containing the pools known as the Sources of the Caïcus (see Chap. II note 20), see Radet in *B.C.H.* xi (1887), p. 116f.: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* xciv (1889), p. 17f.: *Alt. v. Perg.* I p. 138: Philippson I p. 64f.: Robert *Villes*, p. 43f.: Ruge in *R.E. Suppl.* vii 1244f. Robert pointed out (p. 48f.) that, since the dates of the cistophori issued under Eumenes II are reckoned by the King's regnal years and not, as previously supposed, by those of the enlargement of his kingdom (see Chap. I note 81), the cistophorus minted at Stratoniceia which bears the date BA. ETM. Δ (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 28f., no. 1 and *BM. Cat. Lydia*, p. 284, no. 1) was issued in 194/3 B.C. Consequently, the place was named, not for Eumenes's wife Stratonice, to whom the King was not even betrothed until 188 (see Chap. I note 72), but for Stratonice, the wife of Antiochus I; it was therefore a Seleucid foundation. In the first century before Christ it had the usual ephebi; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872, p. 63f. = M.K.B. I (1873-75), p. 131f., no. να′ = Michel 643 (incomplete) = A. Dain *Inscrs. Gr. du Mus. du Louvre* 41 and Robert *ibid.* p. 45, note 3 and *R.A.* II (1933), p. 131. Robert observed (*Villes*, p. 52f.) that the ethnic adjective Στρατονικεὺς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰνδειπεδίου found in a fragment of the lists of the Pergamene ephebi of the late second or the first century (*A.M.* xxxv [1910], p. 422, no. 11, and as [. . . Ἰ]νδειπεδίο[υ] in *A.M.* xxxii [1907], p. 446, no. 328), and the coins of Ἰνδιπεδιατῶν (or Ἰνδει.) of the time of Trajan or earlier (Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 30: *BM. Cat. Lydia*, p. 284, no. 2: *Coll. Wadd.* 2523: Ruge in *Phil. Woch.* lvii [1937], 1257) show that there was a community of this name in the Plain of Kırkağaç (the ancient name of which, as Ruge observed [*l.c.*], was evidently Indipedium), and that the coins issued under Trajan and Hadrian inscribed Ἰνδει. Στρατονει. or Ἰνδι. Στρα. (Imhoof-Blumer, p. 30f. and *BM. Cat. Lydia*, p. 285) are due to a *sympoliteia* between this community and the city. For the defeat of Aristonicus at Stratoniceia see Chap. VI note 21. For the grant of city-rights under Hadrian see Chap. XXVI note 19.

13. Philippson observed (I p. 64f.) that the Plain of Kırkağaç was surrounded more or less symmetrically by settlements built on hills, namely, Stratoniceia, Sandaina, Gergitha, Germe, Nacrasa and Acrasus. Of these, Sandaina is known from an inscription of ὁ δῆμος τῶν Σανδαινειτῶν of the imperial period (*I.G.R.* IV 1155), found at Çavdar, immediately east of the defile which the Caïcus enters on leaving the plain; the town was perhaps on the hill of Asarlık, a short distance to the north; see Schuchhardt in

A.M. XXIV (1890), p. 153: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 138: Robert *Villes*, p. 182, note 3. Gergitha "near the Sources of the Caïcus," to which, according to Strabo XIII p. 616, an "Attalus" moved settlers from the Troad (see Chap. I note 29), seems to have been in this neighbourhood, but its position cannot be determined; see Leaf *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 345. The strategic value of these sites was great, for they commanded the road leading along the Caïcus to Pergamum. See also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 5f. Germe (or Gerame), known from the Itineraries (*Tab. Peut.* IX 4 and *Itin. Ant.* 335), which place it on the road from Pergamum to Thyateira, may have been in the neighbourhood of Soma; see *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 135f. It is probable, however, that it was a place of no importance, for the coins of the imperial period with the legend Γερμηνῶν (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, pp. 3 and 66f.: *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, pp. xxxiii f. and 64f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 79f.), which were formerly assigned to it, were in all likelihood issued by another Germe, in northern Mysia near Cyzicus; see Robert *Villes*, p. 180f., approved by Ruge in *Phil. Woch.* LVII (1937), 1259f., who, however, questioned Robert's suggestion that the Germe between Pergamum and Thyateira never really existed and that the name is due only to an error of the Itineraries. For Nacrasa and Acrasus see below note 14. Beyond the western end of the second narrows through which the Caïcus flows and commanding the entrance from this end was Apollonia, standing on a hill north of the river; see Strabo XIII p. 625: von Diest *ibid.* p. 16: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 1, p. 135: Philippson I p. 81. The hill is surrounded on three sides by a tributary of the Caïcus (the Akçehavlı Çay), which was identified with the Mysius of Strabo XIII p. 616 by von Diest (*l.c.*), followed by Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1189. Apollonia was supposed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 126), followed by Tscherikower (*ibid.* p. 20), to have been an ancient place refounded and renamed by the Pergamene kings. It seems, however, to have been in existence at the beginning of the fourth century; for it is presumably the Apollonia, one of τῶν πλησίον χωρίων which in 399 sent aid to the Persian Asidates when Xenophon attacked him after setting out from Pergamum; see Xenophon *Anab.* VII 8, 15 and Thraemer *Pergamos* (Leipzig 1888), p. 201f.

14. The "Macedonian" colony (see above note 3) at Nacrasa is attested by a statue of Hadrian erected by ἡ Μακεδόνων Νακρασειτῶν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος (*C.I.G.* 3522 = *I.G.R.* IV 1160). For Acrasus see [οἱ περὶ Ἀκ]ρασον Μακεδόνες in *O.G.I.* 290, as restored by Ghione in *Mem. Accad. Torino* LV (1905), p. 116, note 1 and Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 523 and *Villes*, p. 75f., an inscription honouring an official of Eumenes II. It seems to appear as Ἀκρασιω[τῶν] on a milestone, erected probably under the emperor Tacitus (*C.I.L.* III 7190 = *I.G.R.* IV 1163). The sepulchral inscription of a Μακ[εδ]ών (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 477, no. 54 = *A.E.M.* XI [1887], p. 188) which was found, apparently, near Ilyaslar (see below) may belong to either place, for the situations of both are uncertain; see Robert *Villes*, p. 71f. The fact that the name of the river Caïcus appears on a coin of Acrasus of the time of Commodus (Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Numism.* XXIII [1924], p. 293, no. 297) shows that the place was on the northern side of

the watershed, and the milestone, already cited, of the Ἀκρασιω[τῶν] was found at Kırkağaç in the plain of the upper Caïcus (see above note 13). In view of this evidence, the inscription of an Ἀκρασιώτης on a tomb-altar found at Yenice, seven miles northeast of Thyateira (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 176), is of no aid in determining the site of the town, as this village is much too far from the Caïcus. The fact that the inscription of Nacrasa in honour of Hadrian, cited above, was found at Bakır, about two miles southeast of Kırkağaç, suggests that this was the site of Nacrasa, but the actual provenience of the stone is unknown and it may have been brought from some distance. Nevertheless, Nacrasa has usually been placed on the hill of Maltepe, close to Bakır, and Acrasus at Ilyaslar, a hill about five miles to the southeast, commanding the route across the watershed; see Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text* p. 4 A: Philippson I p. 71: Ruge in *Phil. Woch.* XLVIII (1928), 1372. The view of Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 2 and *Alt. v. Perg.* I p. 139 (adopted by Tscherikower, p. 21) that Ilyaslar was the site of Nacrasa was refuted by Robert (*Villes*, p. 71, note 6). The suggestion of Keil in *R.E.* XVI 1608 that the civil administration of Nacrasa was at Maltepe and the military colony at Ilyaslar is an unconvincing counsel of despair. If an inscription copied at Bakır (*O.G.I.* 268), dated in the first year of a King Attalus, which records honours to an ἐπιστάτης (see above note 1), who had previously been στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως, and also mentions (τ)ὸν τῆς πόλεως ταμίαν may be assigned to Nacrasa and connected with Attalus I, it would show that in 240 B.C. the place was in the possession of Pergamum and had a certain amount of self-administration. Robert, however, pointed out (*Villes*, p. 36, note 6) that the king was probably Attalus II and that the connexion of the stone with Nacrasa is highly uncertain, since it may have been brought from Stratoniceia or Acrasus. The mention of the ἀρχεῖον (l. 18) indicates a place of some importance, and it is possible that the *polis* in question was Pergamum.

15. For the site of Attaleia (near Selçuklu) see Radet in *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 170f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 19: *Alt. v. Perg.* I p. 140: Keil-Premerstein II p. 60f.: Robert in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 90f. According to Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ἀττάλεια, it was originally called Agroeira or Alloeira, but even if this be true, Attaleia was obviously a Pergamene foundation. It is usually identified (*e.g.* by Schuchhardt in *A.M.* XIII p. 13 and *Alt. v. Perg. l.c.*: A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* XII [1908], p. 193f.: Keil-Premerstein *l.c.*) with the Ἀττάλεια mentioned in the agreement between Eumenes I and his mercenaries (*O.G.I.* 266, see Chap. I notes 16 and 17) as the quarters of a company of soldiers. If this identification is correct, Attaleia was founded as a military colony by Eumenes I, probably after his great victory over Antiochus I and named after his grandfather, Philetaerus's father. Dedications by ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀτταλεατῶν erected, probably, during the Roman imperial period show that at the time the city had the usual officials of a Greek *polis*; see *B.C.H.* XI p. 173 (=*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 226, no. 57) and p. 400f. (=*I.G.R.* IV 1168 c) and *I.G.R.* IV 1167.

16. For Apollonis (near Palamut) see Strabo XIII p. 625: Fontrier in M.K.B. VI (1886), p. 61f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 21: Schuchhardt *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 2f.; XXIV (1899), p. 153f.; *Alt. v. Perg.* I p. 141f.: Keil-Premerstein I p. 45f.: Philippson II p. 6: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 23f. A ring-wall, many stones of which are quasi-polygonal, still surrounds the ruins. The correct name of the city was Apollonis, as found in Strabo *l.c.* and XIV p. 646 and Cicero *pro Flacco* 51; the ethnic adjective appears as Ἀπολλωνιδεύ[ς] in *I.G.R.* IV 1514 and on the coins of the city issued during the second and first centuries before Christ and under the Roman emperors; see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 26f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 19f. It was, however, also called Apollonidea, as on the monument erected by the Asianic cities to Tiberius in A.D. 30 (see *C.I.L.* X 1624=Dessau 156 and Chap. XXI note 23) and in the ethnic adjective Apollonidensis (Cicero *pro Flacco* 71; *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 2, 10; *ad Att.* V 13, 2: Tacitus *Ann.* 47, 4) or Apollonidiensis (Pliny *N.H.* V 126). The genitive form Ἀπολλωνείων seems also to occur in an inscription of the second century after Christ (Keil-Premerstein I no. 99). A cistophorus, issued at Apollonis and bearing the date BA. ETM. Δ (Imhoof-Blumer *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1884 III pp. 14 and 32 and *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 26: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 18, no. 1), indicates that the Pergamene colony was in existence in the fourth year of Eumenes II (see Chap. I note 81), *i.e.* 194/3 B.C.; accordingly, its foundation is probably to be ascribed to Attalus I. A fragmentary inscription, found at the neighbouring Balıca and, therefore, probably from Apollonis, records the [συνο]ικισμὸς τῆς πόλεως by the brother of a king, apparently Eumenes II; see Keil-Premerstein II no. 113=Robert *Villes*, p. 32, note 2. This synoecism was presumably carried out at the very beginning of Eumenes's reign by his brother Attalus. The question has arisen as to the connexion with Apollonis of the inscriptions of οἱ ἐκ Δοιδύης Μακεδόν[ες] (*O.G.I.* 314) and ο[ἱ ἐκ .]εσπούρων Μακεδόνες (Keil-Premerstein I no. 95), found, respectively, at Palamut and Dere Köy (also in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruins of Apollonis); the first is dated in the 37th year of Eumenes II, *i.e.* 161/60, the second in the 7th year of Attalus, identified with Attalus II by the editors, who, accordingly, dated the inscription in 153/2. Another inscription found in the neighbourhood, which is dated in the first year of Attalus (Keil-Premerstein I no. 94), was also assigned by the editors to the same monarch. It was originally supposed by Schuchhardt (*A.M.* XIII p. 15), followed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 126), that Doedye was the pre-Pergamene name of Apollonis and that these "Macedonians" were the original Seleucid settlers. Later, however, in view of the discovery of an older, smaller stronghold on a hill about 500 yards northeast of Apollonis, and also because of the attribution to the city of the cistophorus dated in the early part of Eumenes's reign, Schuchhardt abandoned this theory, supposing the smaller stronghold to be Doedye; see *A.M.* XXIV p. 153f. and *Alt. v. Perg. l.c.* The difficulty of identifying Doedye with Apollonis was also pointed out by Keil and von Premerstein (I p. 45 and II p. 54); they regarded both Doedye and · espura as otherwise unknown colonies of soldiers who were settled in villages in the general

neighbourhood and erected their dedications in Apollonis as the centre of the region. The fact that a shield of the Macedonian type, which appears on coins of Antiochus I (see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, p. 22f., no. 167f. and Macdonald *Hunter. Coll.* III p. 18f., no. 48f.) appears also on coins of Apollonis of the second century before Christ (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 26: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. xxxiv note 4: Robert in *L'Antiquité Class.* IV [1935], p. 163f. and *Villes*, p. 33) seems to show both that these two "Macedonian" groups of colonists were of Seleucid origin and that they afterward united with the city (see above note 3). The organization of Apollonis in the first century before Christ is shown by fragments of the lists of ephebi dated, in the usual fashion, by the eponymous stephanephorus (or gymnasiarch) and the ephebarch; see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 86f., no. 6: *R.E.G.* III (1890), p. 69, no. 22: Keil-Premerstein I nos. 96 and 97: Robert *Villes*, p. 29f. Apollonis was alluded to as a *libera civitas* and the inhabitants described as *fidelissimi socii* by Cicero in *pro Flacco* 70f.

17. For Philadelphia (Alaşehir) see Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872, p. 93*f.: Keil-Premerstein I p. 24 and III p. 15: Keil in *R.E.* XIX 2091f.: Philippson IV p. 31. For the Cogamis see Chap. II note 7. For the road connecting Philadelphia with Hierapolis and Laodiceia see Chap. II note 20. For the earthquakes see Strabo XII p. 579 and XIII p. 628: Lydus *de Ost.* 53 and *de Mens.* IV 115 Wuensch. For the earthquake under Tiberius and the rebuilding of the city, after which it took the name Neocaesareia see Chap. XXI note 23. For the Catacecaumene see Chap. II note 6. The mention of ἡ παλαιὰ πόλις on a stele from Philadelphia, dated ἔτους ριϛ′ (A.D. 85/6, according to the era of Actium) may refer either to a settlement older than Attalus's foundation or to an abandoned quarter of the city; see Keil-Premerstein III no. 20. The suggestion of A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 54), however, that the organization of Philadelphia by trade-guilds in the imperial period shows that it was an old Lydian town has too insecure a foundation; see below note 49. A colony of "Macedonian" veterans near Bebekli, some seventeen miles northeast of Philadelphia, is attested by an inscription of οἱ ἐκ Κ[ο]βηδύλης Μ[ακεδό]ν[ες] dated in the 35th year of Eumenes II, *i.e.* 163/2 B.C.; see Keil-Premerstein II no. 223. The appearance of the Macedonian shield on coins of Philadelphia issued in the second century, as also on those of Apollonis (see above note 16), suggests that this colony was united with the city; for these and other coins of Philadelphia of this period see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 114f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, pp. lxxxiv and 187. In the first or second century after Christ Bebekli belonged to Philadelpheia, for it was the site of Καστωλλὸς κώμη Φιλαδελφέων (*O.G.I.* 448, see below note 69); the region was presumably the Καστωλοῦ πεδίον of Xenophon *Anab.* I 1, 2 and 9, 7 and *Hell.* I 4, 3 (see Keil-Premerstein II p. 115). Adruta, southeast of Philadelpheia, where there was a settlement (Keil-Premerstein III no. 46, οἱ κάτοικοι ἐν Ἀδρούτοις), evidently belonged to the city; but the suggestion of Swoboda (*Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 200) that the grave-stone of two men described as "Macedonians" (Keil-Premerstein III no. 47) shows that the place was a

military colony is based on insufficient evidence. For other villages belonging to Philadelpheia (in the imperial period) see below note 69. For the reference to the city as a μικραὶ Ἀθῆναι by the philosopher Proclus see Lydus *de Mens.* IV 58 Wuensch.

18. For the plain below Apameia (Dinar) and the rivers see Chap. II notes 10 and 11. For the situation of the city see Strabo XII p. 577f.: Livy XXXVIII 13, 5f.: Pliny *N.H.* V 106: Curtius Rufus III 1: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXV 13f.: G. Hirschfeld in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 1f.: Hogarth in *J.H.S.* IX (1888), p. 343f.: G. Weber *Dinair, Célènes, Apamée* (Besançon 1892): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 396f. See also Tscherikower *ibid.* pp. 32f. and 155. For Celaenae see Herodotus VII 26f. (the entertainment of Xerxes and his army by a rich citizen) and Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 7f. It is described in the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* VII 3 as the largest city in Phrygia. Its site with reference to Apameia is unknown. For Alexander and Celaenae see Arrian *Anab.* I 29, 1f. and Curtius Rufus III 1, 6f. For its occupation in 321/20 by Eumenes of Cardia, who sold the farms and residences in the neighbourhood to his captains and so obtained the money needed to pay his soldiers, see Plutarch *Eum.* 8. For Antigonus see Diodorus XVIII 52, 1; XIX 69, 2; 93, 4: Plutarch *Demetr.* 6, 3: Köhler in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1898, p. 835.

19. *J.H.S.* LV (1935), p. 71f. = *M.A.M.A.* VI 173, with corrections by Robert in *R.E.G.* LII (1939), p. 508f., a decree of the βουλή (of the time of Eumenes II) in praise of a former gymnasiarch who had been honoured by the Νέοι and had given an endowment for a yearly assembly of the ephebi(?) and the boys at the festival of Hermes and Heracles, the patron-gods of the gymnasium. Cistophori were minted at Apameia under Eumenes II and Attalus II; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 205f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. xxxii f. and 69f.

20. Strabo XII p. 579, where it is said that a similar disaster was reported to have taken place in the time of Alexander: Nicolaus of Damascus quoted in Athenaeus VIII 6, p. 332 F (*F.H.G.* III p. 416, frg. 80 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 377, frg. 74). For Apameia's surrender to Mithradates see Chap. IX note 29. According to Strabo (*l.c.*), the worship of Poseidon at Apameia, a city far distant from the sea, was due to the frequency of earthquakes. For the commerce of Apameia see Strabo XII p. 577. The importance of its markets is shown by the fact that the city had an ἐμποριάρχης (*I.G.R.* IV 796), an official who was evidently at the head of a local market and not, as suggested by G. Mendel in *B.Ç.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 408, the head of an association of merchants; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 245. For the word see also Robert in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 307f. and Chap. XXIX note 8. Apameia is called ἡ Κιβωτός (*i.e.* chest) by Strabo (XII pp. 569 and 576), Ptolemy (V 2, 17) and Pliny (*N.H.* V 106), and the legend κιβωτοί is found on coins issued under Hadrian, which bear a representation of five chests; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 211, no. 19 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 96, no. 155.

It was suggested by Hirschfeld (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 15), followed by Head (*H.N.*² p. 666), that this surname was given to Apameia because of its commercial importance, since the merchandise arriving in it was packed in chests. Late Jewish and Christian writings, however, have preserved a tradition which identified the mountain back of Celaenae with Ararat as the place where the Biblical Ark rested after the Deluge; see *Oracula Sibyllina* I 261f.: Cedrenus I p. 20 Bonn: Syncellus I p. 38 Bonn. Coins of Apameia, moreover, issued in the third century after Christ, bear the representation of the Ark, inscribed Νῶε, floating on water, with a male and a female figure standing both on it and beside it, as well as a raven and a dove above it; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 101, no. 82: G. Macdonald *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 480, no. 21: Head *H.N.*² p. 667, fig. 313. Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 671f.), followed by Tscherikower (p. 32f.), rejected Hirschfeld's explanation of the origin of the surname Κιβωτός in favour of the theory that some local legend of a deluge led the Jews of Apameia to regard one of the neighbouring mountains as the resting-place of the Ark and that their influence caused the surname to be given to the city. But whatever may have been the origin of these late coins, it is difficult, even in spite of the great wealth of the Jews in Apameia and the neighbourhood in the middle of the first century before Christ (see Cicero *pro Flacco* 68), to believe that in Strabo's time they were influential enough to attach the name of the Ark to that of the city; moreover, the coin of Hadrian with *five* κιβωτοί cannot be explained by this theory. It is much more probable, as Hirschfeld suggested (p. 15f., note 7), that the Ark was associated with Apameia by the Jews because of the already existing surname of the city. The trade of Apameia with the eastern and southern portions of Asia Minor was also emphasized by Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* XXXV 14).

21. For the situation of Eumeneia (Işıklı) and for the part of the plain of the upper Maeander near it see Ramsay *C.B.* I pp. 353f. and 235f. and Ruge in *R.E.* VI 1082. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 108 (where Eumeneia is wrongly listed in Caria), the city was *Cludro flumini adposita*; he adds, however, *Glaucus amnis*, and the name of the river Γλαῦκος appears on coins of the third century after Christ; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 214, no. 26f. The Glaucus was identified with the Kûfi Çay, which flows from the hills into the plain near the city, by Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 354 and Ruge in *R.E.* VII 1408. According to this view, the Cludrus was the channel which drained the water from the springs at the foot of the mountains into the Maeander. The foundation of Eumeneia was attributed by Eutropius (IV 4, 2) to Eumenes II, but to Attalus II by Stephanus Byzantius, and the names of the founder and his brother survived in the name of the festival Eumeneia Philadelpheia which appears on coins of the time of Gallienus; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 164f. The mention in two inscriptions (Ramsay *C.B.* I nos. 195 and 196 [=*I.G.R.* IV 742]) of Apollo Propylaeus and the representation of a double axe on the former of these led Ramsay to suggest (p. 354f.) that the god is to be identified with Men Ascaënos, whose name appears in a list of several deities found near Eumeneia (*C.B.* I no. 88=no. 197=*I.G.R.* IV

739) and whose sanctuary Ramsay arbitrarily placed (p. 241f.) at Attanassus (known only from the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*), supposed to have been in the plain near Eumeneia. There seems, however, to be no ground for the identification, and it is very uncertain whether Men is the rider-god who appears on some of the coins of the city (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 229). Ramsay's further suggestion that Eumeneia was founded on land originally belonging to Men is based only on the very uncertain theory (see below note 63) that the Pergamene kings seized temple-lands for their foundations. The presence in Eumeneia of Achaean settlers is shown by coins of the second and third centuries after Christ which bear the legend Εὐμενέων Ἀχαιῶν; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 213, no. 22f.: L. Forrer *Weber Coll.* III no. 7092f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 229, no. 3 (Εὐμένεια and Ἀχαιῶν on opposite sides). These Achaeans may have been soldiers settled in Eumeneia by Attalus II, like the "Mysians" in other colonies (see above note 3). Achaean troops, sent to Eumenes II in accordance with his alliance with the Achaean League (Polybius XXI 3 b [9]), served against Antiochus III (Livy XXXVII 20, 1f. and 39, 9: Appian *Syr.* 26 and 31), and after the battle of Magnesia they (Ἀχαιῶν οἱ διαβάντες κατὰ συμμαχίαν πρὸς Βασιλέα Εὐμένη) erected a statue of Attalus (*Syll.*[3] 606, see Chap. I note 54). Some of them may have been settled later at Eumeneia. On the other hand, the settlers may have been Achaeans either sent to Attalus II as auxiliaries or employed by him as mercenaries. It is difficult to agree with the argument of A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* XIII (1909), p. 368f. that the Achaeans of Eumeneia were not mercenaries furnished by the League, on the ground that in the account of the restoration of the honours paid by the Achaeans to Eumenes in 170 (Polybius XXVIII 7 and 12, 7) there is no mention of any promise to send troops to the King. It is also hard to accept the suggestion offered by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 54) that these Achaeans may have been "Phrygians who had concocted a legend of Achaean descent." As Reinach admitted, the fact that at Eumeneia there were tribes bearing the names Ἀργειάς and Ἡραΐς (*C.B.* I nos. 206, 207, 357, 358 and 378, see below note 48) suggests that there was an Argive tradition in the city, and it seems not improbable that the Achaean settlers were Argives, since Argos was a member of the League. The city-rights of Eumeneia are shown by the coins issued under the Pergamene kings of the second century; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. lx and 211. For inscriptions of Roman soldiers (including several *ὀνετρανοί*) see *I.G.R.* IV 729-738. The suggestion of Ritterling in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), p. 28f. that in the third century after Christ Eumeneia was a garrison-town is borne out by an inscription (*M.A.M.A.* IV 328) mentioning the *castra* [*praesidio*]*rum*.

22. For Colossae see Herodotus VII 30: G. Weber in *A.M.* XVI (1891), p. 194f.: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 208f.: *M.A.M.A.* VI p. xi. Weber showed that the statement of Herodotus that the Lycus, while inside the city, plunged into a chasm and disappeared, issuing forth five stades below, has no foundation; he observed that in places in the upper part of the gorge (the total length of which is two and a half miles) the water of the river penetrates the limestone

bottom and disappears from view, and suggested that this may have given rise to the story of an underground channel. For Colossae in the fifth century see Herodotus *l.c.* and Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 6. For the textile industries see Strabo XII p. 578 and Chap. II note 83. The colour of the wool was called *Colossinus* (Pliny *N.H.* XXI 51). In Pliny *N.H.* V 145 Colossae is included in a list of *oppida celeberrima*; this, however, is probably taken from an old source, since it contains the name Celaenae (see above note 18) instead of Apameia. It is, nevertheless, inaccurate to include Colossae in a list of πολίσματα in Strabo XII p. 576, as did Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 209) and Ruge (*R.E.* XI 1119), and to infer that the city had greatly diminished in size and importance; for there is a lacuna after the word πολίσματα and it cannot be assumed that this term applies to the list of places which follows. Colossae was an important place in the imperial period, for an inscription of this time and coins issued in the second and third centuries after Christ show the usual officials; see *I.G.R.* IV 870: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* pp. 260f. and 525f.: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 154f.: Ramsay, p. 212.

23. For Laodiceia see Strabo XII p. 578: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 35f.: G. Weber in *Arch. Jahrb.* XIII (1898), p. 1f.: Philippson IV p. 87: Ruge in *R.E.* XII 722f.: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 31: *M.A.M.A.* VI p. x. It was designated sometimes as πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ (*C.I.L.* I² 728 = Dessau 33 = *I.G.R.* I 65 and Strabo *l.c.*) or πρὸς Λύκον (*A.M.* VI [1881], p. 128, no. 11) and sometimes as ἐπὶ Λύκῳ (*I.G.* XII 3, 177 = *I.G.R.* IV 1033 and Ptolemy V 2, 15) or ἀπὸ Λύκου (*Reisen* II p. 74, no. 157). Pliny (*N.H.* V 105) describes the city as *latera adluentibus Asopo et Capro*, and the name of the latter river, as well as that of the Lycus, appears on coins of the second and third centuries; see *Coll. Wadd.* 6284 and 6296: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 268, no. 26: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 317, no. 229. For the question of the identification of the two streams see Weber *l.c.* and in *A.M.* XXIII (1898), p. 183f.: Ruge in *R.E.* X 1921: *M.A.M.A. l.c.* For a third river, the Cadmus, see Chap. II note 12. For the road leading southward to Pamphylia see Chap. XI note 15. If we may believe Pliny (*l.c.*), Laodiceia was on the site of an older settlement, called first Diospolis and later Rhoas. But the city was evidently founded, as related by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* and Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 915 (*G.G.M.* II p. 378), by Antiochus II, and named after his wife, obviously before 253 B.C. when Laodice was divorced. The alternative statement in Stephanus *s.v.* Ἀντιόχεια and Eustathius *ibid.* 918, that it was founded by Antiochus I and named after a sister called Laodice, although defended by Radet in *R. Phil.* XVII (1893), p. 59, is probably incorrect; for, except for Malalas p. 198 Bonn, there is no record of any sister of Antiochus with this name, and her existence is very doubtful; see Stähelin in *R.E.* XII 700f. A month was named Ἀντιοχεών (*Ins. Magn.* 59 a, l. 17 and *A.M.* XX [1895], p. 207f., no. 1 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 5), and a festival was called Ἀντιόχεια (*Ins. Priene* 59, l. 19f.), both presumably in honour of the founder. For the city-tribes Λαοδικίς, Ἀπολλωνίς and Ἀτταλίς see below note 48. For Achaeus at Laodiceia see Chap. I note 28. The three decrees just cited show that at the close of the third century Laodiceia had a civic organization

(see below note 40). The fact, however, that in *Ins. Priene* 59 (in honour of a *dikastes*) there is mention of ἐκ πλ[ε]ίονος [χρόν]ου δικῶν οὐ[σ]ῶν ἀδικαστῶν παρ' ἡμῖν suggests that, although the city had ὑπάρχοντας νόμους (l. 12), the courts were none too well organized. The influence of Pergamum in Laodiceia in the second century is shown by an issue of cistophori; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 278f. But the suggestion of Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 408 that the existence of the tribe Ἀτταλίς shows that the Pergamene kings established new citizens in the city for the purpose of strengthening their power is, in view of the existence of tribes of this name in other places, very doubtful. For the monument to the Romans ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν (*C.I.L.* I² 728 = *I.G.R.* I 65) see Chap. IV note 67. For the textiles see Chap. II note 83. For earthquakes which damaged Laodiceia see Strabo XII p. 578: Suetonius *Tib.* 8 (under Augustus): Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 27, 1 (under Nero, see Chap. XXIII note 73): *Oracula Sibyllina* IV 106 and perhaps III 471f.: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 38. For the prevalence of earthquakes in the basin of the Lycus and the lower Maeander see Strabo XII p. 578f.; XIII p. 630: Lydus *de Ost.* 53: Marcellinus Comes *Chron.* p. 534 Migne (A.D. 494): Capelle in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 353f.: E. C. Semple *Geography of the Medit. Region*, p. 43. For the prosperity of Laodiceia in the first century before Christ see Strabo XII pp. 576 and 578, where special mention is made of its citizens Hiero, who bequeathed over 2000 talents to the city, the orator Zeno, who in 40 B.C. encouraged the people to defend themselves against the Parthians (see Strabo XIV p. 660 and above p. 430), and Zeno's son, Polemo, who became king of Pontus (see Chap. XVIII note 23 and, for the family, Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 42f.). For a gladiatorial spectacle in June, 50 B.C. see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* VI 3, 9.

24. For Hierapolis (Pamukkale) see Strabo XIII p. 629f.: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 84f.: *Alt. v. Hierap.* p. 1f.: F. Sarre *Reisen i. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1896), p. 9: F. von Vincenz in *Globus* LXXVII (1900), p. 379f.: Philippson IV p. 68f. For the Plutonium or Charonium see also Strabo XII p. 579: Vitruvius VIII 3, 10: Pliny *N.H.* II 208: Apuleius *de Mundo* 17: Cassius Dio LXVIII 27, 3: Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 6, 18: Damascius in Photius *Bibl.* p. 344f. Bekker. The asphyxiating vapour, fatal, according to Strabo, Pliny, Apuleius and Dio, except to the eunuch-priests, who had learned how to avoid inhaling it by holding their breath, is due to the release of carbon dioxide gas, with which the water is highly charged; see *Alt. v. Hierap.* pp. 2f. and 38. The view that the place was sacred to the Great Mother is an inference from the presence of these priests and from the representation of the Goddess on coins of the city; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 250, no. 131: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 241, no. 30: L. Weber in *Philol.* LXIX (1910), p. 199. It seems to be confirmed by an inscription honouring an [ἀ]ρχίγαλλος (*Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 33). On the other hand, no inference as to a cult of the Goddess at Hierapolis may be drawn from a dedication to τῇ Θεῷ cut on a rock about six miles distant; see *Alt. v. Hierap.* p. 179, no. 1. Equally valueless is the inference from the supposed mention of a festival Λητώεια Πύθια in an inscription (*Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 15) and on a coin (Mionnet

Suppl. VII p. 568, no. 373), regarded by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 89f.) and Cichorius (*Alt. v. Hierap.* pp. 39 and 43) as evidence for the continued existence of the cult of the Goddess in a Hellenized form; for it was pointed out by von Papen in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 175f. that this part of the inscription has not necessarily anything to do with Hierapolis and that the coin is, in reality, from the neighbouring city of Tripolis, on the Maeander just above its junction with the Lycus. The earliest known coins of Hierapolis, issued from the second century onward to the time of Augustus, bear the legend Ἱεροπολιτῶν; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. 228f. and 244 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 234f. The original name, accordingly, appears to have been Hieropolis, explained by Ramsay (pp. 87 and 681f.) as the City of the Ἱερόν, presumably that of the Great Mother. Under the Romans however, the chief deity seems to have been Apollo Archegetes, whose name appears both in inscriptions and on coins from the second century after Christ onward; see *Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 2, 4 and 153 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 231f. He is perhaps the Hellenized form of the native god Lairmenos (or Lairbenos), whose name also appears on coins of Hierapolis of the third century after Christ; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 236f. and Weber *ibid.* p. 189f. For the sanctuary of this god near the upper Maeander and the suggestion that it may have belonged to Hierapolis see below note 64.

25. The view of Swoboda (*Griech. Staatsaltertümer* p. 200, note 13) that Hierapolis was a Seleucid military colony, which is based on the appearance of Μακεδών, Μακεδονικοί and Μακεδονιανή (used perhaps as surnames) in inscriptions of the imperial period (*Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 153, 255 and 339, see also p. 34f.), is, like his similar suggestion concerning Adruta near Philadelphia (see above note 17), scarcely tenable; it is more probable that the place was originally a village attached, as the coins suggest (see above note 24), to a sanctuary of the Great Mother (see below note 66). For its organization under Eumenes II see *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 30 = *O.G.I.* 308, a decree passed in honour of the deceased Queen Apollonis, probably between 167 and 160 B.C., on the motion of three *strategoi*. The possession of a considerable territory, containing several villages, is shown by a decree of the βουλή, of undetermined date but probably of the Roman period, which orders the παραφύλακες (probably the commandants of the local police) to visit the villages at their own expense, receiving nothing but firewood, straw and lodging, and provides that the κωμάρχαι should not be compelled to present them with "wreaths"; see *O.G.I.* 527 and Chap XXVII note 47. For the road to Philadelpheia see Chap. II note 20. For the dyeing industry of Hierapolis see Chap. II note 84. The presence of numbers of visitors may be inferred from the remains of a large thermal building; see *Alt. v. Hierap.* pp. 9f. and 39.

26. For Antiocheia see Strabo XIII p. 630: Philippson V pp. 26 and 40: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 27. It is designated as ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ by Strabo (*l.c.*), as πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ by Ptolemy (V 2, 15) and on a coin (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 108, no. 1, the legend on which has been restored as Ἀντιοχέων

τῶν πρὸς τῷ [Μαιάνδρῳ], and as *super Maeandrum* by Livy (XXXVIII 13, 4). Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπὸ Μαιά[ν]δ(ρ)ου was read by Robert in *L'Ant. Classique* IV (1935), p. 462 in an inscription from Eumeneia (*M.A.M.A.* IV 349). This Antiocheia was presumably the Antiocheia in Caria which, according to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*), was founded by Antiochus II; but the statement of Stephanus that it was named after the King's mother Antiochis, like his statements in the same passage concerning Laodiceia (see above note 23) and Nysa (see below note 27), is incorrect, for Antiochus's mother was named Apame. The further statement of Stephanus that the place was once called Pythopolis is likewise probably incorrect, for he also records (*s.v.* Πυθόπολις) that this was the ancient name of Nysa. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 108, Antiocheia replaced two *oppida* named Symmaethus and Cranaus; if this is true, a synoecism probably took place. For the bridge over the Maeander see Strabo *l.c.*; it appears on coins of Antiocheia of the third century after Christ (*B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 22f., nos. 52 and 57). In other places the river seems to have been crossed by ferries, on which tolls were paid; see Strabo XII p. 580. The road leading southeastward along the Morsynus is marked by milestones found south of Yenice (no. VI *ab Antiochia, C.I.L.* III 12268 and 12269 = 14202[1] and 14202[2]), at Karahisar near Heracleia Salbace (nos. β′ and γ′ from Heracleia, *C.I.L.* III 7207 and 13688 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 94 and 96) and at Kızılca Bölük (no. η′, *M.A.M.A.* VI 95), with inscriptions of Diocletian and later emperors. At least the first part of this route was followed by Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. when he marched from Antiocheia to Gordiuteichus and Tabae; see Livy XXXVIII 13, 11 and Chap. XII note 4. A route of minor importance led along the south bank of the Maeander from Antiocheia to Myus (and presumably around the Gulf of Latmus to Miletus); the eastern part of this was used by Manlius when, after transporting his army across the river from the neighbourhood of Magnesia to Hiera Come, he marched on to Antiocheia (Livy XXXVIII 12, 9f.). The Ἀντιοχεῖς who signed the reply sent by Laodiceia to the invitation to take part in the Leucophryena at Magnesia were probably the people of this Antiocheia; see *Ins. Magn.* 59 b, l. 26 and, for the festival, Chap. IV note 38. For decrees of the city in the second century see below note 44.

27. For Nysa see Strabo XIV p. 649f.: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 174f.: von Diest and Pringsheim in *Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* X (1913), pp. 13f., 22f. and 30f.: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 27: Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 1631f. For the results of excavations see Ἀρχ. Δελτ. VII (1921-22), pp. 1f. and 227f. For the Plutonium at Acharaca see Strabo XII p. 579 and XIV p. 649f.: Radet in *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 229f.: von Diest and Pringsheim *ibid.* pp. 26f. and 57f. Those who resided in it appear as [ο]ἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ ἱερὰ Ἀχάρα[κα] in *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 232f., no. 4 = *A.M.* XV (1890), p. 282, no. 33. According to Strabo p. 650, Nysa was formed by the synoecism of three settlements founded by the brothers Athymbros, Athymbrados and Hydrelos but Athymbros was regarded as the ἀρχηγέτης. Similarly, Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἄθυμβρα) relates that Nysa was originally named

Athymbra from its founder Athymbros; on the other hand, another statement of Stephanus (*s.v.* Πυθόπολις) that Nysa was once called Pythopolis is very doubtful, especially as he also relates that this was an old name of Antiocheia (see above note 26). The connexion with Athymbra appears also in the letter of Seleucus I and Antiochus I concerning the privileges of the Plutonium (see below), in which the people of the city are called Ἀθυμβριανοί; the ethnic adjective Ἀθυμβριανός also occurs in a dedication at Delos to Pluto, Persephone and other deities, which is not earlier than the last quarter of the third century; see *I.G.* XI 1235 = P. Roussel *Cultes Égypt. à Delos*, no. 44. The name of Athymbros as the eponymous hero of Nysa appears also on coins of Nysa of the second and third centuries after Christ; see Regling in *Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 81, no. 78 and p. 86, no. 147. According to Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ἀντιόχεια, Nysa was founded by Antiochus I, who named it after his wife. The first of these statements is probably true, both because of the King's interest in the Plutonium and the existence of the city-tribes Σελευκίς and Ἀντιοχίς (see below note 48); but there is no record of a wife of Antiochus of this name, and it is probable that this statement, like those about the naming of Laodiceia (see above note 23) and Antiocheia (see above note 26), is incorrect. The origin of the name of the city, therefore, cannot be determined, but it was probably taken from that of some unknown member of the Seleucid family; the name was not uncommon among the dynasties of Asia Minor (see *R.E.* XVII 1630). There seems to be little ground for the suggestion in *Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 71, note 2 that the name of the city was connected with the cult of Dionysus, which the coins of Nysa show to have been an important one. It is not improbable that Antiochus combined the inhabitants of some smaller communities with those of Athymbra to form his new city, but there is nothing in the Kings' letter concerning the Plutonium to suggest a synoecism and, according to Pringsheim (*ibid.* p. 30, note 2), an examination of the neighbourhood has revealed no indication of any settlement earlier than the third century. The connexion of Athymbra with Sparta may be regarded as fanciful. For the fragmentary letter of Seleucus and Antiochus see *Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 63 = Welles, no. 9, written evidently in 281 B.C. While the privileges granted have been lost from the text, a letter written to the Council and People of Nysa by some later monarch, not a Seleucid, confirmed the existing ἱκεσίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν within the boundaries recognized "by former kings"; see *Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 64 = Welles, no. 64. A fragmentary letter of Antiochus III (*Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 67 = Welles, no. 43, see Chap. IV note 48) had already confirmed these rights. They were still recognized in 1 B.C., when the proconsul Gnaeus Lentulus Augur authorized the restoration to the city's γραμματῆον of τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα περὶ τῶν Θεῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆ[ς] ἱκεσίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀτ[ε]λήας; see *Syll.*[3] 781. The cult at Acharaca gave rise to the festival of the Theogamia, celebrated in the third century after Christ; it is mentioned in an inscription from Cos and on coins of Nysa; see *I.G.R.* IV 1065 = *Syll.*[3] 1066 and Regling *ibid.* p. 88f., nos. 177 and 185f. This cult appears also in the representations on coins of Pluto and Persephone and the rape of

the latter; see Regling, p. 91. After the formation of the Roman province, cistophori (as well as local bronze coins) were minted at Nysa; see Regling, p. 73f. In the early first century the *demos* honoured Chaeremon, a wealthy citizen, who, during the invasion of Mithradates in 88 B.C., had given a large quantity of grain to feed the Roman army; see *Syll.*[3] 741 and Chap. IX note 28. The Council and People also conferred honours on P. Licinius Crassus Junianus, tribune of the Plebs in 53 B.C., who perhaps held a command in Asia under Pompey in 49/8; see *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 231f., no. 3. For the philosophers and the teachers of rhetoric and grammar active in Nysa in the first century see Strabo *l.c.* Among the ruins are the remains of a large building which seems to have been a public library; see *Arch. Jahrb. ibid.* p. 49f. and Robert *Hellenica* I (1940), p. 144f.

28. For the situation of Tralles (Aydın) see Strabo XIV pp. 648f. and 663: Rayet and Thomas *Milet et le Golfe Latmique* I (Paris 1877), p. 44f.: Humann and Dörpfeld in *A.M.* XVIII (1893), p. 396f.: Philippson II p. 78f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2127. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 108, Tralles was also called Euantheia and Seleuceia and Antiocheia, according to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τράλλεις), Polyantheia and Erymna. For the name Seleuceia see below note 29; the statement that Tralles bore the name Antiocheia is unattested elsewhere, and, in view of the nearness of Antiocheia on the southern bank of the Maeander, it is probably untrue; of the other names nothing is known. For the road leading across the Maeander to central Caria see Chap. II note 19. For the cult of Zeus Larasius see Strabo IX p. 440 and XIV p. 649. The former passage mentions a god called Zeus Λαρίσιος, whose cult-name, according to Strabo, was derived from the village of Larisa, thirty stades north of Tralles on the road leading across Mt. Messogis into the valley of the Caÿster. In inscriptions and on coins, however, the God is regularly called Λαράσιος; see J. Schaefer *de Iove apud Cares culto = Diss. philol. Halenses* XX 4 (1912), p. 455f. and Ruge *ibid.* 2117f. It was pointed out by Robert in *R. Phil.* LX (1934), p. 287, note 2 that the large number of dedications to the God found in the city shows that the sanctuary was in Tralles itself. The form Larisius, therefore, and the connexion with the village called Larisa seem to be due to an error on Strabo's part; see Ruge *ibid.* 2125. For the God and his cult see also A. B. Cook *Zeus* II 2, p. 957f. The mystical union between Zeus and women during the Roman imperial period is shown by two dedications to him, each made by a woman who describes herself as *παλλακεύσασα* and *ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπποπόδων* or *ἀπὸ γένους τῶν παλλακίδων*; see *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 276, no. 19 = Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 18 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 407 and Latte in *R.E.* XVIII 840.

29. For the foundation-legend of Tralles see Strabo XIV p. 649. Thracian or Illyrian Tralles (Τραλλεῖς) served in the armies of Alexander (Diodorus XVII 65, 1), Philip V of Macedonia (Livy XXXI 35, 1 and XXXIII 4, 4), Antiochus III at Magnesia (Livy XXXVII 40, 8 and 13 and Appian *Syr.* 32), Eumenes I (*O.G.I.* 266, l. 23) and Eumenes II (Livy XXXVII 39, 10 and

xxxviii 21, 2); see also A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* xiv (1909), p. 55f. For their service in Samothrace see Robert in *B.C.H.* lix (1935), p. 426f. The wives and children of the Greek generals in the service of Cyrus in 401 remained under a guard in Tralles (Xenophon *Anab.* i 4, 8). For the resistance of the city to the Spartan Thibron see Diodorus xiv 36, 3; in 397 it was occupied by a Persian army (Xenophon *Hell.* iii 2, 19). For action taken by the Trallians granting the right of protecting suppliants to the sanctuary of Dionysus, which bears a date corresponding to 351 B.C. but was inscribed (perhaps composed) in the Roman period, see *Syll.*² 573 = Robert *Coll. Froehner* i p. 143f., no. 96. For Alexander and Antigonus see Arrian *Anab.* i 18, 1; 23, 6: Diodorus xix 75, 5. For the name Seleuceia see (besides Pliny v 108) *Milet* i 3, p. 318f., no. 143 of 212/11 B.C. (arranging for *isopoliteia* with Miletus, see Chap. IV note 35) and M.K.B. ii (1875-6), p. 53, no. *ροβ'*, passed soon afterward; this decree records some favour granted to the city, evidently by Antiochus III, possibly that which was the subject of a fragmentary letter of the King's (Welles, no. 41); see below note 41. Σελευκέων appears also on coins of Tralles issued during the third century (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 169), and the lists of new Milesian citizens enrolled in the latter part of this century contain several having the ethnic adjective Σελευκεύς (or Σελευκίς), probably Trallians who had availed themselves of the *isopoliteia*; see *Milet* i 3, p. 204f., nos. 43 a, 49, 50, 52, 64, 65 a, 80, 85, 89. In no. 85 the adjective appears as Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου. If the restoration [Σ]ε[λ]ευκεῖ ἀπὸ Μ[αιάνδρ]ο[υ] in *I.G.* ix² 17, l. 100 which was suggested by Robert in *R. Phil.* lx (1934), p. 290, note 3 and *B.C.H.* lxx (1946), p. 514 is correct, the name Seleuceia was assumed before 262 B.C. For the surrender of the city to the Romans and the subsequent assignment to Eumenes II see Livy xxxvii 45, 1 and Polybius xxi 46 (48), 10 = Livy xxxviii 39, 16. For the palace of the Pergamene kings see Vitruvius ii 8, 9 and Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 172; according to the former, it was assigned as a residence to the priest *qui civitatis gerit sacerdotium*. A musical contest in honour of Eumenes II is mentioned in *R. Phil.* lx p. 279f., a decree in honour of a *dikastes* from Phocaea; for other, similar, decrees of the second or the first century see *S.E.G.* iv 233 and *I.G.* xii 5, 869 and Chap. IV note 81. For the acceptance of an invitation to the Leucophryena at Magnesia about the middle of the second century see *Ins. Magn.* 85 and below note 53. For cistophori minted at Tralles in the second century see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 170f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxxv. In 99 B.C. Metellus Numidicus spent part of his exile in the city (Valerius Maximus iv 1, 13). For the wealth and the school of oratory in Tralles see Strabo xiv p. 649, with special mention of Pythodorus, originally from Nysa (see Chap. X note 60), and Cicero *Orator* 234; see also Ruge *ibid.* 2115.

30. For Alabanda (Araphisar) see Strabo xiv 660f.: Edhem Bey in *C.R.A.I.* 1905, p. 443f. and 1906, p. 407f.: Philippson v p. 16f. For the road leading to it from Tralles see Chap. II note 19. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἀλάβανδα) wrongly listed two cities of the name. According to the founda-

tion-legend preserved by Stephanus, the city was founded by Car (the eponymous hero of the Carians), who named it after his son Alabandus. For a cult of Alabandus see Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* III 50.

31. For the capture of Aridolus, tyrant of Alabanda, at Artemisium see Herodotus VII 195. For the League of the Chrysaoreis see below note 77. Alabanda's membership in it appears in *O.G.I.* 234, an Amphictyonic decree, in which the city is called *ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Χρυσαορέων ἔθνεος, συγγενὴς ἐοῦσα τῶν Ἑλλάνων*, as well as in the ethnic adjectives of the city found in the lists of Panathenaic victors, *Χρυσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀντιο[χείας]* (*I.G.* II² 2313, l. 54, of 194-190 B.C.) and *Χρυσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλαβά[ν]δων* (*I.G.* II² 2315, after 190 B.C.). The continuance of the connexion with the League seems to appear in inscriptions, probably of the first century, in which a man was honoured at Alabanda by two *συγγένειαι* for services *εἷς τε τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ πάντας Χρυσαορεῖς*; see *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 308f., no. 4 and H. Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros* (Giessen 1924), p. 7. As the Amphictyonic decree is dated in the year of the Delphian archon Philaetolus, who held office about 202/1 (see Flacelière *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* [Paris 1937], pp. 322, 412f. and 493), the change of the city's name to Antiocheia (mentioned also by Stephanus Byzantius) may be placed at the end of the third century, when Antiochus III was attempting to obtain the support of the cities of Caria (see Chap. IV note 48). Tetradrachms (as well as drachms) inscribed *Ἀντιοχέων* were issued during the period in which the new name was used; see Babelon in *Rev. Num.* VIII (1890), p. 421f.: *B.M. Cat. Caria*, pp. xxvii, 1f. and 271: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 104, nos. 1-2. The name Antiocheia was abandoned after the King's defeat at Magnesia, for the old name is found in the Panathenaic lists after 190 (*I.G.* II² 2314 and 2315, see above), and the legend *Ἀλαβανδέων* appears on silver coins of the Rhodian standard bearing dates extending apparently, as Mr. S. P. Noe has kindly informed me, to the year 33, which were probably reckoned from the liberation of Caria from Rhodian rule (see below note 32); see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, pp. xxix and 2f. According to the Amphictyonic decree, Alabanda sent envoys to several cities and the envoy to the Amphictyonic Council praised Antiochus as a *εὐεργέτης* because he *τὰν δαμοκρατίαν καὶ τὰν εἰράναν τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν διαφυλάσσει κὰτ τὰν τῶν προγόνων ὑφάγησιν*, thereby granting the city a semblance of independence (see below note 42). The Council, in response to the envoy's request, recognized Alabanda and its territory as *ἄσυλον καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Χρυσαορέως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσοτίμου*. For Zeus Chrysaoreus see below note 77. The cult of Apollo Isotimus at Alabanda is attested by a dedication found in the ruins of a Hellenistic temple, evidently the temple of Apollo built by the architect Menesthes which is cited by Vitruvius (III 2, 6) as an example of a *pseudo-dipteros*; see *C.R.A.I.* 1906, p. 419f. and Robert in *B.C.H.* XLIX (1925), p. 228. Another dedication to this god, found near Alabanda, is probably from this temple; see *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 298, no. 2. He is presumably the Apollo whose head appears on the coins of the city. For Philip's raid on the territory of Alabanda in 201 and the defeat of his

forces near the city in 197 see Polybius XVI 24, 8 and Livy XXXIII 18, 7f. and Chap. I note 40. For the capture by Manlius Vulso in 189 of a rebellious *castellum* belonging to Alabanda and its restoration to the city see Livy XXXVIII 13, 2f.

32. Livy XLIII 6, 5f. (170 B.C.); for the significance of the foundation of a cult of Roma see Chap. IV note 53. It was suggested by von Wilamowitz in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 98, note 1 that in this case the foundation was due to the Alabandians' desire to obtain Rome's aid in freeing themselves from the Rhodians. Since, however, the Senate could hardly have received an embassy and a gift from a city which was subject to Rhodes, it must be supposed, if Alabanda had been assigned to Rhodes in 188, either that it was freed before the rest of Caria or that the arrival of the embassy, like other events taken by Livy from an annalistic source (see Chap. IV notes 64 and 67), is dated too early. The question of the date when Alabanda was recognized by Rome as free is complicated by the content of a decree of the city in honour of a citizen named Pyrrha[cus]; see *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 299f., no. 1 = *R.E.G.* XI (1898), p. 258f., where it was re-edited by Holleaux. According to this document, Pyrrhacus was sent to the Senate as envoy on two different occasions. On the first mission he reminded the Senators of *τὰς χρείας* [*ἃς*] *παρέσχηται* (*sc.* Alabanda) *εἰς τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν*, and obtained the city's request for the "renewal" of good relations and a *συμμαχία*; on the second, which was *περ*[*ὶ τ*]*ῶν φόρων*, he obtained a *δόγμα τῆς ἀφορολογησίας*. In the course of a third mission, on which he went *πρὸ*[*ς*] *τὸν Βασιλέα περὶ τῶν . . . των*, he met his death. These missions to Rome were placed by Henze *de Civitatibus Liberis* (Berlin 1892), p. 49f. in 197-192, by Holleaux (*l.c.*) and Bikerman (*R.E.G.* L [1937], pp. 221, 228 and 239) in 189/8, and by Willrich (*Herm.* XXXIV [1899], p. 305f.), on the supposition that "the King" was Mithradates, after the First Mithradatic War. As Holleaux pointed out (in refutation of Henze's dating), the "services" to the Roman army could not have been rendered before 190, and the occasion may well have been Manlius's visit to Alabanda in 189 (see above note 31). It is difficult to suppose that the Senate made an alliance with the city at so early a time, but the embassy may have taken place somewhat later. It is also difficult to explain the embassy *περ*[*ὶ τ*]*ῶν φόρων* and the action of the Senate *περὶ τῆς ἀφορολογησίας*, for in the early part of the second century Alabanda paid no *phoroi* to Rome. It may be that in this case, as in that of Teos in 193 B.C. (see Chap. IV note 85), *ἀφορολογησία* was used as a synonym for *ἐλευθερία* and that, as Bikerman suggested, Alabanda requested the Senate to recognize the freedom obtained from Antiochus III (see above note 31). On the other hand, if these missions may be connected with the embassy sent, according to Livy, in 170, it may be supposed that the *phoroi* in question were those which Alabanda had paid to Rhodes, and that the Senate's action with regard both to the "alliance" and to the exemption, whether it should be dated in 170 or in 167, recognized the liberation of Alabanda from Rhodian rule and the full independence of the city. A greater difficulty is the identification of the king to whom

Pyrrhacus was sent on his third mission. Since the name of the monarch may well have been mentioned in the earlier, now lost, part of the inscription, it is hardly necessary to understand τὸν Βασιλέα as "the King" *par excellence*, and to suppose, with Holleaux and Bikerman, that he must have been a Seleucid. It is difficult, however, to identify him with any other monarch. He could scarcely have been either Eumenes II or Attalus II, for Caria was not included in the Pergamene Kingdom; and it is even harder to suppose (with Willrich) that he was Mithradates Eupator, for there was no reason why, after he had abandoned his claim to Asia Minor by the Treaty of Dardanus (see Chap. IX note 58) and returned to Pontus, Alabanda should send an envoy to him. Since it seems impossible to crowd all the three embassies of Pyrrhacus into the short time which elapsed between Manlius's Carian expedition in 189 and Antiochus's withdrawal from Cis-Tauric Asia Minor in 188, it cannot be supposed that the embassy "to the King" was sent to Antiochus before his return to Syria. On the other hand, like the envoy of Priene to Demetrius I and Demetrius II (*Ins. Priene* 108, l. 153f.), this embassy may have been sent to one of his successors. For the Alabandians' attack on northern Caria in 167 see Chap. IV note 65. Alabanda was presumably free in the early first century, when an envoy was sent to it by Priene; see *Ins. Priene* 121, l. 33 and Chap. IV note 77. It is called *libera* in Pliny *N.H.* v 109 (see Chap. XX note 17).

33. For the situation of Stratoniceia (Eskihisar) see G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 332: Philippson v p. 41: Laumonier in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 52f. A collection of the inscriptions has been promised by Mme. Jeanne Robert. According to Strabo XIV p. 663 (see above note 30), the distance from Alabanda to Lagina, six miles north of Stratoniceia, was 250 stades, which, although considerable allowance must be made for the windings of the road, must be regarded as somewhat overestimated. For the road from Stratoniceia to Idyma and Physcus see Chap. II note 19. For the history of the city see A. Papaducas περὶ τῆς Πόλεως Στρατονικείας, *etc.* (Patras 1886), p. 9f. and Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 322f. It is called a κατοικία Μακεδόνων in Strabo XIV p. 660 and a πόλις Μακεδόνων in Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* (see above note 3). Strabo also mentions its adornment "by the kings." The list of cities whose foundation was attributed to Seleucus I contained in Appian *Syr.* 57 includes a Stratoniceia, which may be this city. According to Stephanus Byzantius, it was named after Stratonice, "the wife of Antiochus." It is highly probable that the city was founded by Antiochus; for, as Ruge observed (*l.c.*), Seleucus divorced Stratonice, in order to give her to Antiochus, about 294, and he did not become master of Caria until 281; moreover, during the short time which elapsed between his victory at Corupedium and his death in Thrace he could not have been in the district. The village-communities of which the city's territory was composed seem to have survived as deme-names in the adjectives which were attached to the names of persons, namely, Κολιοργεύς (often abbreviated to Κο.), Κωραζεύς (Κζ.), Λωνδαργεύς, Ἱεροκωμήτης (Ἱε.), Κωραιεύς

(Κω.), Λοβολδεύς (Λο.); see Diehl and Cousin in *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 33: Francotte *Polis Grecque*, pp. 213f. and 221f.: Robert *Villes*, p. 81f. The first three of these appear also as the seats of the cults of the deities Apollo Κολιόργων, Artemis Κωράζων and Zeus Λωνδάργος, whose names occur in inscriptions from Panamara; see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 82f., nos. 8-11, p. 101, no. 21 and p. 266f., nos. 50, 51 and 54. It was suggested by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 555f.) that *Hierokometes* was used as the demotic adjective of the village of Lagina (see below note 34) as the most important "sacred village" attached to the city. It may, however, have been taken from the sacred village of Zeus Chrysaoreus. Two *castella*, Tendeba and Astragon, are mentioned by Livy (XXXIII 18, 4f.) as being in the territory of Stratoniceia, but nothing more is known about them. For the στρατηγός in command of the territory see below note 47. For the membership of Stratoniceia in the League of the Chrysaoreis see Strabo XIV p. 660. For the League and the cult of Zeus see below note 77. Stratoniceia's membership in this organization is shown also by the ethnic adjective Χρυσαορεὺς ἀπὸ Στρατονικείας attached to the names in a list of victors at Cos of the third and second centuries; see Th. Klee *Zur Gesch. d. gymn. Agone an Griech. Festen* (Leipzig 1918), p. 6f. The citizens are called [Στρατονικε]ῖς ἐκ Χρυσαορέων in the *Senatus Consultum de Stratonicensibus* of 81 B.C. (*O.G.I.* 441, see Chap. X note 9).

34. For Lagina and the ruins of the Temple of Hecate, a peripteral building on a height west of the Marsyas and overlooking the fertile plain of the river, see Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 554f.: Benndorf in *A.E.M.* VI (1882), p. 164f.: Philippson V p. 22: Chamonard in *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 235f.: A. Schober *Der Fries d. Hekateions v. Lagina* (Vienna 1933), p. 12f. The temple was dated by Chamonard in the period following the Mithradatic Wars, by Schober in the last quarter of the second century before Christ; the later date was advocated by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 427, note 2) on the ground that the subjects of the north and south friezes (see Robert, p. 552f.) commemorate the treaty-relations between Rome and Stratoniceia and the recognition of the inviolability of the Temple and the festival of the Ἑκατήσια Ῥωμαῖα (see below and note 35). The Goddess was presumably the Hellenized form of the Asianic Great Mother, worshipped at Panamara as Hera, and in other places, notably Ephesus and Magnesia (see Chap. III notes 86 and 101), as Artemis. The residents of the temple-precinct, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατοικοῦντες, formed a separate community, which acted together with the "Council and People" of Stratoniceia in conferring honours; see *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 75f., nos. 6 and 8. The dwellers (κατοικοῦντες) in the περιπόλιον of the Temple, who are occasionally mentioned in inscriptions from Lagina, were evidently this community; see *C.I.G.* 2715 = L.W. 519, l. 17: Newton II p. 789, no. 62 and p. 797, no. 100 (= Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 546): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 189f., no. 11 (where they are distinguished from οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν πόλιν); XLIV p. 89f., no. 20. For the sanctuary of Zeus at Panamara, on a high, steep hill dominating the plain west of the Marsyas, and the cult of the God see Schaefer *ibid.* p. 414f.: Oppermann

ibid. pp. 1 and 31f.: Laumonier in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 54f. and *B.C.H.* LX (1936), p. 324f. Panamara was originally a separate community, consisting of a "federation" of several villages and called τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Παναμαρέων, abbreviated to οἱ Παναμαρεῖς; see below note 75. It was presumably originally a member of the League of the Chrysaoreis, but, perhaps toward the end of the second century, it was incorporated into the territory of Stratoniceia; see Oppermann, p. 18f. While the cult of the God was undoubtedly an ancient one and his surname of Πανάμαρος probably as old as the name of the village in which he was worshipped, he was ordinarily called, during the second and first centuries before Christ, Ζεὺς Κάριος, probably for the purpose of distinguishing him from the god whom the Greek settlers brought with them; see *B.C.H.* XII p. 250f., nos. 23-26; XXVIII (1904), p. 349f., nos. 5 and 6; LI (1927), p. 86, no. 35 = *S.E.G.* IV 279; see also Schaefer, p. 412f. and Oppermann, pp. 30, 33f. and 84f. The surname Κάριος, in fact, continued to be used as late as the end of the first century after Christ; see *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 209, no. 151 and Hatzfeld in *B.C.H.* LI p. 81, note 5: *B.C.H.* LI p. 79f., no. 28 = *S.E.G.* IV 270, as dated by Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LXI (1937), p. 239, note 2 and p. 240f., no. 12. The surname Πανάμαρος, on the other hand, was first applied to the God, as far as we know, in an inscription of Chaeremon, who seems to have been priest soon after the middle of the first century before Christ (*B.C.H.* LI p. 61, no. 4 = *S.E.G.* IV 286 and the decree describing the "miracle" wrought by the God in 40 B.C., *B.C.H.* LV [1931], p. 72f.); see Laumonier, p. 238f., who pointed out that after the amalgamation of Greeks and Carians obviated the need of distinguishing between the national deities of the two elements in the people, the original, native, name of the God (which appears also in the forms Πανήμερος and Πανημέριος) was resumed. There was also a temple of Hera at Panamara, with a priestess who was usually the wife, but sometimes a relative, of the priest of Zeus; see Oppermann, p. 39f. The Goddess, like Hecate at Lagina, was evidently the Asianic Great Mother under a Greek name; see Oppermann, p. 88f.

The festivals to which Strabo alludes (XIV p. 660) were the Ἑκατήσια (*I.G.R.* IV 1065 = *Syll.*[3] 1066), evidently the festival of the Goddess of Lagina, held annually but every fourth year as a πενταετηρίς in which Roma seems to have been included (see Oppermann, p. 48f. and Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LXII p. 252f.); the Κομύρια and the Ἡραῖα, celebrated, apparently in alternate years, at Panamara in honour, respectively, of Zeus and Hera; and the Παναμάρεια, of later origin, held annually in Stratoniceia; see Oppermann, pp. 46f., 58f. and 66f.: Hatzfeld in *B.C.H.* LI p. 66f. (who maintained that the Κομύρια was held only every fourth year). At the festival of Hecate, and also at the Komyria and the Heraia, mysteries were celebrated and the priests gave food and wine to those who participated in them; see (for Panamara) Roussel in *B.C.H.* LI p. 124f. At Panamara men and women took part separately in the sanctuaries of Zeus and Hera, respectively. A series of invitations, issued by the priests of Zeus in the second or third century after Christ, shows that all men, free and slave alike, were invited to the table of the God to share a common "happiness" (εὐφροσύνη); see *B.C.H.* LI p. 73f., nos. 11-25 = *S.E.G.*

IV 247-261 (including invitations to Rhodes [= *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 59], Nysa, Iasus, Mylasa, Miletus and Smyrna) and p. 81f., nos. 29, 57 and 68 = *S.E.G.* IV 272, 302 and 304 and Roussel *ibid.* p. 128f. At the Panamareia the statue of Zeus was brought on horseback from Panamara to Stratoniceia for a stay of ten days; see *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 202f., no. 144, l. 16f. and XXVIII (1904), p. 246f., no. 57, l. 11. His arrival in the city seems to be depicted on coins of Stratoniceia of the imperial period, which show a god riding on a horse, in some instances toward a flaming altar; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, pp. lxxii and 151f., nos. 33 and 42f. and Oppermann, p. 86f. The goddess, riding on a lion, who is represented on the reverse of some of these coins is presumably Hera of Panamara as the Great Mother; see Oppermann, p. 90f. Hecate also appears on the coins of Stratoniceia; the earlier issues, perhaps of the time of Augustus, bear her head, surmounted by a crescent, but later, during the imperial period, she appears as a standing figure wearing a *calathus* and a long chiton and usually having a dog at her feet; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 148, no. 6f., p. 150, no. 23 and p. 154, no. 50f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 153, no. 5f. and p. 156, no. 10f.

35. For the acquisition of Stratoniceia by the Rhodians see Chap. III note 73. Its subjection to Rhodes appears in *B.C.H.* XVII (1893), p. 53f., no. V = Michel 479, a decree of the *κοινόν* of the Panamareis in honour of an *ἀποσταλεὶς ἐπιστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων*, whose name was afterward erased. In two other decrees of this *koinon* it was enacted that envoys should be sent to Rhodes with copies of the decrees; see *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 348f., nos. 4 and 5 and p. 359f. The priesthood of Helius and Rhodes which is mentioned in *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 365, no. 4 (from Lagina) was evidently created under Rhodian rule. For the Rhodians' evacuation of Stratoniceia see Chap. IV note 68. A decree expressing thanks to Hecate because the demos *διεσώθη ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιστάντος αὐτὸν καιροῦ καὶ ἐλεύθερος καὶ αὐτόνομος ἐγένετο* (*B.C.H.* XLIV [1920], p. 70, no. 1) is probably, as the editor, Hatzfeld, observed, to be connected with this liberation rather than assigned either to the period after the First Mithradatic War or to the time of the Parthian invasion in 40 B.C. (see Chap. XVIII note 10). Hatzfeld pointed out that the words *διεσώθη, κ.τ.λ.* do not describe the city's experience in the Mithradatic War, for, in spite of its resistance, it was captured by the King's forces (Appian *Mith.* 21, see above p. 215). On the other hand, Schober (*ibid.* p. 13f.) regarded the lettering of this inscription as not earlier than the second half of the second century. The suggestion that a fragmentary inscription, *B.C.H.* XI p. 161f., no. 71, mentioning the profanation of "sacred and inviolable territory" and an *ἐνάργεια* of Hecate, may be part of this decree was made by Roussel in *B.C.H.* LV (1931), p. 93, note 5, who, however, questioned Hatzfeld's objection to connecting the document with the Parthian invasion. The "alliance" which is mentioned repeatedly in the senatus consultum of 81 B.C. (see below) as previously in existence may date from this time, and the mission of an envoy who went to Rome *περὶ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων* and, after becoming *πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν*

αἴτιος, died there (*C.I.G.* 2725) may perhaps have been connected with this "liberation." A "musical contest" in honour of Roma is mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 247 = *S.E.G.* IV 658 (see Chap. IV note 81). This was presumably continued in the quadrennial contest in honour of Hecate and Roma which is mentioned in a decree of Stratoniceia appended to the senatus consultum recognizing the various rights and privileges of the city; see *O.G.I.* 441 and Chap. X note 9. There is also appended to this document a list of at least sixty cities in Asia and Greece which recognized the inviolability of the Temple of Hecate and the quadrennial festival.

36. While there is no evidence for the existence of Temenothyrae and Grimenothyrae before the first century after Christ, the Lydian suffix *-thyrae* (see above note 10) indicates the early origin of both places. Both, moreover, lay on the great road leading eastward from Sardis, which was presumably the "Royal Road" of the Persians (see Chap. II note 17). Temenothyrae, described by Pausanias (I 35, 7) as Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις οὐ μεγάλη, was near (but not at) the modern Uşak; see Keil-Premerstein II p. 133f. and Keil in *R.E.* V A 458f. It was renamed Flaviopolis under Vespasian but it seems later to have resumed its ancient name; see Chap. XXIV note 11. Grimenothyrae, which, for a short time in the first century after Christ, bore the additional name of Flavia (see Chap. XXIV note 11), was later, after the founding of the neighbouring Trajanopolis, combined with the new city (see Chap. XXV note 8). For the site, a few miles east of Uşak, see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 167f. and Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2087. For Acmonia (Ahat) see Hamilton *Researches* I p. 116f.: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 621: *M.A.M.A.* VI p. xvii. Its position, on a steep ridge separating two streams which unite near the northwestern end, is one of great natural strength, suggesting an early foundation. It was on or near the Royal Road and it lay also on the road leading from Philadelpheia to Dorylaeum (see Chap. II note 21). In the first century before Christ Acmonia had a local government and issued coins; see Cicero *pro Flacco* 34f.; *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 4f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 192, no. 1. The tribe-names Ἀσκληπιάς and Ἀρτεμισιάς, known in the second and third centuries after Christ (see below note 48), were probably ancient, for Asclepius and Artemis appear on the early coins of the city (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, nos. 3, 10f., 13). For Aezani, in a fertile plain in which several streams meet to form the Rhyndacus, see Hamilton *Researches* I p. 100f.: Le Bas *Voyage Arch.* p. 142f. and plate 1: Philippson III p. 109. It is called εὐγενής τε καὶ ἀρχαία in a letter of a Roman proconsul, perhaps of the second century after Christ; see *I.G.R.* IV 572, restored by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 301f. According to Strabo XII p. 576, Aezani was one of the six cities of Phrygia Epictetus, which issued coins inscribed Ἐπικτητέων, probably minted at Aezani; see Chap. I note 56. The earliest known coins of Aezani itself (with the legend Ἐζεανιτῶν) were issued in the late first century, perhaps as late as the time of Augustus; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 189 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 23. For the extant temple of Zeus, an Ionic *peripteros* of the first or second century after Christ, see E. Sperling in *Berl. Ztschr. f. Erdkunde* XV (1863),

p. 431f.: Le Bas *ibid.* plate xviii f.: A. Körte in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* (Vienna 1898), p. 209f. The figure of Zeus appears on the coins of the city from the time of Augustus onward (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 30, no. 50f.), and in the third century after Christ Aezani bore the title ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ νεωκόρος τοῦ Διός (*I.G.R.* IV 567 and 581). The foundation-legend of the city preserved by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἀζανοί) led Ramsay to suppose (*H.G.* p. 146f.) that Aezani was ruled by "priestly dynasts," an inference for which the evidence is insufficient. The Temple of Zeus, however, during the Hellenistic period owned territory in the neighbourhood; see below note 64. The cave called Στεῦνος, where the Great Mother was worshipped, described by Pausanias (VIII 4, 3 and X 32, 3) as near Aezani and the river Pencalas, has been found on the left bank of a stream at a distance of about twenty minutes from the city; see Anderson in *B.S.A.* IV (1897-8), p. 55f.: Wiegand in *A.M.* XXXVI (1911), p. 302f.: Schede in *Gnomon* V (1929), p. 61. For a dedication by an Αἰζανείτης to Διὶ καὶ Μητρὶ Θεῶν Στευνηνῇ found at Cadi see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 159. There was evidently also a cult of Heracles at Aezani, for his head appears on coins of the first century before Christ (see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 189, nos. 1 and 2), and the only tribe of the city of which we have knowledge is the Ἡρακλεάς (see below note 48).

Of the five other cities placed by Strabo (XII p. 576) in Phrygia Epictetus, Cotiaeium (Kütahya) lay about twenty miles northeast of Aezani in a fertile plain traversed by the upper Tembris; see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 49f. and Philippson III p. 86f. It was the junction of several roads (Philippson III p. 87f.). For its seizure by means of a ruse by Alexander, son of Lysimachus, probably about 282 B.C., see Polyaenus VI 12 and Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 243. Dorylaeum (near Eskişehir) and Midaeum, two ancient Phrygian settlements, lay on or near the middle course of the Tembris. The former was about 40 miles northeast of Cotiaeium; see von Diest, p. 51f.: Preger in *A.M.* XIX (1894), p. 301f.: Radet in *Nouv. Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* VI (1895), p. 491f.: A. Körte in *G.G.A.* 1897, p. 390f.: *M.A.M.A.* V p. XI f. The site of the latter, farther east, has not been definitely fixed; see Ruge in *R.E.* XV 1525f. Both Dorylaeum, at the point of divergence of routes leading from Bithynia to central Phrygia and Galatia (see Chap. II note 21 and Chap. XIX note 9) and the junction of a road leading southward to Cotiaeium (see Chap. II note 21) was a place of great strategic importance. The hot springs, known in Antiquity (see Athenaeus II 17, p. 43 B and *A.M.* XXI [1896], p. 261), were also of commercial value. Because of the richness of the surrounding country, Lysimachus, during the campaign of 302 which preceded the battle of Ipsus, built a camp near the city; see Diodorus XX 108, 6f. In the first century before Christ both Dorylaeum and Midaeum had local governments (see Cicero *pro Flacco* 39f. and *Epist. ad. Fam.* III 8, 3), and under Augustus the latter began to issue coins (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 335, no. 1). In the late first century after Christ Midaeum had a cult of the Great Mother, which was perhaps connected in some way with the temple of the Goddess at Pessinus; see *I.G.R.* III 230 = *O.G.I.* 540. Nacoleia (Seyitgazi) lay about 45 miles east of Cotiaeium,

in a strong strategic position on the Parthenius, a tributary of the upper Sangarius; see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* III (1882), p. 119: Radet, p. 442f.: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXXV (1898), p. 35f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1600f.: *M.A.M.A.* V p. xxv f. The name of the river appears on a coin of Gordian III (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 340, no. 12) and in the name of the city-tribe Παρθεν[ιάς] (see below note 48). Cadi (Gediz) was near the sources of the Hermus about fifteen miles southwest of Aezani; see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 155f. It was probably, strictly speaking, in the region of Abbaïtis rather than in Phrygia Epictetus; see Chap. II note 2. On a terrace on the mountain-side, with an acropolis rising above it, the place was a natural stronghold dominating the neighbouring region. The name *Macedones Cadieni* given to it in Pliny *N.H.* V 111 seems to indicate that it was originally a colony of "Macedonian" veterans (see above note 3). In 155/4 B.C. the Roman envoys sent to effect a reconciliation between Attalus II and Prusias II of Bithynia met the former here; see Polybius XXXIII 12, 2 and Chap. XIII note 42.

37. For Blaundus (Sülünlü) see Arundell *Discoveries* I p. 80f. (where the ruins are mistakenly supposed to be Clanudda): Hamilton *Researches* I p. 127f.: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 591: Keil-Premerstein II p. 144f.: Philippson IV p. 61. It stood on a narrow ridge between two deep ravines, which was connected with the plateau on the north by a neck less than sixty paces in width. The stream which is formed by the union of the torrents issuing from the ravines and flows into a tributary of the Maeander is called Ἱππούριος on coins of the third century after Christ (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 48f.). A colony of "Macedonian" veterans (see above note 3) is attested by the formula Βλαυνδέων Μακεδόνων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος in an inscription of the third century after Christ (*I.G.R.* IV 717) and by the legend Βλαυνδέων Μακεδόνων on coins from Vespasian onward (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 51, no. 7f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, pp. 47f. and 51f.). The oldest coins of the city, issued during the late second century before Christ (see below note 51), show the name as Μλαυνδέων. For Synnada (Suhut) see Strabo XII p. 577: Perrot in *R.A.* XXXI (1876), p. 190f. and *C.R.A.I.* XX (1876), p. 68f.: Ramsay in *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 481f. and *C.B.* I p. 750f.: *M.A.M.A.* IV p. x. For the road leading southward to the Southern Highway see Chap. II note 18. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*), Synnada claimed a connexion with ancient Greece by a myth attributing its foundation to Acamas, son of Theseus, who was said to have established here πολλοὺς οἰκήτορας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μακεδόνων κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν (see also Chap. XXVII note 23). This myth was expressed on coins bearing the head of Acamas, issued in the third century after Christ, and a further claim appears on coins of the same period with the legends Συνναδέων Ἰώνων and Συνναδέων Δωριέων; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 396f., nos. 23, 26f. and 66f. There is no good reason for supposing, with Swoboda *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 200, note 11 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 49, that the presence of these "Ionians" and "Dorians" indicates that Synnada was a military colony. In 302 the city and the neighbouring strongholds contain-

ing treasure were surrendered to Lysimachus by Docimus, who had been one of Antigonus's generals; see Diodorus XIX 75, 3 and XX 107, 3f. and Pausanias I 8, 1. It was captured by Manlius Vulso in 189 and also by the Galatians when they invaded the Pergamene Kingdom in 167; see Livy XXXVIII 15, 14 and XLV 34, 11. After the formation of the province of Asia cistophori were minted at Synnada and the city also issued coins of its own; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 291: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 392f. After the First Mithradatic War the *demos* erected a statue of Lucullus; see *I.G.R.* IV 701 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 52 and Chap. X note 19. For Docimeium (Esçekarahisar) see Ramsay in *A.M.* VII (1882), p. 133f. and *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 482. For the marble see Chap. II note 96. The name of the place suggests that of Docimus, who surrendered Synnada to Lysimachus (see above), and the suggestion made by Ramsay in *A.M.* VII p. 134 that he was the founder of the place, although based solely on the form of the name, has had wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 254, note 3: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VI p. 503: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 163: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 35: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 49. The name of a "founder," Docimus, appears in three epigrams; see *C.I.G.* 6861 = Kaibel 666: *A.M.* VII *ibid.*: *A.M.* LVI (1931), p. 124, no. 8, corrected by Robert in *R. Phil.* LX (1934), p. 267f. It is also found (with head) on coins issued probably in the third century after Christ; see *Coll. Wadd.* 5949f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 223f., no. 6f.: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 189, no. 7f. Whatever its origin, Docimeium regarded itself as the seat of a colony of "Macedonians"; for coins of the second and third centuries after Christ bear the legend Δοκιμέων Μακεδόνων; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 188f., nos. 1-3 and 19f. and *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), p. 41, no. 15 *bis*.

38. For Aphrodisias (Kehre) see Strabo XII p. 576: G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 327f.: Philippson IV p. 94: L. Crema in *Mon. Ant.* XXXVIII 2 (1939), p. 161f. A stream which flows into the Morsynus southeast of the city bore the name Timeles; see *C.I.G.* 2782 and coins of the imperial period, *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 29, no. 22 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 118, no. 26, and Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 1250. Its name also appears on the coins of the neighbouring Heracleia Salbace; see Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Numism.* XXIII (1924), p. 292, no. 295. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.vv.* Μεγάλη Πόλις and Νινόη), the city, originally Λελέγων πόλις, was afterward called Megalopolis and then Ninoë. The latter name may have been perpetuated in the surname of Zeus Νινεύδιος, who had a cult in the city; see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 79f., no. 10 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 92f., no. 8. The Temple of Aphrodite, whose cult became the most important in the city, was described by Hirschfeld (*l.c.*) as an octastyle *peripteros*, built of native marble. Dedications to the Goddess abound among the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, and her hind and cult-image appear on its coins. She is said to have issued an oracle promising power to Sulla and to have received from him in return a golden crown and an axe; see Appian *B.C.* I 97. The axe appears, probably as the symbol of the Goddess, on the oldest coins of the city, issued during the second century before Christ and bearing the

legend Πλαρα. Ἀφρο., later (with the head of Aphrodite) Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, pp. 25f. and 271 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 112f. It is designated in the senatus consultum of 39 B.C. as well as in the covering letter of Antony's, as ἡ πόλις ἡ Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων. For these documents, by which the freedom of the city and the ἀσυλία of the *temenos* of Aphrodite were recognized, see Chap. XVIII note 15. For Caesar's previous grant of inviolability see Chap. XVII note 43. Aphrodisias appears as *libera* in Pliny *N.H.* v 109.

39. For Tabae (Kale Tavas) see Strabo XII pp. 570 and 576; XIII p. 629 (the Ταβηνὸν Πεδίον): Hirschfeld *ibid.* p. 327: *P.A.S.* II p. 26: Philippson V p. 108: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 1839f.: *M.A.M.A.* VI p. xv. According to a legend in Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Τάβαι (incorrectly called a πόλις Λυδίας), two brothers, Marsyas and Cibyras, founded, respectively, Tabae and Cibyra (for the latter see Chap. X note 28). The Plain of Tabae is connected with Cibyratis by a route leading over the mountains from Apollonia Salbace through the Carian Sebastopolis, which lay in a high plain southwest of the Akçe Dağ; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 331f. For the Greek constitution of Tabae in the early third century see what seems to be a fragment of a *psephīsma* dated βασιλευ[ό]ντων Ἀντ[ιόχου καὶ Σελεύκου] τετά[ρτου] καὶ τεσσ[αρακόστου ἔτους], *i.e.* 269/8 B.C. (Robert, p. 321, no. 1). For the city's resistance to Manlius Vulso see Livy XXXVIII 13, 11f. After forcing Tabae to surrender, Manlius marched to Eriza and Cibyratis; see Livy XXXVIII 14, 1f. and Chap. XII note 4. For the dedication of Tabae on the Capitolium see *C.I.L.* I² 730 b = VI 30922 b = *I.G.* XIV p. 696 = *I.G.R.* I 63 and, for the probable date, Chap. IV note 67. The earliest coins date from the second or, more probably, the first century before Christ; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 160f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 157. For the *Senatus Consultum de Tabenis* of about 81 B.C. see Chap. X note 9.

40. For Sardis see *Syll.*³ 548 and 549, two decrees of Delphi passed after the arrival of a *theopropos* and envoys sent by the *demos* of Sardis to renew the φιλάνθρωπα ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων. The date is the archonship of Anaxandrides; if it may be supposed that there were two archons of this name, he may have held office somewhat before 258; if there was but one, he is probably to be dated about 225; see Flacelière in *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 29f. and *Aitoliens à Delphes*, p. 479f. For Tralles see *B.C.H.* III (1879), p. 466f. = *S.E.G.* IV 422 and *Milet* I 3, p. 318f., no. 143 A and B (*isopoliteia* with Miletus, see Chap. IV note 35). For Laodiceia see *Ins. Magn.* 59 = *S.E.G.* IV 503, with restorations by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXII (1936), p. 123f. (recognizing the Leucophryena at Magnesia, see Chap. IV note 38): *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 207f., no. 1 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 5 (decreed by [τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ] δήμῳ): *Ins. Priene* 59 (about 200 B.C.). For the honours conferred on Philip V, probably by Thyateira, see Chap. I note 39. The letter of Antiochus III to the city of Nysa (see above note 27) is perhaps addressed to [τοῖς] ἄρχουσι καὶ [τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ].

41. A decree of Tralles honouring a certain Leonides (M.κ.B. II[1] [1875-6], p. 53, no. ροβ' = Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις no. 42, reprinted by Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 321, see also *S.E.G.* IV 423), passed in the year of the stephanephorus Menodorus, who acted as one of the envoys sent to Miletus concerning *isopoliteia* in 212/11 (see above note 40), and so evidently to be dated at the end of the third century, contains a provision that "the letters from the King" should be inscribed under it. As Rehm observed, the "King" is evidently Antiochus III, from whom Leonides had obtained some favour for the city, perhaps the grant of independence. On the other hand, the favour in question may have been the concession with regard to taxes or tithes paid to the royal treasury which seems to have been the subject of a fragmentary letter of Antiochus III to the city (Welles, no. 41).

42. For the status of the city-states see Chap. III note 12, expressing dissent from the view that the independence of these cities was a grant revocable by the king. For the revocability of the autonomy granted to subject cities see Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 55 = *Études* II p. 123, where, however, the difference between their privilege of self-government and the "freedom and autonomy" of the city-states is not made clear: De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LIII (1925), p. 77, where the supposed analogy between the status of these cities and the *civitates liberae sine foedere* under the Romans (see Chap. IV note 88) is misleading: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 136f. where, unfortunately, a "grant" to a free city is not distinguished from one made to a subject city. It was observed by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 101) that "both the royal foundations and Hellenized barbarian cities came gradually to regard themselves as on the same footing as old Greek cities and therefore entitled to freedom; and the Kings naturally found it expedient to humour them" (as in the case of Alabanda).

43. For the autonomy of the subject cities under the rule of the Pergamene kings in the second century see Holleaux *Études* II p. 122f. (a discussion unfortunately based in part on a decree of Teos, which, there is reason to believe, was a free city, see Chap. IV note 75). Holleaux pointed out that this autonomy included the use of the city's own laws and πάτριος πολιτεία and the right to draw up a budget, impose taxes and manage the revenues; a subject city, however, was under a royal governor and obliged to pay a *phoros* to the king. For the decrees of Pergamum concerning the *isopoliteia* with Temnus and the honours conferred on the *strategoi* of Pergamum see *O.G.I.* 265 (= *S.E.G.* IV 678) and 267 (ll. 1-20 = Welles, no. 23) with corrections by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CCXIV 4 (1932), p. 1f. For the former, which perhaps antedated the rule of the kings, see Chap. I note 2. In the latter, the *demos* honoured the five καταστα θέντες ὑπ' Εὐμένους στρατηγοί and there is mention of τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς καθισταμένους. For the *strategoi* in Pergamum and other subject cities see below note 47. For a στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως κατασταθείς, who may have been either a city-official or a royal governor, see above note 1. The appointment of the

strategoi in Pergamum by Eumenes I has served as the basis for the generalization that the Pergamene kings controlled the cities in their kingdom by naming the officials, especially the *strategoi*; see Fränkel in *Ins. Perg.* pp. 20f. and 158: Swoboda in *Rh. Mus.* XLVI (1891), p. 503 and *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 169: Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1109 and 1153: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 55. Cardinali, on the other hand, while accepting (*R.P.* p. 233) the generalization as regards the city of Pergamum, pointed out that it is not necessarily valid for the other cities; so also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 185. The view of Rostovtzeff (*Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 387f.) that the most important officials of the subject cities received office from the monarch appears to be based on the appointment by one of the kings of the νεωκόρος of the Temple of Artemis at Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 4 = *S.E.G.* IV 632). There would be equally little ground for drawing a similar conclusion from the appointment of priests at Pergamum by Eumenes II, Attalus II and Attalus III; see *O.G.I.* 331 = Welles, nos. 65-67.

44. Pergamum (*O.G.I.* 299, 323 [= *I.G.R.* IV 288], 332 and 338: *Ins. Perg.* 162 and 252 = *A.M.* XXXII [1907], p. 273f., no. 10: *Syll.*³ 1007: *A.M.* XXXII p. 242, no. 2; XXXIII [1908], p. 375f., nos. 1 and 2; see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 244f. and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 174); Antiocheia ad Maeandrum (*Ins. Magn.* 90 and *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1909 II p. 56f., no. 13); Apameia (*J.H.S.* LV [1935], p. 71f. = *M.A.M.A.* VI 173, see above note 19); Hierapolis (*O.G.I.* 308, see above note 25); Laodiceia (see above note 40); Magnesia ad Sipylum (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 410f., no. 12 and Keil-Premerstein II no. 1, see above note 9); Peltae (see above note 3, *C.I.G.* 3568 f = Michel 542, see below note 50); Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 4, 21 and 111); Synnada(?) (*B.C.H.* VII [1883], p. 300f., no. 24 = XI [1887], p. 218f., no. 13 = Michel 545, see Ramsay in *C.O.* I p. 393f. and *C.B.* I p. 366, note 1); Thyateira (Keil-Premerstein II no. 44 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII [1913], p. 326f., no. 18, see above note 11); Tralles (*Milet* I 3, no. 143 B, see above note 40, and *Ins. Magn.* 85 = *S.E.G.* IV 507); Alabanda (*R.E.G.* XI [1898], p. 258f., see above note 32: *I.G.* XII 9, 4, a decree honouring judges (?) sent by Carystus on Euboea: *B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 311f., no. 4 (5), corrected in XXXII [1908], p. 203f. and XXXIII [1909], p. 170, perhaps of a later period); Stratoniceia (*B.C.H.* XLIV [1920], p. 70f., no. 1: *S.E.G.* IV 245: *I.G.R.* IV 247: *B.C.H.* LVIII [1934], p. 341, no. 28, perhaps of the imperial period).

45. According to the "Pergamene Chronicle" (*O.G.I.* 264, see Chap. I note 2), the office of *prytanis* was established in Pergamum in fourth century by Archias (who, according to tradition, founded the cult of Asclepius). In the third and second centuries the eponymous *prytanis* is found in *Ins. Perg.* 5 (= *O.G.I.* 265), 157 A, 251 (= *Syll.*³ 1007), ll. 1 and 34, and 254 (= *I.G.R.* IV 290). See also Cardinali *R.P.* p. 283f., note 7 and Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX (1911), p. 504f. = *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 350f. On the other hand, the eponymous office is held by the ἱερεύς in *Ins. Perg.* 18 and 249 = *O.G.I.* 267 and 338 (= *I.G.R.* IV 289). The offices of πρύτανις and ἱερεύς are combined in the decrees, *A.M.* XXXIII (1908), p. 375f., no. 1 and XXXV (1910), p. 401f., no. 1, l. 21f., and on the base of a statue, *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 320,

no. 48, as well as in the following inscriptions from the gymnasium of the late second or the first century; *Ins. Perg.* 323: *I.G.R.* IV 302: *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 126, no. 145; XXXII (1907), p. 278f., no. 11; p. 427f., nos. 273, 274 and 278; XXXIII (1908), p. 388, no. 6 1. The eponymous *prytanis* appears in a decree of Pergamum cited in Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 22, §247f., and in the decree of a city transmitting the honours paid by Athens to Hyrcanus II and dated *ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως καὶ ἱερέως* (*ibid.* §149), which was attributed to Pergamum by Willrich (*Herm.* LIX [1924], p. 246f.), who supposed that the eponymous priesthood was that of Asclepius. There is mention also of an eponymous *prytanis* in an inscription found near Kırkağaç, some thirty miles east of Pergamum (see above note 13); see Curtius in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1872, p. 63f., no 2, containing a list of newly enrolled ephebi, dated not only by the *prytanis*, who was also gymnasiarch, but also by the ephebarch and the *grammateus* of the ephebi. Any attempt, however, to identify the provenience is very uncertain, for, as Robert observed (*Villes*, p. 36, note 6 and p. 73f.), stones have been brought to Kırkağaç, as also to the neighbouring Bakır (see above note 14), from Stratoniceia, Acrasus and even Thyateira. The provenience of an inscription from Bakır, mentioning a [*πρ*]*ύτανιν ἀπὸ προγόνων* (L.W. 1661 = *A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 217, no. 45) is likewise uncertain, as is also its date, for it may belong to the Roman period. An eponymous stephanephorus in the Hellenistic period is known at Apollonis (see above note 16); Magnesia ad Sipylum (Keil-Premerstein II no. 1); Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 21, 93 and 105-110); Tralles (M.κ.B. II[1] [1875-6], p. 53, no. *ροβ'*, see above note 41: *R. Phil.* LX [1934], p. 279f.); Stratoniceia in Caria (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 226f. [= Viereck, no. 20]; XLIV [1920], p. 70f., no. 1: *S.E.G.* IV 286: perhaps *B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 34f.). At Sardis in the beginning of the first century, the eponymous office was held by the Priest of Roma; see *Ins. Sardis* 93 and 112-115 and perhaps 116-118 (*ἐπὶ ἱερέως*). Both this office and the stephanephorate are held by the same man in no. 93. In *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437, l. 90f. (94/3 B.C. see Chap. VII note 47) both the Priest of Roma and the Priest of Zeus Polieus appear as *eponymi*.

46. For the *prytaneis* at Laodiceia see *Ins. Priene* 59: *Ins. Magn.* 59 a: *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 207, no. 1 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 5 (see above note 40). For *prytaneis* at Stratoniceia see *O.G.I.* 441, l. 140f.: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 238; XLIV (1920), p. 70f., no. 1 (*γνώμη*); LVIII (1934), p. 331f., no. 17, a and d: *S.E.G.* IV 245 (*γνώμη*). For the *prytaneis* at Rhodes see Chap. III note 26.

47. For the *strategoi* at Pergamum in the Hellenistic period see *Ins. Perg.* 18 (= *O.G.I.* 267, see above note 43), 156, 157 D, 246 (= *O.G.I.* 332), ll. 34 and 61: *O.G.I.* 483. For decrees of Pergamum passed as a *γνώμη στρατηγῶν* see *O.G.I.* 265, 299, 323 (= *I.G.R.* IV 288), 338 (= *I.G.R.* IV 289): *Syll.*[3] 982 and 1007: *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 242, no. 2; XXXIII (1908), p. 375f., nos. 1 and 2: *I.G.R.* IV 293 a II, l. 44 and b, l. 11 (*εἰσαγγειλάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν*). See also Swoboda in *Rh. Mus.* XLVI (1891), p. 497f. and *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, p. 169f., Cardinali *R.P.* p. 233f., Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1117f.

and 1153f. and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 175f., and, for the officials of Pergamum in general, Corradi *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 363f. *Strategoi* are known in the Hellenistic period also at Hierapolis (*O.G.I.* 308, γνώμη); Magnesia ad Sipylum (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 410, no. 12, γνώμη); Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 4 and 7, γνώμη); Synnada (?) (Michel 545 [see above note 44], εἰσαγγειλάντων τῶν στρατηγῶν); Tralles (*Milet* I 3, p. 318f., no. 143 B); two unknown Pergamene cities (*Ins. Magn.* 83 and 87 = *O.G.I.* 319). Laodiceia seems to have had *strategoi* as well as *prytaneis*, for a στρατήγ[ιον] is mentioned in *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 207, no. 1 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 5 (see above note 46). At Alabanda there were a [στρατηγὸς τ]ῆς πόλεως and a στρατη[γ]ὸς εἰς τοὺς δή[μους] (*B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 311, no. 4 (5) = XXXII [1908], p. 203f., see above note 44) and a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ χώρας (*Syll.*[8] 1226), perhaps imitated from similar Rhodian officials (see Chap. IV note 62). At Stratoniceia the city's territory was under the command of ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγός, also perhaps of Rhodian origin; see *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 423f., no. 4: LI (1927), p. 113, no. 100 = *S.E.G.* IV 346 = LX (1936), p. 198; LV (1931), p. 75, no. 3. A γραμματεύς (τοῦ δήμου) is found at Pergamum (*Ins. Perg.* 236 and *I.G.R.* IV 293 a II, l. 36); Mostene (?) (Keil-Premerstein I no. 14); Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 4); Stratoniceia (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 238: *S.E.G.* IV 245, βουλῆς); Tralles (*Milet* I 3, no. 143 B: *R. Phil.* LX [1934], p. 279f.: *Ins. Magn.* 85); an unknown city (*O.G.I.* 319). There were ταμίαι at Pergamum (*Ins. Perg.* 156 and *O.G.I.* 267 and 483 and perhaps 268 [see above note 14]); Laodiceia (*Ins. Magn.* 59 a); Stratoniceia (*I.G.R.* IV 247: *O.G.I.* 441, l. 140: *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 238); Tralles (*Ins. Magn.* 85 and *B.C.H.* III [1879], p. 466f. = *S.E.G.* IV 422); ἐξεταστάι, whose duty it was to inscribe decrees, at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 1692 = *Syll.*[3] 694, see Chap. VI note 34) and at Laodiceia (*A.M.* XX p. 207f., no. 1 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 5); an ἀγορανόμος at Pergamum (*Ins. Perg.* 183, 243 and 244: *A.M.* XXVII [1902], p. 89f., no. 73) and at Alabanda (*B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 308, no. 3 = *R.E.G.* V [1892], p. 411, no. 6). Pergamum had also ἀστυνόμοι, charged with the care of the streets and the public works, including the water-supply, and their subordinate ἀμφοδάρχαι, as well as νομοφύλακες, who collected fines from delinquent officials and persons disobeying the city's ordinances; see *O.G.I.* 483 and Corradi *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 389f. and Hansen, p. 177f. For νομοφύλακες see also *O.G.I.* 240 and 300 and Cardinali *R.P.* p. 269f. For the official called ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως (*O.G.I.* 483, l. 57) see above note 1. The expression τιμουχίαι in *Syll.*[3] 1007, l. 31 does not refer to a single board of magistrates, as in some of the city-states (see Chap. III note 27), but is used as a generic term, as also in certain city-states, to designate the officials collectively; see Fränkel *Ins. Perg.* p. 181, followed by Dittenberger (note 11) and Corradi *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 359f.

48. At Pergamum in the second century there were the following tribes: Αἰολίς, Ἀπολλωνιάς, Ἀσκληπιάς, Ἀτταλίς, Εὐβοΐς, Εὐμενήα, Θηβαΐς, Καδμηΐς, Κριτονίς, Μακαρίς, Πελοπίς, Τηλεφίς, Φιλεταιρίς; see *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 466f.; XXXIII (1908), p. 385f. To these the tribe Διοδωρίς (named from Diodorus Pasparus) was added about 125 B.C.; see Chap. VII note 4.

At Sardis there were the tribes Διονυσιάς and Τυμωλίς (from Τύμωλος, a secondary form of Τμῶλος), and probably Μερμνάς and Μασδ[ν]ίς (see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 155f.) derived from the names of old Lydian monarchs, and Ἀλιβαλ[ίς]; see *Ins. Sardis,* 12, 34 and 124-127 and p. 115. Robert pointed out (*ibid.* p. 158) that these old dynastic names were probably "artificial creations of late date." It was observed by Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* XVIII (1914), p. 54 that Ἀλιβαλ[ίς] may be derived from a place-name but cannot be connected with Ἀλιβαντίς, which occurs as the name of an imaginary tribe in Lucian *Necyom.* 20. The old φυλή called Ἀσιάς which is mentioned in Herodotus IV 45 is not otherwise known. Elsewhere there was a medley of divine and dynastic and sometimes national names: at Eumeneia the Ἀργειάς, Ἀθηναΐς, [Δημ]ητριάς and Ἡραΐς and, later, Ἀδριανίς (Ramsay *C.B.* I nos. 206-208, 357, 358, 364 and 378 and p. 371: *J.R.S.* XVI [1926], p. 71f., nos. 196 and 204); at Laodiceia the Ἀθηναΐς, Ἀπολλωνίς, Ἀτταλίς and Λαοδικίς (Ruge in *R.E.* XII 723), the Ἰάς (*M.A.M.A.* VI 18) and later, the Σεβαστή (*J.H.S.* LVI [1936], p. 78); at Nysa the Σελευκίς, Ἀντιοχίς and, probably, the Ἀθηναΐς and Ἀπολλωνίς, which under the Romans became Γερμανὶς Σελευκίς, Ἀγριππῆς Ἀντιοχίς, Σεβαστὴ Ἀθηναΐς and Ὀκταβία Ἀπολλωνίς, and also the Καισάρηος (*Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* X p. 68); at Dorylaeum (in the third century after Christ) the Ἀπολλωνιάς (φυλὴ Ἀκερσεκόμου), Ἀρτεμισιάς, Δειάς (φυλέται οἱ Δείας), Μητρωάς, Ποσιδωνιάς, Σεραπιάς and Σεβαστή and probably Ἀφροδισιάς, called in an epigram φυλέται οἱ Παφίης (*G.G.A.* 1897, p. 399f. and *J.O.A.I.* XVI [1913], *Beibl.* 72f.); at Acmonia (also in the late Roman period) the Ἀρτεμισιάς and Ἀσκληπιάς (*R.E.G.* III [1890], p. 66f., no. 18 = Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 532 and *I.G.R.* IV 642 and 653 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 266); at Aezani the Ἡρακλεάς (*I.G.R.* IV 586); at Nacoleia the Παρθεν[ιάς] (*M.A.M.A.* V 204). At Hierapolis the otherwise unknown and perhaps local names are found, Μαιλονίς, Μαμωλίς and Μοταλίς (*Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 70, 81 and 344).

49. At Philadelpheia the seven φυλαί (*I.G.R.* IV 1632) included ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν ἐριουργῶν and ἡ ἱερὰ φυλὴ τῶν σκυτέων; see *I.G.R.* IV 1632 and L.W. 656 (see Chap. II notes 78 and 92). The view of Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 105) and A. H. M. Jones (*Cities,* pp. 38 and 54 and *Greek City,* p. 44) that the organization of the city according to guilds attested by these inscriptions of the imperial period originated in pre-Greek times and indicates that Philadelpheia was an old Lydian town with a primitive organization of this type was rejected by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LXII (1941), p. 106, who pointed out that the late date of the inscriptions renders any such inference doubtful. It is equally difficult to accept the suggestion of Jones (*Greek City,* p. 162) that citizenship was confined to members of the guilds. At Thyateira, as Jones observed (*Cities,* p. 83f.), the guilds were rich organizations with funds of their own, which in the imperial period erected statues or conferred honours; see Chap. II notes 79, 80, 87, 92 and 94. There is no reason, however, to suppose that these guilds were connected with the organization of the city or that they had any political significance. For the assumption

of the cost of statues at Apameia by *οἱ ἐν τῇ Θερμαίᾳ* Πλατείᾳ (or *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Θερμαίας* Πλατείας) *ἐργασταί* and *οἱ ἐν τῇ Σκυτικῇ* Πλατείᾳ *τεχνεῖται* (see Chap. II note 92) see *I.G.R.* IV 788-9 (=*M.A.M.A.* VI 180), 790 and 791 and Jones *Cities*, p. 70 and *Greek City*, p. 15. For Stratoniceia see above note 33.

50. See Chap. IV note 81. The importation of *dikastai* by Laodiceia, Antiocheia-on-Maeander, Tralles and Stratoniceia there cited might be explained by supposing that by this time these cities had become independent. But this was scarcely the case with Magnesia ad Sipylum, which obtained a judge from Prusias (Cius) in Bithynia (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 410f., no. 12), and there is no reason to suppose that freedom had been granted to Peltae, which obtained judges from Antandrus (*C.I.G.* 3568f.=Michel 542) in the second century, perhaps under Roman rule, as suggested by Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 524, or to the Larbeni, who imported them from Magnesia (*Ins. Magn.* 101). Peltae seems to have been a "Macedonian" military colony (see above note 3); Larba is not known otherwise, unless it was the city of this name which existed in Caria in the Byzantine period, as was suggested by Robert *Villes*, p. 142f., followed by Ruge in *Phil. Woch.* LVII (1937), 1258f.; see also Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 336f., note 4.

51. Bronze coins were issued during the second or first century in many cities: in Apollonis, Blaundus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Nysa, Philadelpheia, Sardis, Thyateira and Tralles and the less important communities of Aninetus, Apollonia-Tripolis, Caÿstriani, Clanudda and Mostene; see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, pp. 22, 26f., 38, 49f., 54, 59, 100, 107, 134f., 148, 172f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, pp. XXV, 17, 19, 42f., 60f., 68, 137f., 161, 171f., 187f., 238f., 292, 335f., 363: *Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* X (1913), p. 74f. (Nysa): *Sardis* XI 1, p. 25f.: in Acmonia, Aezani, Amorium, Apameia, Appia, Dionysopolis, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Laodiceia ad Lycum, Leonnaea, Peltae, Prymnessus, Synnada; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* pp. 189, 192, 197f., 207f., 214, 264, 276, 282f., 291f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. 4f., 23, 47, 74f., 182, 211f., 228f., 283f., 347, 361, 392f.: in Colossae; see Imhoof-Blumer *Griech. Münzen*, p. 209, no. 667 and *Weber Coll.* III no. 7070. For silver tridrachms and drachms minted at Alabanda and tetradrachms and drachms minted at Antiocheia ad Maeandrum after 167 see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, pp. 2f. and 14, and for small silver and bronze coins issued in other cities of Caria see Chap. IV note 86.

52. See above notes 40 and 43. No inferences may be drawn from the arbitration of Pergamum in the dispute between Mitylene and Pitane (*O.G.I.* 335) or from the *isopoliteia* between Pergamum and Tegea in Arcadia (*Ins. Perg.* 156, see Chap. I note 3), for the usual assignment of the former to the time of Attalus II or Attalus III is very uncertain (see Chap. III note 125); and the latter, usually dated under Eumenes II, may perhaps also be assigned to the period after the death of Attalus III, when Pergamum was a free city.

53. See Chap. IV note 38. In the replies received from Antiochus III and Attalus I (*Ins. Magn.* 18 and 22=*O.G.I.* 231 and 282=Welles, nos. 31 and

34) the former, in accepting the invitation, assured the Magnesians that he had written to "those in charge of affairs" ὅπως καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀκολούθως ἀποδέξωνται, and the latter wrote: αἱ πόλεις αἱ π[ειθόμε]ναι ἐμοὶ ποιήσουσιν ὁμοίως · [ἔγραψα] γὰρ αὐταῖς παρακαλῶν. Similarly, the reply from Chalcis (*Ins. Magn.* 47=*Syll.*³ 561), although the Magnesian envoys had come in person to the city, was not drawn up in the form of a decree until a letter had been received from Philip V, telling the citizens that he had accepted the invitation and that they should do likewise. On the other hand, envoys were sent directly and answers received in the cases of Laodiceia and Antiocheia-on-Maeander(?) (*Ins. Magn.* 59), an Antiocheia (*ibid.* 79-80 [=*S.E.G.* IV 505-6] and 81), which, as Robert observed in *R. Phil.* LIII (1927), p. 117, note 2, was hardly Antioch in Pisidia, as Kern supposed, but some other city of the name, perhaps Alabanda, called Antiocheia about this time (see above note 31), and Antiocheia in Persis together with some other cities of the East (*ibid.* 61=*O.G.I.* 233). For the replies received directly in the second century from Tralles and from three Pergamene cities under Eumenes II and Attalus II see *Ins. Magn.* 83, 85, 86 and 87 (=*O.G.I.* 319).

54. For the "contributions" paid on occasions by the free cities see Chap. III note 14, and for the confusion in Polybius XXI 24, 8 and 46 (48), 2f. between these *contributions* and the *phoros* paid by a subject city see Chap. IV note 60. In spite of the inaccuracy of Polybius's terminology, it is clear that before 188 the subject cities in Asia Minor paid a *phoros* either to Antiochus III or to the king of Pergamum. For the general principle of the payment of a tax by a subject city to a ruler see Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*² II p. 347 and Heuss *Stadt u. Herrscher*, p. 106f. (which is not altogether free from confusion between the payments made respectively by free and by subject cities). For the payment of a *phoros* to the Seleucids by the subject cities in their empire see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 466 and Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 106f., where, unfortunately, the "Greek Cities" (presumably the city-states) are included among those by whom it was paid. In addition to the *phoros*, Jerusalem seems to have paid to the king a poll-tax, a στεφανίτης φόρος and a tax on salt, and Seleuceia on the Tigris paid port-dues and taxes on salt and on imported slaves; see Josephus XII 3, 3, §142 and Bikerman in *Rev. d. Études Juives* C (1931), p. 16f. and R. H. McDowell *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor 1935), p. 173f. For the view that a fixed amount was paid by a subject city to the Pergamene kings see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 175f.: Francotte *Finances d. Cités Grecques*, p. 88f.: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 244; *R.E.* VII 154; *Hellenist. World*, p. 642f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 188. The contrary view that the cities, like the tenants of the royal domains (see below note 58), paid tithes, which was held by Ghione (*Mem. Accad. Torino* LV [1905], p. 102), is not supported by any evidence. It was only at Telmessus, when, in the third century, the city was under Egyptian rule, that tithes are known to have been exacted; see *T.A.M.* II 1=*O.G.I.* 55. The statement that fixed amounts were paid by the cities to the Pergamene kings which is made

in a speech attributed to Antony in Appian *B.C.* v 4 (cited by Cardinali and Francotte), namely, that the Romans, in contrast to the kings, *οὐ πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα ὑμῖν ἐπεθήκαμεν, ὡς ἄν ἡμεῖς ἀκίνδυνον φόρον ἐκλέγοιμεν,* is, despite the inaccuracies of this "speech" (see Chap. VI note 36), correct as regards the *phoros* paid by the subject cities. A fixed payment appears in *Ins. Sardis* 2 (see below note 56), in which the annual *phoros* paid either to the Seleucids or to the Pergamenes by the community was reduced (after a moratorium of seven years) to twenty minae, and in Welles, no. 54 (see below note 57), in which the annual *φόρος κα[ὶ] τέ[λε]σ[μα]* paid by Amlada in Pisidia to Pergamum was reduced from two talents to one and a half. The *πρόσοδοι* remission of which was granted, apparently by Eumenes II, to a Hellespontine city (see below note 55) were also evidently fixed amounts; see Holleaux *Études* II p. 110f. In addition to the yearly payment, a "contribution" or requisition was demanded by the Pergamene kings on special occasions or for special needs; see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 643f. and 1647. Such contributions were presumably the 9000 drachmae exacted from Amlada *ἐπισκευ[ῆς ἕνεκ]ε* (see Chap. I note 62) "in the Galatian War," and the gift of grain and other services received from Apameia by Eumenes II during a war (*M.A.M.A.* VI 173, see above note 19). They were perhaps alluded to in *Ins. Sardis* 2, where the promise is made that the people should be *ἀν[ενόχλη]τοι καὶ ἀλητού[ρ]γητοι.* There seems to be no reason to suppose, with A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 111, that the Pergamene kings "perfected the system (of taxation) by taking for themselves all the taxes and thus making the cities dependent on the royal government for the revenue needed to meet their own internal expenses." The subsidies given to the citizens of the Hellespontine city (see below note 55) *ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ* were needed as the result of their impoverishment "on account of the war," and the payment made to Teos *ἐγ βασιλικοῦ εἰς τ[ὴν τῆ]ς πόλεως διοίκησιν* (*S.E.G.* II 580) may not be regarded as evidence, since there is reason to believe that at the time Teos was a free city; see Chap. IV notes 36 and 75. On the other hand, as in the case of some free cities (see Chap. III note 14), no inference as to the payment of tribute to the king may be drawn from the fact that *ἀτέλεια πάντων ὧν ἡ πόλις κυρία ἐστιν* (together with other privileges) was granted by Tralles to a "benefactor"; see *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 411, no. 2 = Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, p. 57, no. 92. Not only was the man a foreigner, as also in the instances of similar action by the free cities, but as the date of the inscription has not been determined, we have no knowledge of the status of Tralles at the time, and the city may have been independent.

55. Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 2f. = *Études* II p. 74f. = *S.E.G.* II 663, with a commentary by Holleaux and by De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LIII (1925), p. 68f.; see also Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VII p. 178f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 528f. The lettering of the inscription is that of the late third or, more probably, the early second century. The stone was found at Prusa (Bursa) in Bithynia, but the name of the city whose "Council and People" passed the decree does not appear in the document. It may be definitely

stated, however, that Prusa is not its real provenience. The city in question was evidently an old Hellenic community, which had once been independent, while Prusa, which was not founded until after 202 (when Prusias I acquired this part of Bithynia, see Chap. XIII note 16), did not have a *πάτριος πολιτεία*. Furthermore, Corrhagus, *Μακεδών*, who is honoured in the decree was *τεταγμένος στρατηγὸς τῶν καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον τόπων*, and there is no reason to suppose that the Bithynian kings had an official who bore this title, for their possessions did not include the Hellespont. Corrhagus, as the various editors have observed, is evidently to be identified with the Corragus *Macedo* who, together with Athenaeus, brother of Eumenes II, joined Manlius Vulso in his expedition in Caria in 189 (Livy XXXVIII 13, 3), and also with the Corragus *Eumenis praefectus* who in 171 co-operated with a native chieftain in an invasion of the dominions of King Cotys of Thrace (Livy XLII 67, 4). The city, accordingly, was in the Pergamene Kingdom. Holleaux suggested (*Études* II p. 115f.) that it may have been Apollonia-on-Rhyndacus, about twenty miles west of Prusa, but we know of no war during which Apollonia may have suffered. It is, in fact, difficult to identify the war that preceded the occupation (*παράληψις*) of the city by Corrhagus. Holleaux's first suggestion (*Études* II p. 118f.) that it was either the war of Eumenes II against Prusias I of Bithynia (see Chap. XIII note 39) or one of his two wars against the Galatians (see above p. 21f.) was open, as he himself admitted, to the objection that in none of these was Pergamene territory affected; his alternative suggestion that the war may have been the war between Attalus II and Prusias II in 157-155 (see Chap. XIII note 42) is hard to reconcile with the activity of Corrhagus in 189. Later, however, Holleaux declared himself (*B.C.H.* LIV [1930], p. 248, note 2=*Études* II p. 116, note 2) in agreement with De Sanctis (*ibid.* p. 75) and Rostovtzeff (*C.A.H.* VII p. 178f. and VIII p. 605) in regarding the war as that between the Romans and Antiochus III and in dating the inscription in 188. Both this view, however, and that of von Wilamowitz in *Litteris* I (1924), p. 7, namely, that the king mentioned in the inscription was Antiochus III and that the incident is to be connected with the latter's invasion of Thrace in 192/1, are open to the objection that on neither of these occasions, as far as we know, did the Hellespontine region of Asia Minor suffer from the effects of the war. In fact, the only occasion during this period on which a Hellespontine city is known to have suffered conspicuously from the hardships of war was the campaign of Philip V in 200, when he captured Abydus after a cruel siege (see Chap. I note 44). The question may be raised, therefore, whether the city which passed this decree in honour of Corrhagus may not have been Abydus. The stone, if brought to Bursa at all, may well have been brought from some distance, even from as far as the Hellespont, the importance of which as a modern centre for the trade in antiquities was pointed out by Robert in *Coll. Froehner* I (Paris 1936), p. 60. Abydus, before Philip captured it, was a free Hellenic city; its *πολιτεία* accordingly, could be described as *πάτριος*. In 197 it was occupied by Antiochus III, who placed a garrison in it (Livy XXXIII 38, 4, see above p. 17), and in 190 it was still held by his

soldiers (Livy XXXVII 9, 11 and 12, 1f.: Appian *Syr.* 23). For its surrender to Antiochus it would naturally have been awarded to Eumenes at Apameia; but in view of the involuntary character of that surrender as well as of its ancient freedom and its sufferings at the hands of Philip V, it would also have been natural for Eumenes to restore its liberty and remedy its misfortunes. We may suppose, accordingly, that Corrhagus's *παράληψις* took place in 188 and that the favours accorded to the city were granted a short time afterward. The *βασιλικόν* mentioned in l. 20, from which the landless were to be supplied with lands, was evidently the Pergamene royal treasury; see Holleaux *Études* II p. 106f.

56. See *Ins. Sardis* 2, apparently a decree (see Klaffenbach in *Gnomon* XII [1936], p. 212 and Robert in *R.A.* VII [1936], p. 234) in honour of an official named . . . orus who had granted a remission of taxes as well as other favours. The inscription was dated by the editors, on the basis of the lettering, in the period 225-175 B.C. There is therefore no way of determining whether the official was Seleucid or Pergamene, and the monarch who granted the favours may have been Antiochus III; the inscription was regarded as Seleucid by Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 136, note 1. *Ἀτέλεια* for three years and a remission of one third of the *phoroi* for all time were granted by Antiochus III to Jerusalem; see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XII 3, 3, §143f. and Bikerman in *Rev. d. Études Juives* C (1935), p. 4f.

57. *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 74 II = *O.G.I.* 751 = Welles, no. 54; see Chap. I note 56. On the question of the writer see Chap. I note 77 and on the city's connexion with Eumenes's war against the Galatians see Chap. I note 62.

58. The domain-land of the Persian kings is referred to in the letter of Darius I to the satrap Gadates (*Syll.*[3] 22, see Chap. III note 102), [*τ*]*ὴν ἐμὴν ἐκπονεῖς* [*γ*]*ῆν*. See also Herodotus IX 116, *τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος*. Alexander's claim to ownership appears in his letter to Priene (*Ins. Priene* 1 = *O.G.I.* 1), *π*[*ασαν τὴν πέριξ*] *χώρα*[*ν γ*]*ινώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.* The seizure of the farms around Celaenae (the later Apameia) by Eumenes of Cardia (Plutarch *Eum.* 8, see above note 18) was supposed by Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat*, p. 255) and by Tarn (*C.A.H.* VI p. 471) to have been based on the theory that Eumenes was the representative of Alexander's heirs and so the owner of the land. It seems more probable, however, that it was an ordinary act of violence without any legal basis; if so, it would suggest that there were private landlords in Asia Minor under Alexander. Another indication of the existence of individual holdings at this time appears in an inscription found in the plain of the Caïcus east of Pergamum, dated in the eleventh year of Alexander (326/5 B.C.), which records the dimensions of a tract of *γῆ ψιλὴ ἀγρός* given by a certain Crateuas to a man named Aristomenes (*Syll.*[3] 302). It was supposed by Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat*, p. 267f.) that this was a tract of of royal domain-land granted under the condition that the grantee should

cultivate it (the condition known as *emphyteusis*); there is nothing to show, however, that Crateuas was a royal official or that the transfer was not an ordinary one. Under Antigonus the royal land is described as ἡ φορολογουμέ[νη χώρα] in the King's letter concerning the synoecism of Teos and Lebedus (Welles, no. 3, l. 83, see Chap. III note 64). For the "royal land" under the Seleucids see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 97f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p. 341f.: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 246f., *C.A.H.* VII p. 181f. and *Hellenist. World*, pp. 465 and 493f.: Kaerst *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*[2] II p. 347: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 234f.: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 180f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 46 and *Greek City*, pp. 44 and 95f. It is called ἡ βασιλικὴ χώρα in the letters of Antiochus I concerning the land taken from it to give to Aristodicides of Assus, and the estate sold by Antiochus II to Laodice obviously formed part of it also; see *O.G.I.* 221 and 225 = Welles, nos. 10-12 and 18-20 and Chap. III note 40.

59. For the land sold by Antiochus I to the city of Pitane, which held it thereafter in full ownership (παγκτητικὴ τ[ῆ]ς χ[ώρας κυρε]ία) see *O.G.I.* 335, l. 133f. and Chap. III note 42. For the land given by Antiochus I to Aristodicides and sold by Antiochus II to Laodice see above note 58. For the κλῆροι given to the veterans settled at Palaemagnesia by Antiochus I and to the settlers (evidently military) described as οἱ πρότερον ὄντες ἐμ Μαγνησίᾳ κάτοικοι see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 100f. and Chap. III note 95. The allotments of the former were ἀδεκάτευτοι, those of the latter, after the union with Smyrna, were to be δωρεά (held in full ownership) with ἀτέλεια ἣ νῦν ὑπάρχουσα, which suggests that this was their original status. In the case of certain civilian settlers, on the other hand, no such permanent exemption was granted, if we may accept as genuine the letter in which Antiochus III ordered the satrap Zeuxis to settle two thousand Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XII 3, 4, §147f.); for they were to be ἀτελεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν for only ten years. For a leasehold of indefinite tenure see *Ins. Sardis* 1, apparently dating in its present form from the end of the third century but probably from an original document not less than fifty years older. It records the mortgage of an estate by a certain Mnesimachus to the Temple of Artemis at Sardis in return for a loan made to him by the Temple. Whether the Antigonus "who awarded the estate" to Mnesimachus (col. 1, l. 2) was the ruler of this name or some royal official, the grant was made by a king to whom a *phoros* on various parts of the estate, amounting in all to 116 gold staters and 7 obols in gold, must be paid annually (col. 1, l. 5f.). The king might, if he wished, resume possession (col. II, l. 12f.), so that perhaps the title still rested with him. For a similar arrangement with regard to some land in Macedonia see *Syll.*[3] 332 and Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 251f. For the theory that under the Seleucids private ownership of land did not exist outside the free cities see Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 249f.; *C.A.H.* VII p. 182; *Hellenist. World*, p. 495: Lenschau in *R.E.* XI 813: Welles, p. 96: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 183: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 45f. and *Greek City*, p. 96. This view was questioned by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LXII (1941), p. 105f., who doubted that Alexander's

claim to the land near Priene (see above note 58) "implies that all the land not belonging to the cities was his property." There is, in fact, nothing in the documents dealing with the estates of Aristodicides and Laodice to show that the transfer of the property to a free city was compulsory. The former was "permitted" to make the transfer (Welles, no. 11, l. 20), and Laodice's right to sell her land before any such transfer was made and the exemption of her property from payments to the royal treasury (Welles, no. 18, l. 13f.) seem to indicate full ownership. Unfortunately, no inference can be drawn from the fact that the land at first assigned to Aristodicides had formerly been held by a certain Meleager (Welles, no. 11, l. 4f.), since there is no way of knowing whether his tenure had ceased by confiscation or in a war (Welles, p. 66) or because it was a fief subject to the King's pleasure (Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 495) or for some other reason. This is also true of the status of the grant of this land to the naval commander Athenaeus (Welles, no. 12, l. 4f.), for it cannot be determined whether the verb *ἐπικεχωρῆσθαι* implied full ownership or merely usufruct (Welles, p. 67). In view of the uncertainty regarding the conditions attached to these grants, the statements of Jones (*Greek City*, p. 44) that the "fiefs of the nobility were to a large extent incorporated in city territories" and "regarded as crown lands at the free disposal of the government, which granted or sold some directly to cities" may be accepted only with reserve; there is no reason to suppose that either the land sold to Pitane or the territory given to Miletus by Ptolemy II (see Chap. III note 81) was one of these fiefs.

60. It was maintained by Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 603 (see also *Kolonat*, p. 280) that the Pergamene king was the "ultimate owner" of all the land which did not belong to the territories of the cities. This view, however, is based solely on the fact that the kings assigned and sold land and built fortresses. The royal land in the Pergamene Kingdom was supposed by T. Frank in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), p. 148f. to have been of two types, (1) crown-lands, "practically under joint ownership of crown, feudal-lord and hereditary peasant-holders" paying a "fixed stipend" to the crown, and (2) the king's private estates, including mines and quarries. This view was accepted by Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXV (1934), p. 208f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 509f., who supposed also that the land of the former type was retained by the native holders after the Romans acquired the province of Asia; see Chap. VI note 37. The private estates of the king seem to appear in *I.G.R.* IV 289 = *O.G.I.* 338, l. 25 (passed soon after the death of Attalus III, see Chap. I note 93 and Chap. VI note 8) as *αἱ οὐσίαι αἱ γεγενημέναι βασιλικαί* (which, however, were not necessarily obtained by confiscation, as was suggested by Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 508, note 26 and p. 510, note 44). Of this type were perhaps the lands near Priene, [*ἃ π*]*ρότερο*[*ν*] *εἰργάζετο* Βασιλεὺς Ἄτταλος (*Ins. Priene* 111, l. 112). It seems probable, furthermore, that the estates in the interior of Mysia and Lydia, where Aristonicus during his war against the Romans found recruits among the slaves (see

Chap. VI note 17), were, at least to some extent, royal. There were also royal estates in the Thracian Chersonese given to Eumenes II in 188 (Polybius XXI 46 [48], 9=Livy XXXVIII 39, 14), which in 63 B.C. were still called *Attalici agri* (Cicero *de Leg. Agr.* II 50). The assumption of Broughton (*Econ. Surv.* IV p. 510, note 41) that some of the land was held by "wealthy possessors of old fiefs" who belonged to the "great native families," while not attested by any direct evidence, is highly probable. On the other hand, the supposition of Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 649) that a "large estate" was possessed by Corrhagus who came to the aid of the Hellespontine city (see above note 55) is questionable, for the expression *παρ' αὐτοῦ* (*S.E.G.* II 663, l. 14f.), as was pointed out by Holleaux (*Études* II p. 101), probably means "at his own expense." For the allotments of land obtained from a Pergamene king by military settlers see Welles, no. 51 and Rostovtzeff *ibid.* Chap. IV note 328 (where the suggestion is made that the land may not have become the irrevocable property of those who bought their allotments).

61. For the diminution of the royal lands under the Seleucids see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 185: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, pp. 248 and 256 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 1103. A similar tendency under the Pergamene kings was suggested by Cardinali but without the presentation of any evidence, as was observed by Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat*, p. 280), who supposed that these kings were more economical than the Seleucids in alienating the royal land; so also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 170. It was pointed out, however, by A. H. M. Jones in *J.R.S.* XXIX (1939), p. 123 that, as the result of the establishment of native communities as cities and the foundation of colonies, the Pergamene royal land at the time of the Roman annexation had decreased in extent; it is difficult, however, to accept Jones's view that it had "largely vanished."

62. For the temples in Asia Minor and their domains see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 102f.: Cardinali *R.P.* p. 179f.: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 269f.; *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 370f. (Pergamene Kingdom only); *S.E.H.R.E.* Chap. VII note 5, enlarged in the Italian edition (where, however, the evidence cited for Aegae and Hierocaesareia, *I.G.R.* IV 1177 and 1306, does not prove the existence of sacred domains); *Hellenist. World*, p. 503f.: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 172f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 641f. and 676f. For the temples in Pontus and Cappadocia see below Chap. VIII notes 13 and 14 and Chap. IX note 5 and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 214f. For Pessinus see above Chap. I note 71. For Zeus Abrettenus see Strabo XII p. 574 and Chap. XVIII note 27. Rostovtzeff pointed out (*Hellenist. World*, p. 560 and note 326) that it is improbable that "as a rule" the temple-territories in the Pergamene Kingdom were "independent units" for administrative purposes. In the Temple of Apollo Tarsenus in the Caïcus valley, to which *ἀτέλεια προβά[των]* was granted under Eumenes II by his brother Attalus (Welles, no. 47, see Chap. I note 77), the exemption during the festival seems to have been from the tax imposed by Pergamum.

63. See Ramsay *C.B.* I pp. 10, 131 and 354f. and *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 307, whose theory, more or less modified, has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 180 and p. 185, note 3), Rostovtzeff (*Kolonat*, pp. 275f. and 280, *C.A.H.* VII p. 183 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 506f.), Holleaux (*Études* II p. 93f.), Welles (p. 282) and Bikerman (*Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 173). The theory, however, as Ramsay admitted, is "hardly susceptible of being proved." Broughton (*Econ. Surv.* IV p. 643f.), while observing that many Seleucid and Pergamene foundations were situated near ancient sanctuaries, pointed out that in the lack of any specific evidence, these cases "must be used very cautiously." A. H. M. Jones in *Greek City*, p. 309, note 58 and *J.R.S.* XXIX (1939), p. 122f., going farther, challenged Ramsay's theory, pointing out that there is no evidence for any confiscation of sacred land by the Hellenistic kings and that in later times there were several temples which owned "extensive property"; he cited as examples not only those in Pontus and Cappadocia (see above note 62) but also the Temple of Men at Antioch, which owned estates in the neighbourhood of the city, cultivated by temple-slaves (see Chap. XIX note 22), and the Temple of Zeus at Aezani, whose land, originally presented by the kings, although distributed in allotments, seems to have remained the property of the Temple (see below note 64). For the appropriation of the sacred revenues at Ephesus (afterwards restored to Artemis by the Romans) see Strabo XIV p. 642 and above p. 166. It was assumed by Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 180) and Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 648) that "the Kings" were Pergamene, but they may have been Seleucid. The possibility that "the King" might take possession of the villages and allotments held on an hereditary lease by Mnesimachus of Sardis and mortgaged by him to the Temple of Artemis (*Ins. Sardis* I, col. II, l. 12f.), which was regarded by Holleaux (*l.c.*) as an example of royal confiscation, may be explained, as the editors observed, by the supposition that the king held the title to the property (see above note 59). Jones perhaps went too far in supposing that the temples never "held much more land than they did in historical times" and so "were no more than extensive landlords"—since the priests at the Pontic, as well as at the Cappadocian, Comana and at Pessinus (also at Olba in Cilicia, see Chap XI note 23) were practically princely "dynasts." But he rightly emphasized the difficulty of inferring from these instances that the temples of western Asia Minor originally owned large amounts of territory and that these were diminished by either the Seleucid or the Pergamene kings; for in the late Hellenistic period considerable tracts of "sacred land" still remained in the possession of several deities (see below note 64). In fact, in northern Syria, as was pointed out by Jones, one of the Seleucid monarchs of the second or early first century even presented the Temple of Zeus at Baetocaece with the village from which the God took his surname, "together with all its property and possessions"; see *I.G.R.* III 1020 = *O.G.I.* 262 = Welles, no. 70.

64. For a list of land-owning temples in Asia Minor see Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 676f. For Aezani see *C.I.L.* III 355 = 14191[1] = *I.G.R.* IV

571 = *O.G.I.* 502, consisting of a letter written by the proconsul Avidius Quietus to Aezani in A.D. 125/6, enclosing copies of a rescript of Hadrian, a letter of his own to the procurator, Hesperus, and a letter of Hesperus in reply (see Chap. XXVI note 52). These documents dealt with a dispute over the allotments into which the *ager Aezanensi Iovi dicatus a regibus divis* [*us sit*]. An inscription of A.D. 128 recently found at Aezani records that Hadrian "restored" to Zeus and the *civitas* the *fines datos* [*a*]*b Attalo et Prusia regibus*, who were evidently the "kings" referred to in Hadrian's rescript; see *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LXVI (1939), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 44f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 44. The gift of land made by Attalus I was presumably confirmed or enlarged by Prusias I of Bithynia during his occupation of Phrygia Epictetus, which he was forced to surrender to Eumenes II in 184 B.C. (see Chap. I note 56 and Chap. XIII note 39). When and by whom the land was divided does not appear, but the new inscription shows that the division was not made, as has been generally assumed, by the kings. The rescript of Hadrian indicates that the land was still claimed as part of the temple-domain (Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 502, note 3 and Broughton *ibid.* p. 644, rejected on insufficient grounds by Rostovtzeff in *A.J.P.* LX [1939], p. 375 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 1478), and Quietus's letter ordered (l. 15f.) that in the future ἕκαστ[ος δὲ τὸ τέλος τῷ] ἱερο[ταμίᾳ τῆς] χώρας τελέσει. For Smyrna see Chap. IV note 27. For Magnesia see *Syll.*[3] 679, l. 31. For Samos see Chap. III note 98. For Priene see *Ins. Priene* 111, l. 113f. and Chap. VII note 27. For Ilium see *I.G.R.* IV 194 = *O.G.I.* 440 = Dessau 8770 and Chap. VII note 26. For the lands of Artemis of Ephesus see Chap. III note 84. For the "sacred land" of Zeus Osogoa, Zeus of the tribe of the Otorcondeis and Aphrodite in Mylasa see L.W. 414, 415, 416 (= *B.C.H.* V [1881], p. 107f., no. 11 B) and 419: *B.C.H.* V p. 107f., no. 11 C; XII (1888), p. 25f., no. 9; XIX (1895), p. 559f., no. 1: *A.M.* XV (1890), p. 273f., no. 21 B = Kontoleon Μικρ. Ἐπιγρ. p. 22, no. 39 B. For the land at Olymus belonging to Apollo and Artemis and Zeus Labraundus see L.W. 323-4 = *B.S.A.* XXII (1916-18), p. 210f., no. VII α and β: L.W. 327 = *A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 371 = *B.S.A.* XXII p. 200f., no. III: L.W. 331-332 (= *A.M.* XIV p. 381f.) and 338: *B.S.A.* XXII p. 195f., nos. II δ and V β. For the purchase of land (with funds obtained by a loan) by one of the temples at Olymus see *B.C.H.* XLVI (1922), p. 420, no. 24 = *S.E.G.* II 565. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 560f. and 680 and Laumonier in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 201f. For lands at Hyllarima in Caria belonging to Apollo, Artemis and the Carian deity Sinuri, which were leased out in heritable leasehold see *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), pp. 372f. and 516 and Robert *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa* I p. 13f. For the κώμη and χωρίον (whether the sanctuary or the sacred domain is not clear, see Oppermann *infra*) of Apollo Lairmenos (or Lairbenos) on a hill rising above the left bank of the upper Maeander near Orta Köy (*M.A.M.A.* IV pp. xiv f. and 98) see *M.A.M.A.* IV 279, 282, 283, 285 (= *S.E.G.* VI 249-251) and 289; see also Oppermann in *R.E. Suppl.* V 533. The fact that the name of the God (Λαιρβηνός) appears on coins of Hierapolis of the third century after Christ (see above note 24) suggested to Oppermann (*ibid.* 534), followed by Ros-

tovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, pp. 504 and 506), that this sanctuary was assigned to the city. Robert, on the other hand, while admitting (*Villes*, p. 141f.) that this might have been the case in the third century before Christ, pointed out that it was not so after the Hellenistic period; a dedication to the God and the Council and People of Motella by a Ἱεραπολείτης (*M.A.M.A.* IV 276 A), apparently not later than the second century after Christ, suggests that at this time the sanctuary belonged to the neighbouring Motella. Broughton cited also the ἱερὰ χώρα of Hecate at Lagina (see above note 34) probably in 39 B.C. (Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 793, no. 98=*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 238) and the restoration of the ἱερὰ χωρία of Apollo at Telmissus near Halicarnassus (see Chap. III note 134) in the first or second century before Christ and of the χώρα of Dionysus at Pergamum in the early second century after Christ (Michel 459 and *I.G.R.* IV 397, see Chap. VII note 26). The ἱερὰ τεμένη of the Hellespontine city (*S.E.G.* II 663, l. 10f., see above note 55) may also have been sacred estates; see Holleaux *Études* II p. 93.

65. For Comana in Cappadocia see Strabo XII p. 535 and Chap. IX note 5 and for Comana in Pontus see Strabo XII p. 557f. and Chap. VIII note 13. For the development of the former into a city with the name Hieropolis see Chap. XXI note 9. For coins issued at the latter under Mithradates Eupator see Chap. VIII note 11. For the temple-villages in general and their development into cities see Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 276f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 504f.: Swoboda in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 963f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 641f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 39f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 165f. For Hiera Come (near Saz Ova, about twelve miles southwest of Thyateira) see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 23: Keil-Premerstein I p. 53f.: Bürchner in *R.E.* VIII 1401f.: Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 27f. For the cult of the Persian Goddess (Anaïtis) see Pausanias V 27, 5. The place (ἡ Ἱερὰ Κώμη) was seized in 201 by Philip V and in 156 by Prusias II of Bithynia, who plundered the sanctuary of the Goddess; see Polybius XVI 1, 8 and XXXII 15 (27), 11. For the recognition of the inviolability of the sanctuary by the Pergamene kings (perhaps also by the Seleucids) see *O.G.I.* 333= Welles, no. 68. For coins with the legend Ἱερ. and a representation of the Persian Goddess, issued in the first century before Christ see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 5f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 102, no. 1. For the organized *demos* under Augustus and an official bearing the title of *prytanis* and for a cult of Roma see *I.G.R.* IV 1304; the mention in the inscription of the officials called βραβευταί, who are characteristic of villages (see below note 70), suggests that the change from κώμη to δῆμος was a recent one. The community was still called Hierocometae in the source of Pliny *N.H.* V 126, but it had the name Hierocaesareia in A.D. 17 (Tacitus *Ann.* II 47, 4 and *C.I.L.* X 1624=Dessau 156, see Chap. XXI note 23) and in A.D. 22 (Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 4, see Chap. XXI note 30). This name appears on coins from the time of Nero onward (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 12f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 102f.) and in inscriptions of the second and third centuries after Christ (*I.G.R.* IV 1308, 1311 and 1312 and *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 94, no. 13).

An imperial or proconsular edict of the second or third century after Christ (Keil-Premerstein II no. 18), apparently dealing with a dispute over the boundaries of the territories of Hierocaesareia and Thyateira, which alludes to *regiis con[stitutionibus]*, suggests that the city had territory as early as the Pergamene period. There was another Hiera Come on the southern bank of the Maeander west of Antiocheia (Livy XXXVIII 12, 10f., see above note 26), where, apparently, a temple of Apollo received some favour, perhaps the recognition of inviolability, from a Pergamene king (Welles, no. 69); see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 559f. For a deme of this name at Stratoniceia see above note 33. For the site of Dios Hieron see Weber in *R.E.G.* V (1892), p. 15f. and Keil Premerstein III p. 62f. The community appears as Dios-hieritae in Pliny *N.H.* V 120. For its coins from the time of Nero onward inscribed Διοσιερειτῶν see Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 63f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 74f. It is called ἡ Διοσιεριτῶν πόλις in *R.E.A.* IV (1902), p. 265, no. 15=V (1903), p. 11, of A.D. 214/5 (Keil-Premerstein III p. 63). For a Dios Hieron in Ionia see Weber in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 234f. The Apollonihieritae (probably near the pass leading over from the valley of the Cogamis to that of the Maeander, see Keil-Premerstein III p. 53), who are included by Pliny (*N.H.* V 111) in the *conventus* of Sardis and issued coins from the first century after Christ onward (Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 43f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 23f.) were presumably also originally a temple-village. The places with the theophoric names Ἀτυοχώριον (in the ethnic adjective in Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 34, see Robert *Villes*, p. 129f.), Διοσκώμη (a κατοικία of Sebaste in Phrygia, *I.G.R.* IV 635, see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 583f.), Ἑρμοκώμη (*P.A.S.* III no. 375=Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 339, no. 17, l. 10) and Μηνοσκώμη (Athenaeus II 17, p. 43 A, cf. Strabo XII p. 557) were probably villages attached to sanctuaries; see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 584, note 3: Swoboda *ibid.* 964: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 504.

66. For Hierapolis see above notes 24 and 25. There is no reason to suppose that Eumenes II confiscated any temple-land in order to create the city on it (see above note 63). It is much more probable that, as A. H. M. Jones observed (*Cities*, p. 385, note 20), the city "developed its organization spontaneously," although his argument that Hierapolis had a guild-organization is scarcely valid, for the city seems to have been organized, in the usual way, by tribes (see above note 48). For Hieropolis (the "City of the Sanctuary," see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 87) in the Phrygian Pentapolis see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 679f. For its coins of the second century after Christ inscribed Ἱεροπολιτῶν see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 243f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 265f. For its designation, in the late third century, as ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἱεροπολιτῶν πόλις see *C.I.L.* III 7173=*I.G.R.* IV 695. For Dionysopolis, called by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*) κτίσμα Ἀττάλου καὶ Εὐμένους (which probably means that under them it obtained civic rights), see Robert *Villes*, p. 131f., who showed that the view of Ramsay (*ibid.* pp. 126 and 130f.) that the city was founded on land taken by the Pergamene kings from the sanctuary of Apollo Lairmenos (see above note 64), although universally accepted, is untenable. The supposed connexion with this sanctuary was based solely

on the fact that an inscription of a [Διο]νυσοπολείτη[ς] (Ramsay, no. 37 = *I.G.R.* IV 758 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 277 A) was found in it. Another inscription of a Δ[ιονυσο]πο(λ)είτης (Ramsay, no. 36), however, was found at Üç Kuyular, north of the Çalova (the πεδίον of the Hyrgaleis, see below note 68), on the right bank of the Maeander west of the great northward bend of the river, and Robert pointed out that Dionysopolis was probably in this region; see also Ramsay *The Social Basis of Rom. Power in Asia Minor* (Aberdeen 1941), p. 80f. It is true that no sanctuary of Dionysus is known in the neighbourhood, but this, as Robert observed (p. 140), has been but little explored. For Dionysopolitae in Rome in 59 B.C. see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 2, 4. The name of the community appears as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσοπολειτῶν in *I.G.R.* IV 756 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 315. For coins from the first century before Christ onward inscribed Διονυσ., Διονυσοπο. (with grapes or figure of Dionysus) and Διονυσοπολειτῶν see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 218f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 182f. Grapes are one of the chief products of the Çalova in modern times; see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 127. For Castabala, renamed Hieropolis, in Cilicia see Chap. XI note 35.

67. For temples as banks see B. Büchsenschütz *Besitz u. Erwerb im Griech. Alt.* (Halle 1869), p. 506f.: E. Szanto in *Wien. Stud.* VIII (1886), p. 8f.: E. Breccia in *Riv. Stor. Ant.* VII (1903), p. 284f.: Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* XVI (1912), p. 59: A. M. Andreades *Hist. Greek Pub. Finance* I p. 191: Laum in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 25 and 71f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 888f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 672. For Delos see V. von Schöffer *De Deli Ins. Rebus* = *Berl. Stud.* IX 1 (1889), p. 153f.: Ziebarth in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXIV (1924), p. 37f. and *R.E.* VI A 2198f.: Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 337f. and 361f.: Rostovtzeff *ibid.* p. 233f. For Ephesus see Xenophon *Anab.* V 3, 6: Diogenes Laertius II 6, 7: Plautus *Bacch.* 306f.: Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 33 and 105: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXI 54f.: *Syll.*[3] 742, l. 36f. (outstanding loans): *C.I.G.* 2953 b (accounts of the bank in an Artemisium, probably at Ephesus). See also *Ephesos* I pp. 261f. and 279 and Broughton *ibid.* p. 889. An ἀντιγραφεὺς τοῦ χρεοφυλακίου in *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 84, no. 4 (of the Roman imperial period) was perhaps an official of the temple-bank. For Sardis see *Ins. Sardis* I (see above note 59). For Ilium see *I.G.R.* IV 197 = *O.G.I.* 444 = *S.E.G.* IV 664 (see Chap. III note 53 and Chap. X note 24). For Cos see Ziebarth in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXIV p. 178 (quoting Herzog) and *R.E.* VI A 2204, and for the treasury of Asclepius see Herzog in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI p. 39. On the other hand, the donation of 15,000 drachmae given by Hermias at Ilium (Michel 731 = Vanseveren in *R. Phil.* LXII [1936], p. 249f.) and declared ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς and also τὰ καθιερωμένα χρήματα of Asclepius at Lampsacus (*C.I.G.* 3641 b = Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 66 = *S.E.G.* IV 668) were administered, respectively, by the *trapezitai* (see Chap. III note 34) and the *strategoi* of the city.

68. See Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 646 and 698: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, pp. 38f., 89f. and 93f.; *Greek City*, p. 42f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 649. For the Cilbiani see Chap. II note 9. For the Caÿstriani see

Strabo XIII p. 621; for their coins, issued in the second or first century before Christ, see *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 60f. The location of their town Larisa, later, probably, the property of Artemis of Ephesus, at Güzelim Tepe near Çatal (see Chap. III note 84) shows that their territory lay on the central Caÿster. The Mocadeni appear as a tribe only in Ptolemy V 2, 18, where they and the Κυδισσεῖς are described as *demoi* of Asia *παρὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν*. Since the latter are evidently the Κιδνησσεῖς who issued coins from the time of Domitian onward (Head *H.N.*² p. 670) and whose territory is shown by a late inscription mentioning [ἡ] Κιδνησσέων πολις (*J.H.S.* VIII [1887], p. 467=Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 625) to have been in and around the Sincanlı Ova in western Phrygia, west of Afyon Karahisar (Ramsay, p. 634f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XI 380), Ptolemy's description of the situation of the two tribes is evidently not accurate. In spite, therefore, of the doubt expressed by Keil in *R.E.* XV 2513 and 2515, the Mocadeni may be connected with the region of Μοκαδηνή on the border between Lydia and Phrygia, which appears in inscriptions from Temenothyrae (near Uşak, see above note 36) and Silandus (Selendi, about 30 miles west of Uşak, see Keil-Premerstein II p. 121f.), each described as ἡ μητρόπολις τῆς Μοκαδηνῆς (*I.G.R.* IV 618 and 1380), and also from the hot springs of Θερμαὶ Θησέως (see Philippson IV p. 147), southwest of Silandus, described as κώμη τῆς Μοκαδδηνῆς (*I.G.R.* IV 1377). For the Hyrgaleis, known from their coins from Antoninus Pius onward (Head *H.N.*² p. 677) and from the mention of the *Hyrgaletici Campi* in Pliny *N.H.* V 113 and the κοινὸν τοῦ Ὑργαλέων πεδίου in *I.G.R.* IV 756=*M.A.M.A.* IV 315, in the Çalova at the bend of the Maeander, see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 126f. and *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 80f. and Robert *Villes*, p. 69, note 2. For the Moxeani, known from coins of the Διοκλεανῶν Μοξεανῶν and the Σιοχαρακειτῶν Μοξεα(νῶν) (Head *H.N.*² pp. 671 and 685) and from a statue of Septimius Severus by ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διόκλεια (*I.G.R.* IV 664), as well as from Ptolemy V 2, 18, in the mountain-region of the Ahır Dağ southwest of the Sincanlı Ova, see Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 408. For the Olympeni, on the southern slopes of the Mysian Mt. Olympus, see Herodotus VII 74 (Ὀλυμπιηνοί): Strabo XII pp. 566, 574 and 576: Pliny *N.H.* V 142 (*Civitas Olympena*): Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2519f. The Abretteni (Pliny *N.H.* V 123) lived in the region of Ἀβρεττηνή (Strabo XII pp. 574 and 576), south of the Olympeni; at least part of their territory was sacred domain ruled by the Priest of Zeus Abrettenus (see above note 62). For the Abbaïtae, around Lake Simav, with the later cities of Ancyra and Synaus, see Chap. II note 2. It was suggested by Jones (*Cities*, p. 39) that the cities whose names ended in the termination -ene or -enum, as Mostene (and perhaps Perperene) and Poemanenum were originally "tribal capitals."

69. For the κῶμαι or, as they were often called in the Roman period, κατοικίαι see Ramsay *C.B.* I pp. 101f. and 124: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 561f., 649 and 1103: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 97f.: Oertel in *R.E.* XI 6f.: Swoboda in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 961f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 628f. and 646f.: Jones *Greek City*, pp. 44 and 272. As Robert

observed (*Ét. Anat.* p. 191f.), the term *κατοικία* was used so vaguely that its significance is often not clear. Partial lists of *κῶμαι* and *κατοικίαι* were given, respectively, by Swoboda (969f.) and Oertel (7f.). Most of those known belong to the Roman imperial period. For villages owned by the free cities see Chap. III note 41. For the *κατοικίαι* of the Τυανωλλεῖται, Ὀρμοιτηνοί and Δαρειουκωμῆται belonging to Magnesia ad Sipylum see above note 9. Thyateira seems to have owned the villages of Πιτυαία (see Keil-Premerstein II p. 15 and above note 10) and Μερνούφυτα (Keil-Premerstein II no. 51, see above note 11), as well as the *κῶμαι* of the Ἀρηνοί and the Νάγδημοι (*C.I.G.* 3488=*I.G.R.* IV 1237) and probably the *κατοικία* of the Ταβειρηνοί (*I.G.R.* IV 1245). To the northwest was an unknown *κατοικία*, perhaps belonging to Hermocapeleia (Keil-Premerstein II no. 119). Philadelpheia owned Καστωλλός, *κώμη* Φιλαδελφέων (*O.G.I.* 488, see above note 17), which was once a separate city, as is shown by the ethnica Καστωλεύς and Μυσὸς *ἀπὸ* Καστωλοῦ in *I.G.* II² 3059 and 3233 (see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 160). It seems also to have owned in the Plain of Castollus the *κατοικίαι* of the Τ[ετ]ραπυρ[για]νοί or [Τετρα]πυργεῖται, the Σασοτρεῖς and the Ταζηνοί (see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, nos. 46 [=*I.G.R.* IV 1381] and 48, *A.M.* VI [1881], p. 273f., no. 23 and Keil-Premerstein II p. 115f.), and also ἡ Μυλειτῶν [*κώμη*] or Μ[υλουκ]ωμῆται (*C.I.G.* 3420=*I.G.R.* IV 1635 and *J.H.S.* XXXVII [1917], p. 95, no. 8), the village called Mendechora (*i.e.* Πέντε Χωρία, Keil-Premerstein III no. 28 and p. 26), and the neighbouring *οἱ ἐξ* Ὀρε[. . . *κάτο*]*ικοι* (Keil-Premerstein III no. 38), as well as a *κατοικία* whose name is unknown (*I.G.R.* IV 1615). The settlement at Adruta (see above note 17) also belonged to Philadelpheia, as did probably *οἱ κά*[*το*]*ικ*[*οι ἐν* ·]λ*βοις* in the upper valley of the Cogamis (*I.G.R.* IV 1653, see Keil-Premerstein III p. 17) and *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Κα . . . μήοις* on one of the tributaries of the river (Keil-Premerstein III no. 54). Tralles seems to have had a village called Larisa on the northern side of Mt. Messogis (Strabo IX p. 440 and above note 28) and another called ὁ δῆμος Ἀπτυραθειτῶν (*B.C.H.* XIX [1895], p. 560=*A.M.* XXI [1896], p. 114f.), and Nysa owned the village of Acharaca (see above note 27). The Χῶρος Ἐλεινοκαπριτῶν and the Χῶρος Κιλαραζέων which appear in inscriptions found near Laodiceia-on-Lycus (Ramsay *C.B.* I nos. 11 and 12, see p. 36f.) seem to have been villages belonging to the city. For villages owned by Hierapolis see above note 25. In the valley of the Lydian Caÿster, apparently belonging to Hypaepa, were Κινάμουρα and Διδείφυτα (Keil-Premerstein III nos. 86, 87 and 110, ἡ Διδειφυτηνῶν *κ*[*ατοικία*]), the latter perhaps the same place (Keil-Premerstein III pp. 66 and 79) as ἡ Τιτειφυτηνῶν *κώμη* or *κατοικία* (Keil-Premerstein III no. 113 and *B.C.H.* XX [1896], p. 395, no. 4=*A.M.* XXI [1896], p. 118=*R. Phil.* XLIV [1920], p. 73f.) and ἡ Ἰδειφυτηνῶν *κατοικία* (M.K.B. VI [1886], p. 87f., no. *φοθ'*), as well as ἡ · α[λ]*κεανῶν κατοικία* (Keil-Premerstein III no. 108). For Larisa, in this valley, probably belonging to the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, see above note 68. In the lower valley of the Caÿster and probably belonging to the city of Metropolis (see Chap. III note 84) were the . . . *αλαινειτῶν κώμη* (Keil-Premerstein III no. 171) and ἡ Χονδριανῶν *κώμη* (*I.G.R.* IV 1603 and Keil-Premerstein III 172 and

p. 102), apparently called a *συνκατοικία* in M.κ.B. II$^{2-3}$ (1876-8), p. 97, no. σ Ϙ η′. For Διοσκώμη, a *κατοικία* of Sebaste in Phrygia, and for the temple-villages see above note 65. There were villages on the estates leased or granted or sold to private landlords, five on the property held by Mnesimachus of Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 1), one, ἡ Πέτρα, on the original grant to Aristodicides of Assus (Welles, nos. 11 and 12), and one, Πάννου Κώμη, on the estate sold to Laodice (Welles, no. 18).

The great majority of the known villages, however, seem not to have belonged to cities or temples but to have existed as separate rural communities. In northwestern Mysia, in the basin of the upper Granicus, a group of seven χῶροι combined to honour a deceased man (L.W. 1745), and in the northeastern part of the district, in the plain east of Lake Apolloniatis, a territory which in the first century before Christ belonged to Cyzicus (see Chap. III note 116), were οἱ Γυτυνῶν κάτοικοι (Perrot *Exploration* no. 60). In eastern Lydia, in the region of the upper Hermus were the κώμη Κερυζέων (*J.H.S.* x [1889], p. 227, no. 25 = Buresch *ibid.* p. 86f., no. 45 and p. 197 = *R.E.G.* XIV [1901], p. 300 = *A.M.* XXIX [1904], p. 318f., varyingly attributed to Simav and Gören, near Kula, and of uncertain provenience, see Keil-Premerstein II p. 116); οἱ [ἐ]ν Δίμοις (?) *κάτοικοι* (M.κ.B. VI [1886], p. 78, no. φξη′, see Buresch, p. 195); Δόρου Κώμη (Keil-Premerstein II no. 204 = *I.G.R.* IV 1371), probably the settlement (Keil-Premerstein II p. 92f.) of οἱ Δορηνῶν [*κάτοικοι*] (Buresch, p. 77, no. 38 and p. 195); the κώμη of Θερμαὶ Θήσεως (see above note 68); ἡ Ἰουδδηνῶν κατοικία (*I.G.R.* IV 1387, see Buresch, p. 193); ἡ Κολοηνῶν κατοικία (*Mém. Acad. Belg.* XXX [1858-61], p. 3 = M.κ.B. II$^{2-3}$ [1876-8], p. 41, no. συζ′ = Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 111f., no. 45, see Buresch, p. 198); ἡ Νισυρέων κατοικία (Keil-Premerstein II no. 200 and perhaps no. 192 = *I.G.R.* IV 1375); οἱ ἐν Ταμάσει κάτοικοι (*B.C.H.* V [1881], p. 326); a κώμη whose name is lost (Keil-Premerstein III no. 9). In the region of the central Hermus was the τρικωμία of the Μηλοκ[ωμῆται], . . . αριοκωμῆται and Καιβο[κωμῆται] at Çapaklı on the northern side of the river (*I.G.R.* IV 1367 and Buresch, p. 133); Μηλοκωμῆται (and Σαλουδεῖς, apparently another village) are mentioned also in an inscription (Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 64) from Kabalar near the sanctuary of Apollo Lairmenos (see above note 64), but because of the distance between the two places it is a question whether these villages were the same. Farther west, near the Phrygius (Hyllus), were ἡ Χωριανῶν κατοικία (Keil-Premerstein I nos. 117 and 118 = *I.G.R.* IV 1314) and an unknown κατοικία near Hierocaesareia (Keil-Premerstein I no. 107). On the southern side of the Hermus, near its junction with the Cogamis, was an unnamed κατοικία (Keil-Premerstein II no. 16), and farther west, on the slope of Mt. Tmolus, were the κώμη or κατοικία of the Ταταικωμῆται (Buresch *ibid.* nos. 1 [= *I.G.R.* IV 1492] and 4), the κατοικία of the Σελινδηνοί (*I.G.R.* IV 1497), and an unnamed κατοικία (*I.G.R.* IV 1491).

In the valley of the Lydian Caÿster were ἡ κατοικία τῶν [Ἀ]λινδηνῶν (*B.C.H.* XX [1896], p. 394f., no. 3 = *A.M.* XXI [1896], p. 376. no. 2, see XXII p. 360, apparently the inscription in which Buresch [*ibid.* p. 215] read Σα[λ]ωδηνῶν); Ἅλμουρα or ἡ Ἀλμουρηνῶν Φρυγῶν κώμη or ἡ Ἀλ-

μουρηνῶν κατ[οικία] (*A.M.* XXI [1896], p. 376, no. 2=*B.C.H.* XX [1896], p. 394f., no. 3: Keil-Premerstein III no. 142 and pp. 85 and 97: *A.M.* XX [1895], p. 505=*I.G.R.* IV 1657: *A.M.* XXII [1897], p. 360, no. 4); Ἀπατεῖρα or ἡ Ἀπατειρηνῶν κατοικία, perhaps belonging to Ephesus (*I.G.R.* IV 1662 [=Keil-Premerstein III no. 116 and p. 87], 1664=1763 [κωμῆται] and 1666); [ἡ Β]ουκολιανῶν κώ[μη] (Keil-Premerstein III no. 127); ἡ Θαυβοτηνῶν or, more probably, Οὐ[μ]υροηνῶν κατοικία (*R.E.G.* XII [1899], p. 383, no. 5, see Keil-Premerstein III p. 58); ἡ Θυαιρηνῶν κώμη (*I.G.R.* IV 1605, see Buresch, pp. 188 and 212); ἡ Καιρηνῶν [κατοικί]α (*B.C.H.* XVIII [1894], p. 540=*A.M.* XX [1895], p. 240f.); οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Μαγν[όλ]οις (*A.M.* XXII [1897], p. 360, no. 4); ἡ Σανενδηνῶν κατοικία (*R.E.G.* XII [1889], p. 384, no. 6=*A.M.* XXIII [1898], p. 366); ἡ ·ζουληνῶν κατοικία (Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 65); a κατοικία of the Cilbiani (Keil-Premerstein III no. 67). The supposed name of the κώμη from whose πόρ[οι] a μάκελλον was constructed, read as Τολοκαισαρε[ῖς] in an inscription from Güzelim Tepe (*A.M.* XX [1895], p. 241=*I.G.R.* IV 1607), was shown in Keil-Premerstein III p. 84, note 1 to be an error. Near Ephesus was ἡ Βωνειτῶν κατοικία (*I.G.R.* IV 1675 and Keil-Premerstein III no. 143 and pp. 85f. and 97f.). For various κῶμαι and κατοικίαι in the valley of the Caÿster whose names are unknown see Keil-Premerstein III nos. 67, 69 (?), 120, 133, 147 and p. 58: *A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 98f., no. 33: *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 539=*A.M.* XX (1895), p. 241f.: *B.C.H.* XX (1896), p. 393f., no. 1 (=*A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 534f.) and no. 2. For a κώμη near Colophon see M.κ.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 219, no. τπθ'.

In northern Phrygia, ἡ Ἀλιανῶν κατοικία (*R.E.G.* III [1892], p. 51, no. 1) was west of Aezani, near the border of Mysia; near Aezani was the κώμη called Πάλοκα (*I.G.R.* IV 582 and 583) and farther east, near Cotiaeium, was the (late) Χωρ(ίον) Ἀνδαειτῶν (*B.C.H.* XLVI [1922], p. 358=*Byz. Ztschr.* XXX [1929-30], p. 431). Near Dorylaeum were a τρικωμία (*M.A.M.A.* V 87 and p. xviii) and an unnamed κώμη (*A.M.* XXIII [1898], p. 362=*J.H.S.* XXXI [1911], p. 186, no. 48). Near Nacoleia were Κακκαβοκώμη (*A.M.* VII [1882], p. 132=*J.H.S.* VIII [1887], p. 501), Κολιανκώμη (*M.A.M.A.* V 209) and Οὐεκροκώμη (*J.H.S.* V [1884], p. 260, no. 12), and between Dorylaeum and Nacoleia (at Kuyucak) was a κώμη or κατοικία, perhaps Σέρεα (*M.A.M.A.* V 178 and 184). In western Phrygia, in the neighbourhood of Trajanopolis, near the border of Lydia, was ἡ Καναληνῶν κατοικία (*I.G.R.* IV 624), and near Acmonia was ἡ Ἐο[.....κ]ατοικία (*I.G.R.* IV 641). In the centre of the district were ἡ Μειρηνῶν κατοικία, later a πόλις (*J.H.S.* XVII [1897], p. 423f., nos. 21 [=*I.G.R.* IV 593] and 22) and κώμη Ζινγότη (?) (*J.H.S.* V [1884], p. 260f., no. 13), and, near Altıntaş, a τρικωμία one of whose members was Ἀβείκτη (*I.G.R.* IV 535, see Buresch, p. 97), Ἰσκώμη(?) (*J.H.S.* V p. 259, no. 11), ἡ κώμη [Τ]άτου(?) (Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 370, no. 30=*I.G.R.* IV 604, see Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2462 and VI A 1840), and perhaps Γαιουκώμη (*Cl. Rev.* XIX [1905], p. 427 and Ramsay *ibid.* p. 370). Farther east, near Orcistus, were Ἀττιουκώμη and Γο . . . κώμη (*C.I.G.* 3822 b[4] and 3822 c[2]), and, west of Amorium, Νεοκώμη (*M.A.M.A.* I 408) and Ἀββοκώμη (*M.A.M.A.* I 414 and p. xxvii; V p. 152f., no. R 14),

which is probably the same as Ἀββουκώμη in *S.E.G.* I 453. In southern Phrygia, perhaps, were Λε[όννα] (Ramsay *C.B.* I no. 499, see Ruge in *R.E.* XII 2035) and Μαμακώμη (*M.A.M.A.* IV 276 A), and, probably on the border between Phrygia and Pisidia, Γορδιοκώμη (Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 329f., no. 4, l. 31 and *M.A.M.A.* IV 74).

For the κατοικίαι of Orthosia and Coscinia in Caria on the southern bank of the Maeander see Strabo XIV p. 650 and for their situation see Fabricius in *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert*, p. 134. For the federations of villages in Caria see below notes 75 and 77. The Pergamene enclave of Telmessus in Lycia (see Chap. I note 56) contained the settlement of οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Καρδάκων κώμῃ, who, being in financial straits as the result of a bad fruit-yield and the unproductive character of the land, appealed for relief to Eumenes II; see M. Segre in *Clara Rhodos* IX (1938), p. 190f. (with comment by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 645f.), a letter of Eumenes to Artemidorus, perhaps the royal governor (see above note 1), remitting the arrears of the poll-tax for the preceding year and reducing it for the current year to three quarters of the usual amount. The King also allowed these villagers to retain without payment of further installments of the purchase-price the land bought "from Ptolemaeus" (see Chap. I note 56) and promised exemption from taxes for three years to all new settlers and for two years to former residents who had emigrated and might wish to return. Cardaces, apparently Persians (Eustathius *Comm. ad Iliad.* 368, l. 38f.: Hesychius *s.v.*: Strabo XV p. 734, a gloss), had served in the army of Darius at Issus (Arrian *Anab.* II 8, 6) and in that of Antiochus III at Raphia (Polybius V 79, 11 and 82, 11), and Segre suggested that these κατοικοῦντες were mercenaries settled in Lycia, perhaps by Antiochus, who, if this be so, probably arranged for the purchase of the land.

70. See Oehler in *R.E.* XI 9f.: Swoboda in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 971f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 272f. For κωμάρχαι at Lampsacus in the second or first century see Chap. III note 41. For κωμάρχαι and the κωμαρχία in the Roman period see *O.G.I.* 527 (Hierapolis, see above note 25): *I.G.R.* IV 592, 1492 and 1635: Keil-Premerstein III no. 109: *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 539f. = *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 504 = Keil-Premerstein III p. 79: M.K.B. VI (1886), p. 88, no. φοθ′: *S.E.G.* VI 673 and 674 (Pamphylia). For a πρωτοκωμήτης see L.W. 1772 = *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 292, no. 70: Keil-Premerstein II no. 152. For a [πρω]τεύων τῆς κώμης see M.K.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 219, no. ττθ′, and for a προεστὼς τῆς κατοικίας see *I.G.R.* IV 1665. The earliest village-officials were probably the annually elected βραβευταί, usually two in number, who were the executive officials of the community, charged with the bestowal of the honours voted by it and with the supervision of its sacrifices and festivals; see Keil-Premerstein I p. 56 and nos. 107 and 183, apparently of the first century before Christ; no. 113 = *I.G.R.* IV 1304, of the time of Augustus; no. 20 = *I.G.R.* IV 1497, of the time of Antoninus Pius: Buresch *Aus Lydien*, nos. 6 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1348) and 23, of the first or second century after Christ: *P.A.S.* III no. 366 = Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 319f., no. 2, l. 13 (Pisidia). Other officials were *archontes* (*B.C.H.* XVIII [1894],

p. 539 = *A.M.* xx [1895], p. 241f.), an *archon* and an *argyrotamias* (*A.M.* xix [1894], p. 534f. = *B.C.H.* xx [1896], p. 393f., no. 1), an *argyrotamias* (*I.G.R.* iv 1657), a *grammateus* and an *agoranomos* (*B.C.H.* xix [1895], p. 560 = *A.M.* xxi [1896], p. 114f. and perhaps *I.G.R.* iv 1665), an οἰκονόμος (*B.C.H.* xviii [1894], p. 540 = *A.M.* xx [1895], p. 240f.) and an ἔκδικος (*I.G.R.* iv 1237). At Apateira, which perhaps belonged to Ephesus, a man paid 250 drachmae for the office of λογιστής or *curator* (see Chap. XXV note 13 and Chap. XXVII note 52) and two others are described as λογιστεύσαντες; see *I.G.R.* iv 1662 (= Keil-Premerstein iii no. 116) and 1664 = 1763 (cf. nos. 1660 and 1665). At Castollus, belonging to Philadelpheia, an ἐκκλησία was held by the γερουσία and the other κωμῆται and action was taken for dividing up some communal land (*O.G.I.* 488). It was suggested by Oehler (*ibid.* 11), that these particular institutions may not have been typical, since Castollus had once been a separate city (see above note 69). The meeting of villagers is called σύλλογος in *I.G.R.* iv 1665 and σύνοδος [κ]ωμητική in Buresch, no. 23. Its action is called a ψήφισμα in *I.G.R.* iv 1666, Buresch, no. 48, Keil-Premerstein iii nos. 109 and 110. The expression καθὼς ἔδοξε τοῖς κωμήταις occurs in *I.G.R.* iv 1664. A village might apparently even send an envoy with a petition to the emperor (Keil-Premerstein iii no. 28). It had its own πρόσοδοι or πόροι; see Buresch, no. 23; *I.G.R.* iv 635, 1491 and 1607 (= Keil-Premerstein iii p. 84, note 1). It might collect fines from the disobedient (Buresch, no. 23) and take action to exact the penalty prescribed for the violation of a tomb; see *e.g.* *I.G.R.* iv 1314, 1387, 1603 and 1605: Keil-Premerstein i no. 117; iii nos. 67, 69 (?), 108, 120, 127, 133 and p. 58: *A.M.* xiv (1889), p. 98f., no. 33: *B.C.H.* xx (1896), p. 394, no. 2: *R.E.G.* xii (1899), p. 383, no. 5. It might receive gifts or bequests; see Keil-Premerstein iii nos. 110 and 113: *B.C.H.* xx (1896), p. 394f., no. 3 (= *A.M.* xxi [1896], p. 376, no. 2, see xxii p. 360) and no. 4 (= *A.M.* xxi p. 118 = *R. Phil.* xliv [1920], p. 73f.): *I.G.R.* iv 1666. It might use its funds to erect buildings or public works; see *I.G.R.* iv 1352 (ναός), 1491 (κρῆναι καὶ τὸ ἐνδόχιον καὶ τὰ ὑδραγώγια), 1497 (ἔργον σὺν [τῷ] περὶ αὐτῷ κόσμῳ), 1607 (μάκελλον), 1657 (κρηνίον).

71. For the *phoros* paid by the villages to Alexander (*Ins. Priene* 1) and Antigonus's designation of the royal domain as φορολογουμέ[νη] (Welles, no. 3, l. 83) see above note 58. The estate bought by Laodice from Antiochus II was specifically declared exempt from any payments εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν and the πρόσοδοι (evidently the cash-revenues) of the current year included in the purchase-price accrued to her; see Welles, no. 18, ll. 9f. and 13. For each of the villages on the estate leased to Mnesimachus the lessee paid an annual *phoros* in gold to the chiliarchy (the local department of the royal government) in which it was situated, but the villagers paid him τὰ ἀγγεῖα τὰ οἰνηρὰ καὶ ὁ φόρος ὁ ἀργυρικὸς καὶ ὁ λητουργικός; see *Ins. Sardis* 1, col. 1, ll. 5f. and 12. The γενήματα and καρποί the payment of which Mnesimachus, in the event of a successful claim to the estate by a third party or seizure by the king, guaranteed to the Temple of Artemis (col. ii, ll. 8 and 16) evidently accrued to the lessee. For the tax paid to Eumenes II by the village of the Cardaces in Lycia see above note 69.

72. They are called λαοί in the deed of sale to Laodice (Welles, no. 18, ll. 8f. and 26) and in the mortgage of Mnesimachus (*Ins. Sardis* I, col. I, ll. 11 and 15) and βασιλικοὶ λαοί in the grant to Aristodicides (Welles, no. 11, l. 22). In the mortgage a distinction was made between them and slaves (οἰκέται). For their status see Cardinali *R.P.* p. 186f.: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, pp. 258f., 263f. and 308f.; *C.A.H.* VII p. 183; *Hellenist. World*, pp. 508f. and 562: Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* XVI (1912), p. 58: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 94f. and 236: Swoboda in *R.E. Suppl* IV 962: Welles, p. 94f.: Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 177f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 39. The sale to Laodice included τοὺς λαοὺς πανοικίους σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς and also εἴ τινες ἐ[κ] τῆς κώμης (Πάννου Κώμη on the estate) ὄντες λαοὶ μετεληλύθασιν εἰς ἄλλους τόπους. In the mortgage of Mnesimachus mention is made of τῶν λαῶν πανοικίων σὺν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν as apparently belonging to the property. In the grant to Aristodicides it is expressly stipulated that the royal serfs ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ Πέτρα ἐὰμ βούλωνται οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα. It seems probable, accordingly, as Bikerman observed, that these were not so much *glebae adscripti* as *vico adscripti* and that, whether they lived in their village or not, they were regarded as belonging to it and were obliged, as members of their community, to pay their respective shares of the imposts levied on it. For a λεὼς αὐτοικος belonging to the city of Zeleia see Chap. III note 41.

73. Demetrius of Scepsis quoted in Athenaeus XV 53, p. 697 D, δικαστὴν βασιλικῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα (where, however, if Meinecke's emendation βασιλικόν be accepted, as by Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 338, note 19 and Beloch *G.G.*[2] IV 1, p 305, note 2, it would mean, as Rostovtzeff observed in *Hellenist. World*, p. 508, that a royal appointee was acting as judge for all inhabitants of Aeolis, both Greeks and natives).

74. According to Conon (at the beginning of the Christian Era) quoted in Photius *Bibl.* p. 131 a Bekker, the Carians were ἔθνος μέγα, κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντες. For the Carians' ignorance of the Greek language see Strabo XIV p. 662f. For the foundation of Stratoniceia see above note 33. For Antiochus III in Caria and his grant of independence to Alabanda see Chap. IV note 48 and above note 31. An attempt on the part of Antiochus to promote the administration of justice is perhaps to be found in the office held by a certain [Apol]lophanes, a Rhodian, described as φίλος τοῦ Βασι[λέως . . .] and [δ]ικαστηρίου τοῦ ἐ[γ] Καρίᾳ ἀρχιδικαστής; see *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CXXXII (1895), 2, p. 12, no. 2 = *B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 382, no. 23, a decree of Mylasa in his honour. The inscription was dated by the editors in the second century and connected with the supremacy of Rhodes. There is no reason, however, why Mylasa, an independent city during this period, should have honoured a Rhodian official, and the description of Apollophanes as "friend of the King" suggests that the date may be somewhat earlier and that the man was an official of Antiochus.

75. For these κοινά see Th. Schreiber in *Kleinere Beitr. z. Gesch. v. Dozenten der Leipz. Hochschule* (Leipzig 1894), p. 39f.: H. Francotte *La Polis Grecque* (Paderborn 1907), p. 214f.: Swoboda in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 965f.: Oppermann in *Zeus Panamaros*, pp. 4f. and 13f. and in *R.E. Suppl.* V 453f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 702: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 28. From inscriptions of the second and first centuries before Christ and from Strabo we know of at least ten κοινά, which fall into two distinct groups: (A) Those from interior Caria, *i.e.* in the mountainous region between the Harpasus and the upper Marsyas from Hyllarima on the north to Pisye (Pisi Köy) and Mobolla (Muğla) on the south, which from 188 to 167 B.C. belonged to Rhodes (see Chap. IV note 61); and (B) those from the shores of the Gulf of Cos. They are as follows:

A. (1) [τὸ κοι]νὸν τὸ Ὑλλαριμέων (*B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 93f., no. 2, a decree of Halicarnassus); (2) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Λαγνωκέων (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 308f., no. 2, found near Cys); (3) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Παναμαρέων, near Stratoniceia, see above note 34 (Holleaux *Études* I p. 411f. = *Michel* 479 and *B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 345f., nos. 1-6 [nos. 2 + 3 = H. Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros*, p. 20f.]); (4) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Πισυητῶν καὶ Πλαδασσέων τῶν μετὰ Πισυητῶν (*Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXIX [1892], p. 63f. = *Mnem.* XXIV [1896], p. 193, no. 18, from Pisye); (5) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ταρμιανῶν (*A.M.* XI [1886], p. 326f., nos. 1 and 2 = *B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 486f., nos. 1 [= Michel 1188 = *S.G.D.I.* 4275] and 3 and no. 4 [= Michel 1190] from Mobolla, and restored as Ταρ[μια]νῶν in the inscription cited under no. 4). On the other hand, in the inscription of Nicagoras (see Chap. III note 72) the restoration τὰν Τ[αρμιανὰν (?) . . .] adopted in *I.G.* XII 1, 1036 and by Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 55 is shown to be wrong by the copy of the inscription found at Lindus, which reads τάν τε χώραν, thus justifying the restoration proposed by Dittenberger (*Syll.*[3] 586); see Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 523. Less certain are the κοινὸν [τὸ Κωραζέων], restored by Foucart in an inscription found near Stratoniceia (*B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 373f., no. 15 = Michel 478) and accepted by Oppermann, and Λωνδ[αργέων τὸ κοινόν] from Panamara (*B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 352, no. 7, as restored on p. 363 and *R.A.* XXIV [1926], p. 186f.). The κοινὸν τῶν κομητῶν at Pisye (*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CXXXII [1895] 2, p. 34, no. 1) probably refers to a federation of "villagers" and not to an actual place.

B. (1) τὸ κοινὸν τῶ[ν] Σωσιγενείω[ν], found at Iskele at the eastern end of the Gulf of Cos (*S.B. Wien. Akad.* CXXXII 2, p. 31, no. 1 = *S.E.G.* IV 175 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 477, probably of the first century before Christ); (2) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἰδυμίων, inland from the eastern end of the Gulf of Cos, see Chap. III note 72 (*B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 428f., no. 5, under Vespasian); (3) τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κεδρεατᾶν, *i.e.* the island of this name off the southern shore of the Gulf of Cos (*B.C.H.* X p. 426, no. 3, of the second or first century before Christ); (4) The Κεραμιῆται, *i.e.* Ceramus on the northern shore of the Gulf (Strabo XIV p. 660); (5) τὸ κοινὸν Τελμισσέων, *i.e.* Telmissus, one of the six communities said to have been assigned to Halicarnassus by Alexander (see Chap. III note 134) (*J.H.S.* XIV [1894], p. 377f. = Michel 459, of about 200 B.C.). The κοινόν of the Cedreatae is perhaps to be

identified with Χερσονασίων τὸ κοινόν, which appears in an inscription from Cedreae of the second century before Christ (*Syll.*³ 1067 = *S.G.D.I.* 4271), during which period, even after the loss of interior Caria in 167, Cedreae and Idyma and also the Tarmiani seem to have belonged to the Rhodians (see Chap. IV note 62). During this period Ceramus entered into an alliance with them (see Chap. III note 71) but in 81 it was assigned to Stratoniceia by the Senate (see Chap. X note 9).

For the ἐκκλησία κυρία of the Panamareis, which conferred πολιτεία, προξενία and other honours, and for officials called δήμαρχοι see Holleaux *Études* I p. 411 = Michel 479, passed under Rhodian rule: *B.C.H.* XXVIII p. 346, no. 2 (combined with no. 3 by Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros*, p. 20f.), of 198 B.C.; p. 348f., nos. 4-6. An inscription found near Mobolla (*B.C.H.* X p. 488f., no. 2 = Holleaux *ibid.* p. 410 = Michel 1189 = *S.G.D.I.* 4276) contains a list of officials consisting of three archons, two *agoranomoi* and a *grammateus*, who, since the other inscriptions found in the same place are those of the κοινὸν τῶν Ταρμιανῶν, presumably belonged to this *koinon*. Since two of these men bear the ethnicum Ταβηνός, it was supposed by Oppermann (*R.E. Suppl.* V 454) that the inscription belonged, not to the Tarmiani, but to the city of Tabae in eastern Caria. It is difficult, however, to see how an inscription of this city could have been set up in a place as far distant as Muğla, and it is much more probable that these Ταβηνοί were members of one of the village-communities which made up the κοινὸν τῶν Ταρμιανῶν, the others being Μοβολλεῖς, Λωμεῖς and Μνιεσύται and perhaps Κενενδωλαβεῖς (mentioned in *B.C.H.* X p. 490, no. 3); see Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 57, note 1 and Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 1840 and 2326. Officials with the titles of βραβευτής and ἐπιμήνιοι appear in the inscription of the Lagnokeis and, with those called δήμαρχος and τα[μίαι], in the inscription restored with the name of the Κωραζεῖς. The usual change, in fact, seems to have been from a κοινόν to a δῆμος; thus in the inscription of the Cedreatae cited above, the community appears both as a κοινόν and, apparently, as a [δᾶ]μος, while in *S.E.G.* IV 177 and *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 30, no. 8 (of the time of Vespasian) it is called ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Κεδρεατᾶν. Also the Hyllarimeis appear, if the restoration is correct, as a δῆμος in *B.C.H.* X p. 311f., no. 4 (5) and as a πόλις in Maiuri *N.S.* 18 (see Chap. III note 132).

76. For the cult of Zeus Carius at Mylasa see Chap. III note 129. For the decree of Mylasa declaring forfeit to Maussolus (see Chap. III note 133) the property of the envoy sent by the "Carians" to Artaxerxes II see *Syll.*³ 167. For honours conferred ὑπὸ τῆς Καρίας see *T.A.M.* II 508 = *I.G.R.* III 681 = *C.P.* XXXVIII (1943), p. 180f. A fragment of an inscription with letters of the fourth or third century, brought from Mylasa to Tralles (Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, no. 122) and containing mention of πρέσβεις sent by several communities, was thought by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 567f.) to have some connexion with the Carian Federation. The only communities whose names can be read are the Ναρυανδεῖς and the (Κοα)ρρενδεῖς. The community of the former appears in Pliny *N.H.* V 107 as Nariandus on the peninsula of Myndus and in the name of Demeter Naryandis in an in-

scription from Panamara (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 269, no. 54). The Κοαρενδεῖς appear in *Syll.*[3] 311, recording (at Lagina) a grant of ἀτέλεια. For a ἱερεὺς [καὶ β]ασιλεὺς τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Καρ[ῶν] see *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CXXXII (1895), 2, p. 6, no. 4=*B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 392f., nos. 39-41 (of the first century before Christ), combined and restored by Buckler in *B.S.A.* XXII (1916-18), p. 194f., no. 2 γ. It was pointed out by H. Volkmann in *Phil. Woch.* LIX (1939), 1038f. that the two titles were doubtless originally separate and that even at the time of the inscription the combination may have been exceptional. The suggestion of Momigliano in *Atti d. Terzo Congresso Naz. d. Stud. Rom.* (1935) I p. 431 that the Carian *Koinon* was an imitation of the Greek federations and particularly of the Ionian *Koinon* (see Chap. III note 47) has no foundation. If, as seems probable, the Carian federation, like the Χρυσαορικὸν σύστημα (see below note 77), was based on the village-system, it differed wholly from the Ionian *Koinon*, which was composed of *poleis*.

77. Strabo XIV p. 660, the source of our knowledge concerning this organization; see also Mommsen in *Herm.* XXVI (1891), p. 147f.=*Ges. Schr.* V p. 516f.: Schreiber in *Kleinere Beitr.* p. 37f.: Francotte *Polis Grecque*, p. 205f.: Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros*, p. 6f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 31: Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 77f. It was known to Strabo as τὸ σύστημα τὸ Χρυσαορικόν or τὸ Χρυσαορικὸν σύστημα, but it appears as τὸ Χρυσαορέων ἔθνος in the Amphictyonic decree of about 202 recognizing the inviolability of Alabanda (see *O.G.I.* 234 and above note 31), the earliest mention of the organization, and as τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Χρυσαορέων in a decree of Mylasa, probably of the first century, honouring a citizen who seems to have rendered it some service (*C.I.G.* 2693=L.W. 399). It is most natural to connect the name of this organization with the cult of Zeus Chrysaoreus, whose sanctuary, κοινὸν ἁπάντων Καρῶν, was near Stratoniceia (Strabo *l.c.*). The God is known also from inscriptions, found at Stratoniceia, in honour of his priests, which extend down to the early third century after Christ; see *C.I.G.* 2720 (=*B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 27) and 2721: *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 82f., nos. 8-11; XV (1891), p. 193f., no. 138; XXVIII (1904), p. 29, no. 11 and p. 41, no. 26. In *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 31f., no. 45 and XLIV (1920), p. 91, no. 22 he has the title of Προπάτωρ. See also J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto=Diss. philol. Halenses* XX (1912), p. 429f. The head of Zeus which appears on the earliest coins of Stratoniceia (probably of the time of Augustus) is presumably that of Zeus Chrysaoreus; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 147f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* pp. 152 and 155. The suggestion was made in Prellor-Robert *Griech. Mythologie* I p. 141, note 2 that the surname of the God was derived from his emblem, the χρυσάωρ or golden double-axe. It seems more probable, however, that, as in the case of other Asianic deities as, for instance, Artemis Leucophryene (see Chap. III note 101), the surname was derived from the place in which he was worshipped (see Schaefer *ibid.* p. 434), and in fact, according to Pausanias V 21, 10, both the territory and the city of Stratoniceia were in early times called Chrysaoris. The question is complicated, however, by the statements of Stephanus

Byzantius (*s.vv.* Ἰδριάς and Χρυσαορίς) that the Carian city which was later called Idrias was originally named Chrysaoris, and that, according to Epaphroditus, the latter was also a name for the whole district of Caria. These statements were accepted by Oppermann (*Zeus Panamaros*, p. 9f.), who, rejecting Pausanias's identification of Stratoniceia and Chrysaoris as due to a misunderstanding of a list of victors, maintained that both Chrysaoris and Idrias were ancient names of Caria. In the case of Idrias, Oppermann cited the use of the name by Stephanus to denote several other places in the district, as well as that of Herodotus (v 118) to denote the valley of the Marsyas, and the ethnic adjective Ἰδριεὺς Μυλασεύς in an inscription from Epidaurus of the second century after Christ (*I.G.* IV² 126=*Syll.*³ 1170). But, while it is not improbable that Idrias may have been used to denote Caria as a whole, the fact that Stephanus applied it to other places in the district lessens the importance of his statement that it was a later name for Chrysaoris. Furthermore, the statement that Chrysaoris also denoted the entire district of Caria is not confirmed by any other evidence, and Oppermann's attempt to explain away the testimony of Pausanias is not convincing. Moreover, there is no foundation for the argument used by Oppermann to show the identity of Κᾶρες and Χρυσαορεῖς, namely, that the *σύστημα τῶν Χρυσαορέων* was called in earlier times *κοινὸν τῶν Καρῶν*; for it was pointed out by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 571, note 2) that Oppermann, being unaware that the fragment of a guarantee from Olymus mentioning a *ἱερεὺς [καὶ β]ασιλεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Καρ[ῶν]* had been restored by Buckler and dated in the first century before Christ (see above note 76), was wrong in supposing that this *βασιλεύς* referred to the Persian king or Alexander or one of the Diadochi and in placing this inscription at an early date. For the membership of Alabanda and Stratoniceia in the *σύστημα* of the Chrysaoreis see above notes 31 and 33. According to Strabo (p. 660), the organization also included Ceramus, which was given to Stratoniceia by the senatus consultum of 81 B.C. (*O.G.I.* 441, see Chap. X note 9); since this place is described as a mere *πολίχνιον* in Strabo XIV p. 656, the suggestion was made by Oppermann (p. 12f. and in *R.E. Suppl.* V 453f.), that Strabo's account of the *σύστημα* (p. 660) was taken from a source older than 81 B.C. This, however, is not a necessary conclusion; see Chap. X note 9. Oppermann also pointed out (p. 8) that Mylasa and Alinda were members; see *I.G.* II² 2315, l. 24 and Klee *Zur Gesch. d. gymnischen Agone*, p. 14f., II C 33 and 47 (Χρυσαορεὺς *ἀπὸ* Μυλασῶν) and *I.G.* VII 420, l. 40 (Χρυσαορεὺς *ἀπὸ* Ἀλίνδων). The Χρυσαορεὺς *ἀπὸ* Θηρῶν in *I.G.* XII 5, 977 (from Tenos) was evidently a native of a place called Thera or Therae in southern Caria; see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 2302f. and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 499, note 3. The cities of the two men who bear the simple ethnicum Χρυσαορεύς in *I.G.* VII 1765, l. 19 (Thespiae) and *O.G.I.* III, l. 8 (Egypt) are unknown.

CHAPTER VI

1. For the mission of Scipio Nasica see Plutarch *Ti. Gracch.* 21: Valerius Maximus v 3, 2: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 64, 9. It is described as a *legatio* by Valerius Maximus and in *de Vir. Ill.*, and the title of Nasica thus implied is confirmed by an inscription from Pergamum (*C.I.L.* I² 2502, see below note 9), probably his grave-monument, in which he is called πρεσβευτής, ἀ[ρχιερεύς]. Since it is highly improbable that he went to Asia as sole *legatus*, we may suppose that he was one of the πρέσβεις Ῥωμαίων πέντε who, according to Strabo XIV p. 646, were sent to Asia, presumably for the purpose of taking over the bequest of Attalus and carrying out the terms of his will; see Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 366. According to Plutarch, the Senate sent Nasica to Asia in order to rescue him from the consequences of the hatred which he had incurred by the murder of Tiberius Gracchus. The date, accordingly, would appear to be the latter part of 133 B.C. On the other hand, the anecdote related by Plutarch (*ibid.* 20) concerning Nasica's interrogation of Gracchus's adherent Blossius (see below note 18) suggests that he was still in Rome in 132, since the interrogation is dated in this year in Cicero *de Am.* 37 (=Valerius Maximus IV 7, 1). Since, however, in Cicero's version the examiner is not Nasica but Gaius Laelius (acting as a member of the *consilium* of the Consuls of 132), it is unsafe (in spite of the attempt made by Klebs in *RE.* III 571 to reconcile the two statements) to draw any conclusions from this incident as to the time of Nasica's departure from Rome. It seems evident that at the time of the appointment of Nasica and the other *legati* the news of the outbreak of the revolt had not reached Rome, since these five commissioners could hardly have been expected to cope with such a situation, and it may be presumed also that they had left the city before the news arrived. Since the order of events in Strabo XIV p. 646 is evidently inaccurate (see below note 10), no conclusion can be drawn as to the time of the commissioners' arrival in Asia, but unless their departure from Italy or their journey to the East was long delayed, they could scarcely have arrived later than the early summer of 132; by this time the revolt was well under way. The question arises as to the connexion between the appointment of this commission and a fragmentary senatus consultum enacted at a meeting conducted by an otherwise unknown praetor, Gaius Popillius, on πρὸ ἡμ[ερῶν . . .]εμβρίων (*i.e.* between the Ides of August and the Ides of December), which provided for the validation of Attalus's acts and ordered that [οἱ στρατηγο]ί (the reading is assured from the preamble) τε οἱ εἰς Ἀσίαν πορευόμεν[οι . . .]ην, ἀλλὰ (or ἄλλα) ἐῶσι κύρια μένειν [ἅπαντα καθῶς ἡ σύγκλη]τος ἐπέκριν[εν]; see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 63f. = *O.G.I.* 435 = Foucart *Formation de la Prov. Rom. d' Asie* = *Mém. Acad. Inscrs.* XXXVII (1904), p. 313f. = *I.G.R.* IV 301, containing various restorations. This decree is usually dated in 133, immediately after the announcement in Rome of Attalus's bequest and before the arrival of the news of Aristonicus's revolt or the departure of the five commissioners; see Mommsen, followed by Dittenberger and Foucart,

as well as by Cardinali *La Morte di Attalo III e la Rivolta di Aristonico* in *Saggi di Storia Ant. e di Arch. offerti a G. Beloch* (Rome 1910), p. 293f. and by Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 103. Accordingly, on the theory that the document dealt with the ratification of the bequest, the lacuna which contained the instructions given to the *στρατηγοὶ οἱ εἰς Ἀσίαν πορευόμενοι*, which Dittenberger read as [*μηδὲν κινῶσι μάτ*]*ην* was restored by Foucart as [*μὴ κινῶσι τὴν διαθήκ*]*ην*. There is, however, no warrant either for assigning this decree to 133 or for regarding the ratification of Attalus's will as its purpose. In fact, the validation of Attalus's acts by the *praetors, i.e.* governors, sent to Asia (rather than by a commission of *legati*) points to a date later than 133, since in this year there was as yet no province of Asia. Moreover, the mention of the praetor Gaius Popillius as presiding over the Senate is also an indication that this session did not take place in 133. For, as Foucart observed (p. 315), this duty devolved on the praetor only when both Consuls were absent from Rome, and whereas of the two Consuls of this year, Lucius Piso Frugi spent part of his term in suppressing a slave-revolt in Sicily, Publius Scaevola was in Rome during the last days of Gracchus (Plutarch *Ti. Gracch.* 18), and it is difficult to believe that he left the city during the troublous time that followed. It is true, as was observed by Cardinali (p. 294), that the decree contains no mention of the revolt of Aristonicus; but it does not necessarily follow, as Cardinali inferred, that the revolt had not yet begun, for the lack of any mention of it may also be explained by supposing that it was over, and this supposition seems to be borne out by the fact that the decree contains instructions to be carried out by the governors, as though the province had already been formed. It would appear, therefore, that the document should be dated not earlier than 129, when, after the suppression of the revolt, the Consul Manius Aquilius and a commission of ten *legati* formally constituted the province of Asia (see above p. 154). There is moreover, good reason for assigning the decree to 129; for of the Consuls of this year, Aquilius was in Asia and C. Sempronius Tuditanus was fighting in Illyricum, where he won a victory important enough to gain him the honour of a triumph; see Livy *Per.* LIX: Appian *Illyr* 10: *Acta Triumphorum, C.I.L.* I^2 p. 176. During the latter's absence any measure brought before the Senate must necessarily have been introduced by a praetor. There seems to be little ground, accordingly, for supposing that this decree dealt with the acceptance of Attalus's bequest and the ratification of his testament or that, as Mommsen and Foucart suggested, it regulated the status of the cities of the Pergamene Kingdom.

2. For the revolt of Aristonicus see Strabo XIV p. 646: Diodorus XXXIV 2, 26: Livy *Per.* LIX: Florus I 35, 4f.: Frontinus *Strat.* IV 5, 16: Orosius V 10, 1f.: Eutropius IV 20, 1: Justin XXXVI 4, 6: Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 366f.: Wilcken in *R.E.* II 962f.: Foucart *Formation*, p. 318f.: Cardinali *Morte di Attalo*, p. 298f.: Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 103f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 505f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 807f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 142f. The statement that Aristonicus's mother was the daughter of an Ephesian flute-player is found in Justin. Plutarch (*Flam.* 21, 6) describes him as *ὁ τοῦ κιθαρῳδοῦ διὰ τὴν*

Εὐμενοῦς δόξαν ἐμπλήσας ἅπασαν ἀποστάσεων καὶ πολέμων τὴν Ἀσίαν, and Eutropius (*l.c.*) as *ex concubina susceptus*. There seems to be no reason for supposing, with Foucart (p. 302), that before Attalus's death he had conceived the hope of succeeding to the throne and had found partisans at court.

3. According to Appian *B.C.* I 18, the revolt had begun at the time of Gracchus's death, *i.e.* the late summer of 133, a date consistent with the statement in Appian *Mith.* 62 (a speech attributed to Sulla) that before Aristonicus was captured (in 130, see below note 21) there were four years of warfare. Both Wilcken (*ibid.* 962) and Foucart (p. 319f.), accordingly, dated the beginning of the revolt in 133, and there seems to be little basis for the suggestion of Cardinali (*Morte di Attalo*, p. 294f.), who, on the theory that a slave-revolt (see below note 8) took place before the revolt of Aristonicus, dated the outbreak of the latter in 132.

4. Strabo XIV p. 646. Leucae was built ἐπί τινος κρημνοῦ by Tachos, a rebellious Persian officer, about 379 B.C.; see Diodorus XV 18, 1 and Judeich *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 190 and Ernst Meyer in *R.E.* IV A 1996. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 119, it was situated *in promuntorio quod insula fuit*. See also Ps.-Scylax 98 and Mela I 17. The place (Tris Tepedes or Poyraz Iskelesi) now, because of the silting up by the Hermus, a part of the mainland, consists of two hills, each with two peaks connected by a narrow ridge, and a smaller rocky height. The remains of a ring-wall, apparently of the fourth century, on the more southerly of the two double hills seem to show that this was the site of Tachos's "city"; see Keil-Premerstein I p. 91. For coins of Leucae issued in the fourth century see Head *H.N.*² p. 581.

5. The presence in Pergamum of malcontents who left the city either voluntarily or as the result of force is indicated by the clause in a decree of the city granting citizenship to certain persons who would aid in its defence (*O.G.I.* 338, see below note 8) and taking away civic rights from those who ἐγλελοίπασιν ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς (τελευτῆς) τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ ἐγλίπωσιν τὴμ πόλιν ἢ τὴγ χώραν. The execution, moreover, of others, seems to be referred to in a decree in honour of Diodorus Pasparus (*I.G.R.* IV 292, l. 13f., see Chap. VII note 1) which mentions τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνειρημένων ὑπὸ Μιθραδ[άτου] ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἐξ ὧν ἀφόρητος ἐπηκολούθει τῇ πόλει κί[νδυνος], where the lacuna was restored as τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀποθανόντων by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CCXIV 4 (1932), p. 22 and, perhaps more convincingly, as τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστάντων or ἀφεστακότων by Rostovtzeff, *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VI note 80. The exile of certain persons and the execution by Mithradates (*i.e.* the Romans' ally, Mithradates V, see below note 11) of those who during the war had caused the city "intolerable danger," although it hardly seems to warrant the conclusion of Cardinali (*ibid.* p. 305) that Pergamum either joined Aristonicus or was inclined to take his side, may perhaps indicate that he had adherents in the city whom it was necessary to banish or kill; see Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 105,

Rostovtzeff *l.c.* and D. R. Dudley in *J.R.S.* XXXI (1941), p. 98. This inference, however, is rendered questionable by the difficulty of determining when the supposed movement took place. For if, as seems to be the case, the decree depriving the exiles of civic rights was passed soon after the death of Attalus and before the ratification of his will by the Romans, it antedated the arrival of Nasica and his fellow-commissioners, when, as Cardinali observed (p. 306), Pergamum was loyal to the Romans (see above p. 149), whereas any action taken by Mithradates must be placed at a later time, since it can hardly be supposed that he and his troops reached Pergamum before the commissioners. It must also be taken into consideration that neither those who left the city nor those executed by Mithradates may have had any connexion with Aristonicus.

6. A body of Thracians in Aristonicus's service captured the Roman commander Crassus; see above p. 151. Thracian slingers served under Attalus in Manlius's campaign in Galatia in 189 B.C. (Livy XXXVIII 21, 2) and there were Tralles, *i.e.* Illyrian troops, in the Pergamene service both at Magnesia and in Galatia (Livy XXXVII 39, 10 and XXXVIII 21, 2); but it is questionable whether Thracian mercenaries, as was supposed by A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* XIV (1909), p. 69 and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 596, were regularly enrolled in the Pergamene army in the second century. It seems more probable, as Reinach himself suggested (p. 68), that this band joined Aristonicus in the hope of booty. For conditions in Thrace during the reign of Attalus II and after the death of Attalus III see Chap. I note 90.

7. Tacitus *Ann.* IV 55, 2 (A.D. 26). For the fidelity of Smyrna, which was perhaps attacked by Aristonicus, see also Aristides *Orat.* XIX 11 Keil. For the contribution of πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀναλώματα by Methymna on Lesbos see *S.E.G.* III 710. It was pointed out by Broughton (*ibid.* p. 507, note 21) that the motive assigned by Justin (XXXVI 4, 7) *metu Romanorum tradere se ei* (*Aristonico*) *nolebant* and the statement attributed to Sulla by Appian (*Mith.* 62) that the cities aided Aristonicus and finally yielded only ἐς ἀνάγκην καὶ φόβον are evidently later inventions.

8. *I.G.R.* IV 289 = *O.G.I.* 338, a decree of Pergamum passed not long after Attalus's death. The "Macedonians and Mysians" were evidently mercenary soldiers in the royal service; see Chap. V note 3. The view of Ramsay (*H.G.* pp. 126f. and 432) that the Μασδυηνοί were mercenaries from Mastya, a town in Paphlagonia listed in Pliny *N.H.* VI 5, although widely accepted (*e.g.* by A. J. Reinach in *R.A.* XIII [1909], p. 108f. and Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 151), is based purely on a superficial similarity between the two names and is wholly fanciful; see Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 2178 and Robert in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 525. The suggestion of von Prott and Kolbe in *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 110 that the word is another form of Μοστηνοί was founded on the belief that Mostene was a Macedonian military colony, a supposition for which there is no real evidence; see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 100 and Keil in *R.E.* XVI 379. As was observed by Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 2065

and Robert *Villes*, p. 52 and *Ét. Anat.* p. 155, Μασδυηνοί is evidently connected with Μασδύη (or Μαζύη), which appears frequently among the places of origin of the Pergamene ephebi of the late second century; see *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 120f., nos. 132 and 134; XXXII (1907), p. 440f., nos. 311-327; XXXV (1910), p. 422f., nos. 11, 12, and 19. In no. 19 the youth designated as τῶν ἀπὸ Μα[σδύης] appears under the rubric ἀπὸ τόπων, which contains also the names of several others whose native places are similarly indicated. Rostovtzeff supposed (*C.A.H.* VIII p. 598 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 561) that these were local districts of the Pergamene Kingdom; for a somewhat different view see Hansen *Attalids*, p. 172. The Masdyeni of the decree, accordingly, were a special group, perhaps a military body, whose name was taken from a particular place in the kingdom; their sons or descendants were enrolled among the Pergamene ephebi, as were also individual "Mysians" (*A.M.* XXXII p. 428f., nos. 275, 297, 331 and 332), who may have been either natives of the district or descendants of the mercenaries bearing this name. The clause in the decree (l. 20f.) which conferred the rights of πάροικοι on freedmen and on the royal and the city slaves was connected by Cardinali (*Morte di Attalo*, p. 283f.), followed with reserve by Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 103, and by M. Segre in *Athenaeum* XVI (1938), p. 123f., with a slave-insurrection beginning before Aristonicus's revolt or even before the death of Attalus. There is no evidence, however, for the existence of any such insurrection, and it seems highly probable that these measures were taken merely, as the decree itself states, "for the sake of the common safety" in the face of possible attack, rather than, as suggested by Dudley in *J.R.S.* XXXI p. 98, as "an attempt to cut the ground from under the feet of more sweeping schemes of social reform."

9. For the death of Nasica see Cicero *pro Flacco* 75: Valerius Maximus V 3, 2: Plutarch *Ti. Gracch.* 21. For the inscription at Pergamum in his honour and probably from his tomb see *C.I.L.* I² 2502 = Dessau 8886 = *I.G.R.* IV 1681.

10. In the order of events as given in Strabo XIV p. 646 the arrival of the five Roman commissioners is placed after Aristonicus's enforced evacuation of Leucae and withdrawal into the interior of Lydia and the participation of the allied kings in the war (see note 11). Cardinali (*ibid.* p. 310f., note 4) observed that this order is not accurate, since the appointment of the commissioners was one of the first actions of the Romans and their arrival must be placed earlier in the course of events. Nevertheless, Cardinali (p. 300) followed Strabo in supposing that the commissioners did not reach Asia until after Aristonicus evacuated Leucae and withdrew into the interior—an arrangement which, in view of the fact that Leucae was held by rebel forces when it was attacked in 131 by Crassus (see below note 15), is difficult to accept.

11. Strabo XIV p. 646: Orosius V 10, 2: Eutropius IV 20, 1. For the allied kings see above pp. 194 (Mithradates), 197 (Pylaemenes), 202 (Ariarathes) and 317f. (Nicomedes). The time of their arrival at the scene of the war

is uncertain. Strabo can hardly be right in placing it before the arrival of the five commissioners, and he is certainly wrong in placing it after Aristonicus's withdrawal from the coast.

12. Tacitus *Ann.* XII 62, 2 (A.D. 53). In view of the danger from the neighbouring Thracians (see Chap. I note 90), the Byzantines probably saw the advantage of friendly relations with Rome and they may have been all the more ready to oppose Aristonicus because he had Thracians in his army (see above note 6).

13. *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1889, p. 367f., no. 2 = Foucart *Formation*, p. 323 = *I.G.R.* IV 134, l. 18f. In this decree Machaon, son of Asclepiades, is honoured because (1) he went as envoy during a war, *τῆς πόλεως περιεχομένης*, to Marcus Cosconius *τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατηγόν* (in 135 B.C., see Livy *Per.* LVI) with the result that *πάντα τὰ συμφ[έροντα] τῇ πόλει διεπράξατο*; (2) he served as ambassador to the Senate at Rome, from which he received a kindly reply; (3) *διαβά[ντ]ων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς πάντας πρεσβεύων διετ[έλει] περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐμφανίζων δίκαια καὶ συστρατευόμενος α[ὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπέ]λειπεν*. The last of these missions was evidently performed in connexion with the revolt of Aristonicus. On the other hand, the suggestion of the original editor, Cichorius, followed by Foucart, Münzer (*R.E.* IV 1669), Cardinali (*ibid.* p. 308f.) and Hasluck (*Cyzicus*, p. 178), that the siege of Cyzicus referred to in connexion with Machaon's embassy to Cosconius was conducted by the forces of Aristonicus is highly improbable; see Magie in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 181, note 2 (but see Hansen *Attalids*, p. 145, note 109). There is no reason to suppose that Cosconius remained in Macedonia until 133. Moreover, as Foucart observed, this attack on Cyzicus, if made by Aristonicus or his allies (Mysians, according to Foucart and Cardinali), must have taken place at the beginning of the war, and at this time the rebel leader was operating on the coast of Ionia and had not had time either to advance to the Propontis or to form an alliance with the peasants of northern Mysia. It must also be taken into consideration that even were Cosconius still in Macedonia in 133, there would hardly be time for Machaon to act as envoy to him, journey to Rome for his audience with the Senate and return to Cyzicus to be sent as envoy to Crassus and the Romans "crossing over into Asia" in 131. Unfortunately, this view does not enable us to determine the nature of the siege of Cyzicus or the nationality of the besiegers. All that we know is that in 135—or certainly before the Romans acquired the Pergamene Kingdom—the Cyzicenes were on sufficiently friendly terms with them to ask aid from the praetor in command of Macedonia. As for Cosconius, if he may be identified, as was suggested by Münzer in *R.E.* IV 1669, with the M. Cosconius M. f. who was honoured by the *δῆμος* of Erythrae (*I.G.R.* IV 1537), it is evident that he was in Asia in some capacity during or after the war.

14. For Halicarnassus see *C.I.G.* 2501 (wrongly ascribed to Cos) = Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 69, no. 6, a record of gifts made by the citizens

for a ship given to Crassus (who is incorrectly called P. Valerius Crassus, a combination of the names of the two Consuls of 131) to be used (according to Wilhelm's restoration) against τοὺς καταλύοντας τὴν εἰρήνην. For Bargylia see the decree passed soon after the war in honour of a certain Poseidonius, Foucart *Formation*, p. 327f. = Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XXI (1919), p. 2f. = *Études* II p. 180f. For Mylasa(?) see Gellius I 13, 11 (*Mylattensium*?), where Crassus is said to have ordered the city to supply him with a beam for a battering-ram. The fact that Halicarnassus sent this ship to Crassus was regarded by Wilhelm (p. 70) as a reason for supposing that Caria was involved in the war. This view, in fact, based partly on the belief that the Stratoniceia where Aristonicus was captured was the Carian city of this name rather than, as seems much more probable (see below note 21), the Mysian Stratoniceia, has been widely held; see Foucart, p. 329: Cardinali *ibid.* p. 309, note 2: Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 104: Broughton in *C.P.* XXIX (1934), p. 235f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 506: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 809. Further support for this view has been sought in the Bargylian decree for Poseidonius, in which Foucart restored l. 15f. as ἀπολιπόντος (*i.e.* Aquilius, see below note 24) δὲ ἐν τῇ [Καρί]ᾳ ἀντιστράτηγον; for Holleaux also, although he restored τῇ [χώρ]ᾳ, supposed that the expression referred to the territory of Bargylia and maintained that this, the last, phase of the war was waged in Caria. But although the decree shows that Bargylia sent troops to aid the Romans, there is nothing in the document to indicate either that these fought in the city's territory or that there was any campaign in Caria, for the lacuna could be equally well restored as [Λυδί]ᾳ or [Ἰωνί]ᾳ. Equally little evidence is furnished by another decree of Bargylia (*J.H.S.* XVI [1896], p. 218f., no. 8 B = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 459), passed on the motion of a certain Poseidonius, son of Menander, identified with the man honoured in the former decree by Robert (*ibid.* p. 463f.), who connected the mention of περιστάντων κινδύνων (περιστάντος κινδύνου) averted by an "epiphany" of Artemis Cindyas with the revolt of Aristonicus. But although the identity of the two men is not improbable, there are no good grounds for supposing that the "dangers" were incurred during the revolt. In fact, there was no reason at all why the war should have been extended to Caria, for the district, which was declared "free" by Rome in 167 B.C. (see above Chap. IV note 67), had never belonged to the Pergamene Kingdom and consequently could not be claimed by Aristonicus as part of his inheritance. The rebel leader, moreover, was so thoroughly occupied with the conquest of Mysia and Lydia that he had no opportunity to extend his arms so far to the south; for Myndus, the only place in Caria which is definitely mentioned as seized by him, was evidently attacked from the sea (see above p. 149).

15. For the campaign of Crassus see Livy *Per.* LIX: Strabo XIV p. 646: Asconius p. 26 Stangl: Gellius I 13, 11f.: Florus I 35, 4f.: Orosius V 10, 1f.: Eutropius IV 20, 1f. Since he led the first Roman army sent against Aristonicus, the war was dated in his consulship by Cicero *Phil.* XI 18; on the other hand, the date A.U.C. 722 (= 132 B.C.) given by Orosius for the expedi-

tion is a year too early. For Crassus's death see also Frontinus *Strat.* IV 5, 16: Valerius Maximus III 2, 12: Julius Obsequens 28: Velleius Paterculus II 4, 1: Justin XXXVI 4, 8. The statement of Justin that he was killed *extremo anni tempore* seems to indicate the end of 131 but might refer to his term of command, which continued until the arrival of his successor; the latter interpretation is suggested by Velleius's statement that he was slain *decedens ex Asia.* Since, according to Frontinus, his death took place between Elaea and Myrina (Smyrna, according to Valerius Maximus), it may be supposed that after his defeat (*inordinata acie*, according to Justin) he was retreating from Leucae to Pergamum.

16. Strabo XIV p. 646. It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 807 and note 79) that, since it is difficult to believe that at this time the Ephesians had a navy of their own, the ships which administered this defeat were perhaps a squadron of the royal navy. But Strabo records specifically that Aristonicus was defeated ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων, and if, as has been previously suggested (see Chap. IV note 67), Ephesus recovered its freedom soon after 167 B.C., it may well have had a navy in 131.

17. Strabo XIV p. 646: Diodorus XXXIV 2, 26. Strabo's use of the perfect tense in ἀπόρων τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ δούλων ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ κατακεκλημένων suggested to Wilcken (*R.E.* II 962) that a general demand for freedom had already begun, and this theory was developed by Cardinali (*ibid.* p. 283f.), who attempted to connect with this demand the privileges granted by the city of Pergamum to freedmen and the royal and city slaves (see above note 8). The perfect tense, however, as used in this passage, seems merely to denote past time with reference to the principal verb ἤθροισε, and it is hard to believe that the slaves in the city of Pergamum were affected by a movement in the back-country. The grant made to them was not an unusual means of assuring the support of the slaves in a city in a crisis, as in the case of the rising of the Ephesians against Mithradates (see above p. 224f.). Nevertheless, the programme now adopted by Aristonicus has caused recent writers to regard this phase of the war as directed toward social reform and against the existing economic order rather than as nationalistic in character or an attempt to establish an independent kingdom; see Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 104 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 807f. It is true that the presence in Aristonicus's army of Gaius Blossius, the friend of Gracchus (see note 18), suggests that he may have imparted some of his theories to the rebel leader, but ancient (as well as later) history shows so many examples of ambitious men who, in order to obtain power, made extravagant promises of economic or personal freedom to potential followers that it is a question whether we may suppose that the policy adopted by Aristonicus indicates a social or economic revolution in the modern sense. If the interpretation of the situation suggested by Broughton (p. 505) as showing "a direct opposition between city and country" means an "opposition" between the civilized and responsible town-dwellers on the one hand

and the half-barbarian and irresponsible peasants on the other, it probably describes conditions more accurately.

18. Strabo XIV p. 646. It was suggested by R. von Pöhlmann *Gesch. d. sozial. Frage u. d. Sozialismus i. d. ant. Welt*[3] (Munich 1925), I p. 406, followed by J. Bidez in *Bull. Acad. Belg.* XVIII (1932), p. 290 and Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 104 that Aristonicus obtained the name Ἡλιοπολῖται and the idea of a Utopian state from the Stoic philosopher Gaius Blossius of Cumae. This man was a friend and adviser of Tiberius Gracchus, who after Gracchus's death fled to Asia and joined Aristonicus, killing himself after the failure of the rebellion; see Cicero *de Am.* 37: Valerius Maximus IV 7, 1: Plutarch *Ti Gracch.* 8, 4f.; 17, 4; 20, 3f.: D. R. Dudley in *J.R.S.* XXXI (1941), p. 94f. It was further suggested by von Pöhlmann *ibid.* I p. 404f., Cardinali *ibid.* p. 300, and Tarn in *J.R.S.* XXII (1932), p. 140 and *Alex. the Great and the Unity of Mankind* (London 1933), pp. 11 and 34, followed by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 144, that Aristonicus took the name and the idea from the romance written by Iambulus in which Heliopolis was the name of a Utopian "Blessed Isle" enjoying an idealized communistic system; see Diodorus II 55-60: E. Rohde *Der Griech. Roman*[2] (Leipzig 1900), p. 241f.: Kroll in *R.E.* IX 681f. As has been previously observed (note 17), Blossius may have influenced Aristonicus in his appeal to peasants and slaves to support a movement against the vested interests, and, as Dudley showed (p. 99), the cult of the Sun-God was widely regarded in the East as promising freedom and a better world to the poor. But apart from the frequency of such appeals for purely selfish purposes (see note 17), it is hard, as Oertel pointed out in von Pöhlmann *ibid.* II p. 570, note 3, to believe that Aristonicus was really planning a movement intended to transform the Pergamene Kingdom into a Utopia. It is, moreover, "far too academic" (so Dudley, p. 98) to "regard the Heliopolis of Aristonicus and his followers as a conception foisted on them by a Stoic philosopher from some literary Utopia," and it is difficult to suppose that the Pergamene pretender was acquainted with Iambulus's romance, if, indeed, this work was in existence at the time of his revolt—which is by no means certain (see Kroll *l.c.*).

19. Justin XXXVI 4, 7, *iustusque iam rex videretur.* The statement of Plutarch (*Flam.* 21, 6) that ἅπασα ἡ Ἀσία was involved in the war is, however, an exaggeration.

20. For Perperna see Münzer in *R.E.* XIX 894f. For his campaign in Asia see Livy *Per.* LIX: Strabo XIV p. 646: Florus I 35, 6: Valerius Maximus III 4, 5: Eutropius IV 20, 2: Orosius V 10, 4f.: Velleius Paterculus II 4, 1: Justin XXXVI 4, 9: *Ins. Priene* 108, l. 223f., where it is said that he came μετὰ δυναμέων ἱππικῶν τε καὶ πεδικῶν. In the course of his march through Lydia he extended the inviolable territory of the sanctuary of Anaïtis at (the later) Hierocaesareia (see Chap. V note 65); see Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 4. Unfortunately, neither Justin, who records that *prima congressione Aris-*

tonicum victum, nor Orosius, according to whom Perperna *improviso bello adortus*, tells where this decisive battle was fought.

21. For Stratoniceia see Chap. V note 12. Orosius (v 10, 5) and Eutropius (IV 20, 2) record that Aristonicus was captured at a city (*urbs* or *civitas*) called Stratoniceia, but neither gives any clue to its situation. It has been held by many scholars, following the view of Waddington (*Fastes* p. 22), that the place was the important city of this name in Caria (see Chap. V note 33); see Wilcken in *R.E.* II 964: Brandis in *R.E.* II 1538: J. Keil in *R.E.* XIII 2191: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 323: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 81: Cardinali *ibid.* p. 309, note 2: Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 105: Robert *Villes*, p. 47f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 465: Ruge in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 1247. It has been pointed out above (note 14), however, that there is no reason to suppose that the war extended to Caria. Accordingly, it seems evident that the Stratoniceia in question was not the Carian city of this name, but the less famous one near the upper Caïcus, as suggested by von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 17f., followed by Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 369, note 4; see also Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 29, Head *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxvi, Tscherikower in *Philol. Suppl.* XIX 1 (1927), p. 21, A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 390, note 44 and p. 400, note 94 and especially Broughton in *C.P.* XXIX (1934), p. 252f., who discussed the question at length (accepted by Hansen *Attalids*, p. 147).

22. *Ins. Priene* 108, l. 227f. and 109, l. 91f. It was supposed by Fredrich (no. 108, note) that, on account of Perperna's death, this festival was not celebrated; but the two inscriptions show that *θεωροί* were sent to Pergamum by the city of Priene.

23. Justin XXXVI 4, 9: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 149, where the date is incorrectly given as A.U.C. 622 (=132 B.C.). For Perperna's death at Pergamum see Strabo XIV p. 646: Orosius V 10, 5: Eutropius IV 20, 2: Justin XXXVI 4, 11: Münzer in *R.E.* XIX 896 (where the version in Valerius Maximus III 4, 5 was rejected).

24. Strabo XIV p. 646: Justin XXXVI 4, 10f.: Florus I 35, 7. Aquilius's campaign in Abbaïtis (see Chap. II note 2) is known to us only from the decree of Bargylia for Poseidonius (Holleaux *Études* II p. 180f., see above note 14).

25. Orosius V 10, 5: Eutropius IV 20, 2. The statement of Velleius Paterculus II 4, 1 that he was led in Aquilius's triumphal procession is perhaps incorrect.

26. Justin XXXVII 1, 2; XXXVIII 5, 3: Appian *Mith.* 57 (a speech attributed to Sulla). It was supposed by Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 445, note 4 that Phrygia Epictetus (the basin of the Tembris and the region adjoining it on the west, see Chap. I note 56) was not included in the territory granted to Mithradates, but we have no means of deciding the question. The south-western corner of Phrygia, the basin of the Maeander and the Lycus, on the other hand, was certainly retained by Rome, as Broughton observed

(*Econ. Surv.* IV p. 508), for Aquilius's road toward Pisidia (see below note 39) must have led through it. For Mithradates's (probably unfounded) claim to Phrygia, based on the allegation that the district was the dowry of Laodice, the wife of Mithradates II, see Justin XXXVIII 5, 3 and Chap. VIII note 38.

27. This belief has been held by many modern writers, *e.g.* Brandis in *R.E.* II 1539: Reinach *Mith. Eup.*, p. 43f.: Greenidge *Hist. of Rome* I p. 185f.: Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 106: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 508. It is based solely on a fragment of a speech delivered by Gaius Gracchus in opposition to a *Lex Aufeia*, otherwise unknown; see Gellius XI 10. In this fragment Gracchus assures his audience that he alone is seeking *bonam existimationem atque honorem* and that all the other political leaders are moved by greed—those who oppose the bill by the bribes of Nicomedes, those who support it by the bribes of Mithradates, and those who keep silence by the bribes of both kings. It has been generally assumed that the bone of contention between the two kings was Phrygia, and that the *Lex Aufeia* had something to do with the cession of that district to Mithradates V. There is no mention of Phrygia, however, in the fragment, and there is no reason to believe that Nicomedes opposed the grant. Moreover, the question was not one for legislation by the people but one upon which the Senate alone was competent to decide; for all matters arising out of the acts of its commissioners, like all other international arrangements, except the ratification of a sworn treaty, must be referred to it alone; see Mommsen, *R. St. R.* III p. 1170f. It is true that the Senate's prerogatives had been assailed by Tiberius Gracchus in his proposed legislation dealing with the bequest of Attalus (see above p. 147 and Chap. I note 94); but in view of Gaius's opposition to the *Lex Aufeia* we can scarcely regard this bill as a similar piece of radical legislation. It seems highly unsafe, therefore, to assume that the *Lex Aufeia* dealt with the assignment of Phrygia or that the bribery on the part of the two kings had anything to do with this grant, and it is still less safe to connect this law with the very doubtful story (see below note 41) that Aquilius received a bribe from Mithradates. It was common enough for the eastern potentates to ask favours at Rome for us to suppose that the matter which was leading the two kings to outbid each other was something other than the cession of Phrygia. Additional difficulties, moreover, arise from the date of the law. Gracchus's statement (§3) *aput vos verba facio ut vectigalia vestra augeatis* has generally been connected with his bill granting to the tax-farming corporations the right to collect the taxes of Asia (see Chap. VII note 15), and the speech, accordingly, has been dated in 123 B.C.; see Lange *Röm. Altertümer* II[3] p. 675; Munzer in *R.E.* II A 1383 and 1389: Malcovati *Oratorum Rom. Fragmenta* (Turin 1930) II p. 46f. If this date is accepted, it is very difficult to connect the *Lex Aufeia* with the assignment of dominions by Aquilius and the commissioners, for it is hard to believe that the matter was still pending six years after their arrival in Asia and over three years after the return of Aquilius from the East. Furthermore, it is impossible to connect the alleged bribery with Nicomedes II, who aided the Romans

against Aristonicus, for this monarch died about 127 B.C., and his son succeeded to the Bithynian throne (see Chap. XIII note 46); he therefore, must be the Nicomedes mentioned in the speech.

28. Justin XXXVII 1, 2. According to this statement, Cilicia was included in the grant. This district, however, had never been part of the Pergamene Kingdom and, therefore, was not the Romans' to bestow. Marquardt (*RSt.V.* I² p. 335, note 5) suggested that by "Cilicia" was meant the southernmost στρατηγία of Cappadocia (Strabo XII pp. 533 and 537, see below Chap. XXI note 7), which lay immediately north of the Taurus, but there is no evidence that this ever belonged to the kings of Pergamum.

29. Cicero *in Pis.* 86 and *de Leg. Agr.* II 50 (the Chersonesus subject to the governor of Macedonia and the *Attalici Agri* there leased to *publicani*). The [τέ]ταρτον [καὶ] ἑ[ξ]ηκοστὸν ἔτος in an inscription from Aegina (*I.G.* IV 2) which was supposed by Fraenkel to be reckoned according to an era beginning in 133, was regarded by Foucart (*Formation*, p. 333, note 2) as dated according to an era of the province of Achaea beginning in 146, but it is very questionable whether such an era ever existed; see O. Kaestner *de Aeris quae ab Imperio Caes. Aug. const. init. duxerint* (Leipzig 1890), p. 66f. and Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 651.

30. For the "liberation" of Caria from Rhodes in 167 and the status of freedom conferred on it by the Romans see above Chap. IV note 67. It is nowhere definitely recorded that Caria was included in the province of Asia at the time of its formation, but, as Brandis pointed out (*R.E.* II 1538f.), the senatus consulta for the cities of Tabae and Stratoniceia (*M.A.M.A.* VI 162 and *O.G.I.* 441, see Chap. X note 9) and the references both in the latter document and in an inscription from Mylasa of about 76 B.C. (L.W. 409) to the proconsul of Asia suggest that Caria formed part of the province at the time of the First Mithradatic War, and there seems to have been no occasion between 129 and this period when we can suppose that the district was incorporated in the province.

31. Justin XXXVII 1, 1. A cult of Massalia with a priest and a priestess, which was maintained at Phocaea during the Roman period (see *I.G.R.* IV 1322, 1323 [= *O.G.I.* 489 = Dessau 8864] and 1325), was supposed by Homolle in *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 553 to have been founded in gratitude for the intervention of Massalia on this occasion. For the assistance given by Massalia to Lampsacus in an appeal to Rome in 197/6 B.C. see Chap. IV note 51. There seems to be no basis for the statement of A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 116) that Rome "in all probability revoked the grant of freedom for all cities save those which had resisted the rebels."

32. See Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 67, a view slightly different from that previously expressed in *R. St. R.* III p. 726, where the independence of the cities was regarded as more restricted. For the formal treaties concluded

by Rome during the second and first centuries before Christ with the cities of Asia see Chap. IV note 89. For the rights of a free city based on those recognized in the so-called *Lex de Termessibus* of about 70 B.C. (*C.I.L.* I² 589 = Dessau 38, see Chap. XII note 34) and the senatus consultum of 39 B.C. for the united communities of Aphrodisias and Plarasa (*O.G.I.* 455, see Chap. XVIII note 15) see Chap. IV note 85. For "friendship and alliance" with Rome see Chap. IV notes 76 and 87.

33. See Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 64f.; his opinion was accepted by Cardinali (*Morte di Attalo*, pp. 277 and 287) and by Lenschau (*Jahresber.* 135 [1907], p. 234). This supposition is based on the ambiguous sentence of Livy *Per.* LIX, *Asiam occupavit* (*i.e.* Aristonicus), *cum testamento Attali regis libera esse deberet*, and on Appian *Mith.* 62, *οὐ κατέσχομεν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρων ἐξ ἐκείνου* (Antiochus III) *γενομένων, ἀλλὰ μεθήκαμεν αὐτονόμους*. But whatever be the meaning of the first passage, it is difficult to apply it to the cities, while the second, apart from the fact that it refers to the Treaty of Apameia (as Mommsen himself noted), and not to the formation of the province, is merely an argument put forth in a speech attributed to Sulla and without historical value.

34. The clause in Attalus's will declaring Pergamum and its territory free, which is known from the decree of the city previously quoted (*I.G.R.* IV 289 = *O.G.I.* 338, see Chap. I note 93 and above note 8), was presumably ratified and put into effect by the five commissioners sent by the Senate to Asia (see above note 1), since otherwise this decree would not have been recorded. Moreover, Pergamum was evidently free when, soon after the close of the war, it sent Diodorus Pasparus as an envoy to Rome and, a little later, obtained a favourable decision from the Senate in a controversy with the *publicani*; see Chap. VII notes 1 and 25. The fact that a decree in honour of Diodorus (*I.G.R.* IV 292, l. 9f. as restored by Wilhelm) records that this benefactor obtained from the Romans exemption from all demands made on Pergamum [*ἐ*]*κτὸς τῶν φόρων* suggests that the city, since it paid a *φόρος*, was not free. But although the term *φόρος*, as used here, may refer (as held by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 813) to a regularly paid tribute, it may also denote the "contribution" usually given to the Romans by their allies in time of war, and therefore the payment of it at this time does not necessarily indicate that Pergamum had not obtained its freedom. In fact, positive evidence for the city's freedom with the status of "friend and ally" as recognized by a senatus consultum may be found in a decree (*I.G.R.* IV 1692 = *Syll.*³ 694), long supposed to have been enacted by Elaea near which it was found, but, as was observed by Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVII (1914), p. 18 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 49, note 3, much more probably from Pergamum. Evidence for the freedom of Pergamum is also to be found in the invitation extended to the city by Ephesus and Sardis in 94/3 B.C. (see below note 35) to choose a mediator for the settlement of disputes arising out of a possible breach of a compact between the two contracting parties, since the regular practice was to choose a free city to act in this capacity. It is true that Perga-

mum also appears as mediator in a dispute between Mitylene and Pitane (*O.G.I.* 335), which is ordinarily dated in the time of the later kings; but there is no proof that the document antedates the death of Attalus III and his grant of freedom to Pergamum; see Chap. III note 125. On the other hand, no conclusion may be drawn as to the freedom of Pergamum at this time from the mention of the "restoration" of its *πάτριος πολιτεία* in *O.G.I.* 337, since this seems to refer to the grant made in 47/46 B.C. (see Chap. XVII note 42). It is also very questionable whether we may use as evidence for the city's freedom a supposed decree of Pergamum which, together with many other documents, was cited by Josephus in proof of the bestowal of privileges on the Jews; see *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 22, §247f., dated about 110 B.C. by Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 371, note 3. In this decree the Pergamenes are represented as referring to themselves as *σύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίων*. But apart from the general doubt as to the authenticity of the "documents" cited by Josephus, this one is particularly open to suspicion because of the mention of Abraham *ὃς ἦν πάντων Ἑβραίων πατήρ*, for it seems hardly probable that the Pergamenes would have had so definite a knowledge of the traditions of the Jews.

35. This seems evident from the fact that in 94/3 B.C. a formal compact was concluded between Sardis and Ephesus; see *Ins. Perg.* 268 = *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437 and Chap. VII note 47.

36. See Mommsen in *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 194 = *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 65f. These subject, tribute-paying cities were technically known as *civitates stipendiariae*. They and the unorganized rural communities are referred to by Velleius Paterculus (II 38, 5) in the statement: *Asiam. . . . M. Perperna capto Aristonico fecit tributariam*. It has been frequently assumed that until the passage of the law of Gaius Gracchus in 123 B.C. (see Chap. VII note 15) the Romans did not demand tribute from the subject cities; see Brandis in *R.E.* II 1546: Foucart *Formation*, p. 337: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 20: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VII 154. This assumption, however, is based solely on a speech attributed to Antony in Appian *B.C.* V 4. This speech was addressed to *τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη τὴν ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσίαν νέμονται*, *i.e.* representatives both of the free cities and the subject communities. In it the hearers are assured that *ἀμείνονες ὑμῖν ἦμεν Ἀττάλου · οὓς γὰρ ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν, μέχρι δημοκόπων ἀνδρῶν* (*i.e.* Gaius Gracchus) *καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων ἐδέησε φόρων*. The inaccuracies in this passage were pointed out by Rostovtzeff in *Hellenist. World*, p. 812f., but, although admitting the contradiction between it and the statement of Cicero (*II Verr.* III 12) that the farming out of public revenues in Asia was introduced by Gracchus's law, he nevertheless held that both in the cities and in the rural districts taxes were collected by the Roman *publicani* from the death of Attalus onward. His argument, however, was based on the belief that the *φόροι* from which Diodorus Pasparus failed to have Pergamum exempted must necessarily denote a regular tribute and not a war-contribution (see above note 34) and that the senatus consultum deciding the controversy

between the Pergamenes and the *publicani* was enacted in 129 rather, than, as seems more probable, some years later (see Chap. VII note 25). But apart from the danger of using as historically valuable a speech attributed by an ancient historian to one of his characters, this particular speech confuses two facts: (1) that the free cities paid no tribute in 129 B.C. and (2) that by the law of Gracchus all the remainder of the province, both the subject cities and the rural districts, was handed over to the *publicani*. Since the purpose of the speech was to represent Antony as showing his hearers how well they had fared at the hands of the Romans, the first of these two facts was stretched to cover all the inhabitants of the province and the second stated in such a way as to make the action of Gracchus seem a favour to the province instead of a cruel wrong.

37. Rostovtzeff in *Kolonat*, p. 283f., on the theory that, in general, the land of the Pergamene Kingdom was χώρα βασιλική, expressed the view that under the Romans all this land became the *ager publicus* of Rome. On the other hand, Frank in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), p. 148f. and *Econ. Hist. of Rome*[2] (Baltimore 1927), p. 145f. and Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXV (1934), p. 207f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 509f., making a distinction between the private estates of Attalus and the "crown-lands" (see Chap. V note 60), held that only the former became *ager publicus*, while the latter, retained by the holders, was subject, as was also the land held in outright ownership, to tithes and so became *ager stipendiarius*; see also W. Schwahn in *R.E.* VII A 10 and 43f. While it is evident that the Pergamene kings were the actual owners of large tracts of land (see Chap. V note 60), it may also be assumed that much land was owned by the "great native families" (Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 510, note 41). But, as Rostovtzeff observed (*S.E.H.R.E., Ital. Trans.*, Chap. VII note 1 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 814f.), it is difficult to suppose that the Romans, by giving a legal title to the royal tenant-farmers, recognized as their private property the lands which they cultivated, especially as the fact that the available evidence does not enable us to determine the status under the Romans either of the land in general or of those who tilled it. Nor may we infer, as did Frank and Broughton, from the lack of any mention of *ager publicus* in Asia—only the *Attalici Agri* in the Chersonesus are listed in Cicero *de Lege Agr.* II 50—that no large tracts of it existed. It is likewise difficult to draw any inference as to the status of the land in Asia in the second century from the statement of Cicero (*de Lege Agr.* II 39) that under the law of Rullus it would be possible to declare that the Asianic cities and *totam Asiam quae post L. Sullam Q. Pompeium consules* (88 B.C.) *recuperata sit populi Romani factam esse* (see also *ibid.* 1 frg. 3 = Aquila Romanus 43, *Mysia et Phrygia eidem condicioni legique parebunt*), since this refers to the status of the cities after they had forfeited their rights by surrendering to Mithradates (see above p. 233). While it is probable that the amount of χώρα βασιλική which became *ager publicus* was greater than Frank and Broughton supposed, it seems evident that a considerable part of the kingdom was in the hands either of private owners

or the holders of leases from the crown and that both of these categories continued to pay to the Roman government the tithes which they had previously paid to the kings. See also Schwahn *ibid.* 5f. and 43.

38. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, *i.e.* cities organized on the model of the Greek πόλις and unorganized tribal districts; see *I.G.R.* IV 188 (=*O.G.I.* 438), 291, and 297 (=*O.G.I.* 437) and Chap VII note 48 and, for the tribal districts, Chap. V note 68.

39. From the road from Ephesus to Sardis we have milestone no. XXIV found at Tire in southern Lydia (restored by L. Aquilius Florus quaestor, perhaps Aquilius's grandson); see *C.I.L.* III 14202[4]. From the Southern Highway no. V was found at Aziziye, about five miles southeast of Ephesus (*C.I.L.* III 7205=*Ins. Magn.* 255), and no. XXIX near Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2920=*C.I.L.* III 479=14201[11]). A difficult problem is presented by no. CCXXIII found at Yaraşlı (ancient Tacina), southwest of Lake Burdur, on the border of Phrygia and Pisidia; see *C.I.L.* III 7177=14199[8]=*I.G.R.* IV 880. It is surprising not only to learn that the province extended so far to the southeast but also to find a road of Aquilius's at a point where apparently there was no connexion with any other route. An explanation was sought by Ramsay (in *A.J.A.* III [1887], p. 366f. and *C.B.* I pp. 295f. and 330f.) in the theory that this section of road was constructed along the southeastern frontier of the province from Apameia to some point south of Laodiceia, perhaps Themisonium, for the purpose of defending the province against the mountaineers of Pisidia; the milestone, according to this view, was numbered from Ephesus *via* Apameia, *i.e.* 179 *m.p.* between these two points with an additional 44 *m.p.* southwestward *via* Kilic to Yaraşlı. This theory was rejected by K. Miller in *Itin. Rom.* 715 on the double ground that it is improbable that the road formed an arc of a circle, running out of the province and into it again, and that the distance from Apameia to Yaraşlı is not 44 but 35 *m.p.* Miller, therefore, reverting to the original belief of Ramsay and Mommsen (commentary to *C.I.L.* III 7177), held that the distance was reckoned from Pergamum via Thyateira and Hierapolis, and supposed that this section of road led from Colossae (on the Southern Highway between Hierapolis and Apameia) in a southeasterly direction to Yaraşlı on the frontier. With only the one milestone to serve as evidence for the existence of this road, it is impossible to determine its direction. But it is difficult to believe, with Ramsay, that a road of such length and forming so great an arc was constructed for the purpose of defence against the distant Pisidians, and Aquilius may well have constructed a road leaving the Southern Highway and leading to some point at the southeastern corner of the province, where it either connected with the important route running through the mountains of Milyas to the Pamphylian Plain or, after circling around the southern side of Lake Burdur, joined the road which led from Apameia past Lake Kestel to Attaleia (see Chap. XI notes 15 and 16).

40. For milestone no. CXXXI, found about eight miles inland from Dikili on the coast (*C.I.L.* I² 647 = III 6093 = 7183 = *I.G.R.* IV 264), and milestone no. III probably on the road from Elaea to Smyrna (*C.I.L.* I² 648 = III 7184 = *I.G.R.* IV 270) see Chap II note 19.

41. The trial of Aquilius is mentioned by Cicero in *Div. in Caec.* 69 and *pro Font.* 38 and by Appian in *B.C.* I 22. In the first of these passages there is no indication as to the charge, but in the second (if it refers to this Aquilius, as seems probable, and not to the later man of the same name, who served as Roman commander against Mithradates VI of Pontus, see above p. 208f.), the combination of names suggests that it was *res repetundae* (extortion). In the third passage Aquilius and two others, Lucius Aurelius Cotta and an unknown Salinator, are named by Gaius Gracchus in his advocacy of the transfer of jury-service from the Senatorial to the Equestrian Order as conspicuous examples of men who, σαφῶς δεδωροδοκηκότες, had been acquitted, even though πρέσβεις, being present in Rome, had accused them bitterly. The statement that the accusation was brought by πρέσβεις (*i.e.* envoys from the provinces) seems to confirm the view that all these men were charged with *res repetundae*. On the other hand, the context shows that they were cited as examples of men who bribed the juries in order to secure an acquittal, and that the participle δεδωροδοκηκότες has this meaning here—although in *B.C.* I 64 Appian clearly uses δωροδοκῆσαι with the meaning of having *taken* bribes, and in I 22 there is a similar confusion in the use of the noun δωροδοκία, which seems to refer once to jury-bribing and twice to the taking of bribes by the jury. In none of these passages, however, is there any suggestion that Aquilius was accused of having accepted a bribe from Mithradates V. On the other hand, we are told in speeches attributed by Appian (*Mith.* 12 and 57) to Pelopidas, envoy of Mithradates VI, and to Sulla that Aquilius ceded Phrygia in return for a bribe. These speeches, however, like others that have been mistakenly regarded as evidence (see above note 36 and Chap. VII note 36), cannot be regarded as having any real historical value. But, since the supporters of the *Lex Aufeia* (see above note 27) were reproached with having taken bribes from Mithradates, it may be that in the prosecution of Aquilius this reproach was made against him also with the general purpose of discrediting him in the eyes of the jury, although it was not a part of the indictment for *res repetundae*. As was observed by Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 373, note 1), Phrygia could not have been ceded to Mithradates without the consent of the ten commissioners, and none of them seems to have been brought to trial for this offence.

CHAPTER VII

1. A picture of conditions soon after the close of the rebellion of Aristonicus may be obtained from the decrees of Pergamum in praise of Diodorus Pasparus; see *I.G.R.* IV 292, 293 and 294 (=*O.G.I.* 764), with corrections by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CCXIV (1932) 4, p. 21f. and by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 46f., p. 58, note 1 and p. 68, note 8. See also Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 810. For other, fragmentary, inscriptions in his honour see *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 401f., nos. 1-5. The second of the decrees may be dated by the mention (I, l. 49f.) of *ἐν τοῖς ἐννεα[καιεικοστοῖς Νικηφορίοις τοῦ στ]εφανίτου ἀγῶνος*, which occurred in 125 B.C.; see Robert in *B.C.H.* LIV (1930), p. 337f. and Chap. I note 59. The burdens imposed on a city during the war appear from the first of the decrees, where it is said that Diodorus obtained a release from *ἀνδροληψίας*, probably compulsory levies of troops, as Wilhelm suggested (*ibid.* p. 23), rather than the taking of hostages, and *[τῆς τῶν στρατο]πέδων παραχειμασίας*, as well as from *τῶν εἰς ταύτας* (*i.e.* the *ἐπιταγαί* of the Roman officer Quintus Caepio) *δαπανημάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων εἰ[σδόσεως?]* and all the *ἐπιταγῶν [ἐ]κτὸς τῶν φόρων* (see Chap. VI note 34). But, as Robert observed (*Ét. Anat.* p. 45), the service for which Diodorus was particularly honoured was his embassy to Rome; see *I.G.R.* IV 292, ll. 17 and 36; 293 II, l. 11f.; 294, l. 30. It is evident that by this mission he obtained some notable favour for Pergamum. We may scarcely suppose, however, with M. Segre in *Athenaeum* XVI (1938), p. 124, that this was the favourable decision in a dispute between the Pergamenes and the Roman *publicani* which is the subject of a senatus consultum, since it seems difficult to date this document before 125 B.C.; see below note 25.

2. The original arrangement provided that a province should be governed by one of the praetors during his term of office, but when, as the result both of the formation of the new provinces of Macedonia-Achaea and Africa in 146 B.C. and of the creation of new praetorian duties at Rome, the six praetors elected annually no longer sufficed, the practice arose of appointing as provincial governors the praetors of the previous year with prolonged powers, *i.e. pro praetore*, and vested, like the propraetors of the Spanish provinces, with *consulare imperium*; see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] pp. 198f., 240f. and 647f. For the usual arrival of the governor in the spring see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 205, note 1 and Marquardt *R.St.V* I[2] p. 336f. For his subordinate officials and his powers see Marquardt I[2] pp. 336, 526f. and 536f.

3. A tribunal at Rome before which cases of extortion could be brought by the provincials (the *quaestio de pecuniis repetundis*) had been organized under the administration of the *praetor peregrinus* in 149 B.C. In 123 it was put in charge of a special praetor of its own; see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 199f.

4. *I.G.R.* IV 292, l. 23f.; 293 II, l. 17f. It is, of course, possible that these honours were not all carried out. We know only that, as provided by the decree

(*I.G.R.* IV 292, l. 37), a city-tribe was named after him; it was called, however, not Πασπαρηίς, but Διοδωρίς; see *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 422f., nos. 11, 13 and 19.

5. Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες; see *I.G.R.* IV 294 = *O.G.I.* 764, l. 19, as corrected in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 389. In the lists of ephebi enrolled at Pergamum, *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 115f. (see Chap. VI note 8), XXXII (1907), p. 415f., XXXIII p. 384f. and XXXV p. 422f., there are several Italian names. In one list, *A.M.* XXXII p. 438, no. 303 (see XXXV p. 424), the Ῥωμαῖοι seem to have formed a separate group.

6. For these *conventus Civium Romanorum*—which, of course, were wholly different from the judiciary *conventus* (*conventus iuridici*) or dioceses (see below note 41)—see A. Schulten *De Conventibus Civ. Rom.* (Berlin 1892), pp. 1f. and 26f.: E. Kornemann *De Civibus Rom. in Provinciis Imperii consist.* = *Berl. Stud. f. Cl. Philol.* XIV (1892), no. 1 and in *R.E.* IV 1179f.: Mommsen in *Eph. Ep.* VII p. 440f. For those in the Asianic provinces see also Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 186f.: J. Hatzfeld *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (Paris 1919), pp. 44f., 90f. and 160f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 543f. For a list of the cities in these provinces in which these *conventus* are known during the Republican and the Imperial periods see Appendix IV. The associations were regularly and properly called *Romani*——(name of city) *consistentes* or *qui*——*negotiantur*; in Greek οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι or οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι but sometimes simply οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. During the Republican period the associations seem to have been headed by *magistri* varying in number; no certain example of these officials, however, has been found in Asia Minor, for the assumption (*R.E.* IV 1190) that the two freedmen, entitled *magistri*, who appear in an inscription from Samos (*C.I.L.* III 458) were *magistri* of a *conventus Civium Romanorum* is very doubtful. In the Imperial period a *conventus* seems ordinarily to have had a single *curator*; see Hatzfeld, p. 286. This official, as the list in Appendix IV shows, is known to have held office at Attaleia, Thyateira and Tralles. An official called κονβεντα[ρ]χήσας τῶν Ῥωμαίων is known at Hierapolis (*I.G.R.* IV 818). A γραμματεύς of the *conventus* existed at Tralles (*A.M.* VIII [1883], p. 328f., no. 10 = *P.A.S.* I p. 108, no. 10). No mention of a treasury appears in any inscription from Asia Minor, but the statues or other honours for which the various *conventus* must have paid are sufficient evidence that they had funds of their own.

7. At Ephesus the *conventus C. R. qui in Asia negotiantur* honoured the Emperor Claudius (*Ephesos* III p. 110, no. 19); at Laodiceia-on-Lycus οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι combined with οἱ Ἕλληνες (evidently the κοινόν of the province, see below note 48) and ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων in honouring a Q. Pomponius Flaccus (*A.M.* XVI [1891], p. 144f. = *I.G.R.* IV 860); at Rhodes the *C.R. qui in Asia negotiantur* took some action unknown (*C.I.L.* III 12266); and at Ephesus [οἱ κατὰ τὴ]ν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦ[ντες Ῥωμαῖοι] (if

the restoration be correct) seem to have set up a statue of the *genius* of the city (*I.B.M.* 517). Chapot, who knew only the inscription from Laodiceia, denied (*Prov. Procons.* p. 190) that the Romans of the whole province were thus organized in one group; but the inscriptions from Ephesus and Rhodes seem to demonstrate it clearly. That the group of *mercatores qui Alexandr., Asiai, Syriai negotiantu*[*r*], who made a dedication at Puteoli (*C.I.L.* x 1797 = Dessau 7273), were a still larger organization, as was suggested by Kornemann, is unlikely; more probably they were local merchants whose trade was carried on with these provinces; see Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 548, note 96.

8. This is apparent from the fact that in some cases, *e.g.* at Cibyra, Erythrae, Laodiceia, Smyrna and Teos, honours were conferred separately by ὁ δῆμος and οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. On the other hand, in many cities, *e.g.* Apameia, Assus, Cibyra, Cyzicus, Methymna, Pergamum, Philadelpheia (?), Prymnessus, Thyateira and Conana (Pisidia), action was taken conjointly by the βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος (or the δῆμος) and οἱ κατοικοῦντες (or πραγματευόμενοι) Ῥωμαῖοι, evidently distinct bodies. A similar distinction is made between *singulos conventus* (of Roman citizens) and *singulas civitates* in Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 32 (see above p. 403).

9. See Mommsen *R.St.R.* III p. 702 and Chapot *Prov. Procons.* pp. 125 and 190. In *C.I.G.* 2222 = *Syll.*[3] 785 = *I.G.R.* IV 943 (Chios, a re-enactment under Augustus of a senatus consultum of 80 B.C.) it is specifically provided that οἵ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥω[μαῖ](ο)ι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούωσιν νόμοις. Mommsen supposed (*l.c.*, note 3) that under the emperors autonomy was taken away from Cyzicus and Rhodes because by inflicting capital punishment on Roman citizens the cities' courts had exceeded their powers, but these instances do not prove his contention. Cyzicus was deprived of its freedom by Tiberius because of *violentia* committed against Romans (Tacitus *Ann.* IV 36, 2f.: Suetonius *Tib.* 37: Cassius Dio LVII 24, 6; see above p. 503); it had once before been deprived of it for the same reason by Augustus (see Chap. XX note 21). The freedom of the Rhodians was taken away by Claudius (Cassius Dio LX 24, 4, see Chap. XXIII note 24) because they had *impaled* (ἀνεσκολόπισαν) certain Romans. In both cases it would seem that it was the *illegality* of the act that these emperors punished and not a regular procedure of the properly constituted courts of the cities.

10. So in Sicily; see Cicero *II Verr.* II 32f. and 70; III 28: Mommsen *R.St.R.* I[3] p. 317 and note 5. The belief that the members of the *conventus* formed this panel and also Mommsen's theory that only the richer (and hence more responsible) Romans were enrolled in it has found striking confirmation in the first and fourth of the edicts of Augustus recently found at Cyrene and dealing with law-suits in which provincials were concerned; see *S.E.G.* IX 8 = H. Malcovati *Augusti Operum Fragmenta*[2] (Turin 1928), p. 39f. In these edicts the Emperor ordered that all cases involving life, freedom or nationality, hitherto tried by a jury selected from the 215 resident Romans

having a taxable property of at least 2500 denarii, might henceforth, if the defendant so desired, be tried by a jury composed of equal numbers of Romans and "Greeks," all to be at least 25 years of age and having a minimum taxable property of 7500 denarii—unless it should prove necessary, on account of a dearth of those so qualified, to lower this amount to not less than one half. All other cases were henceforth, unless either party to the suit should express his preference for Romans, to be tried by a jury composed entirely of "Greeks," none of whom, however, might be domiciled in the city of which either party to the suit was a native. It may be supposed that a similar arrangement also existed in Asia, and that the same change was introduced there.

11. So at Apameia, where four Roman citizens and one native are described as ἄρξαντες ἐν τῷ λ΄ καὶ ρ΄ ἔτει (A.D. 45/6) Ῥωμαῖοι πρώτως (*i.e.* the first Romans to hold the office); see *I.G.R.* IV 792. The *curatores* known from the inscriptions listed in Appendix IV from Attaleia and Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1169 and 1255), Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2930) and the official from Hierapolis (*I.G.R.* IV 818) all held local offices.

12. For example, at Panamara and Lagina in Caria the Ῥωμαῖοι, as well as the citizens, received the money-doles distributed by the priest and priestess; see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), pp. 146f., nos. 47, 48, 51; XII (1888), p. 255 = XXVIII (1904), p. 23f., no. 2. At Priene they were included in the dole of oil and the free use of the public bath, as well as in the entertainments provided by generous magistrates; see *Ins. Priene* 112, 113 and 123.

13. See Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 286 and *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII, note 35, who cited as evidence of lands in Asia later owned by Romans in city-territory Cicero *pro Flacco* 71f. and 80 and *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 53. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 549 and (for absentee owners) p. 551.

14. On the *societates publicanorum* see F. Kniep *Societas Publicanorum* I (Jena 1896), p. 11f.: Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, p. 370f. (for the Republican period): V. Ivanov *De Societatibus Vectigalium publicorum Pop. Rom.* (St. Petersburg 1911), p. 12f.: Steinwenter in *R.E.* XIV 987f.: Frank in *Econ. Surv.* I p. 148f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 535f.: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* VII A 44 and 64f. *Publicani*, who are first mentioned as having taken public contracts in 215 B.C. (Livy XXIII 49, 1), appear for the first time in 184 as collectors of the public revenues (Livy XXXIX 44, 7f.), but probably, as Kniep observed, they had contracted for these previously. According to Polybius VI 17, 2f., in the first half of the second century large numbers of Romans were financially interested in the corporations organized for taking contracts for the construction and repair of public works and the farming of the state-owned utilities. His picture of the number of persons engaged and of the extent of their operations is perhaps exaggerated; see Frank in *C.P.* XXVIII (1933), p. 2f. = *Econ. Surv.* I p. 149. For the collection of tithes in Sicily under the provisions of the *Lex Hieronica, i.e.* according to the system

established by Hiero II of Syracuse, see Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, p. 350f. and *Kolonat*, p. 233f. and V. M. Scramuzza in *Econ. Surv.* III p. 237f.

15. Cicero *II Verr.* III 12: *Scholia Bob.* p. 157 Stangl: Fronto *Epist. ad Ver.* II 1, p. 125 Naber. An apparent contradiction to the evidence of these passages seems to be found in Lucilius, ll. 671-2 Marx (Bk. XXVI): *Publicanus vero ut Asiae fiam, ut scripturarius, pro Lucilio, etc.*; for Book XXVI appears to have been written in the period 132-129 B.C.; see F. Marx *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae* (Leipzig 1904-05) I p. xxx f. It was held by C. Cichorius, however, in *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (Berlin 1908), p. 72 that these lines, as well as other indications, point to an actual publication of this and the following books at a date subsequent to 123 B.C., and thus the contradiction disappears. Accordingly, it does not seem necessary to attempt to reconcile the evidence by supposing, with Schanz-Hosius (*Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* I[4] p. 154), that the lines in question were written before 129 B.C. in the *expectation* of the introduction of the tax-farming system into Asia. For a view that the taxes of Asia were leased out to *publicani* as soon as the province was organized see below note 25.

16. These were known respectively as the *decumae*, the *scriptura* and the *portorium*; see Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 15 and *pro Flacco* 19: Lucilius l. 671 (*scripturarius*, see above note 15): Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 15, 3, *magistri scripturae et portus* (for Cilicia); XI 10, 1, *operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit*; *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 65, 1, *operas in scriptura pro magistro dat*: Donatus *Commentum Terenti, Phorm.* 100 (Vol. II p. 389 Wessner), *magistri tributorum, id est publicani, operas in portu dabant.* See also Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VII 154f. (on the *decuma*) and *Hellenist. World*, pp. 817, 957 and 965f.: Ivanov *ibid.* p. 111: Frank in *Econ. Surv.* I p. 255f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 511. For the *portorium* see R. Cagnat *Les Impôts Indirects chez les Romains* (Paris 1882), pp. 1f. and 79f., and for the *quadragesima portuum Asiae* in the early imperial period see Chap. XXIV note 4.

17. For these sub-contracts (*pactiones*) see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 13, 1; 14, 1; VI 1, 16; *ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 35; *ad. Fam.* XIII 65, 1; *de Prov. Cons.* 10 (for Syria). See also Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, p. 357 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 967 and note 50: Ivanov, p. 89f.: Broughton, p. 537: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 124: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* VII A 44 and 64. As Rostovtzeff observed, it seems more probable that the *pactiones* were annual rather than, as supposed by Broughton (p. 537, note 13), quinquennial. For the interest on arrears see Cicero *ad Att.* VI 1, 16 and 2, 5 and Ivanov, p. 90f.

18. The suggestion of Rostovtzeff (*R.E.* VII 155), Frank (*Econ. Surv.* I p. 274) and Broughton (p. 540) that the tithes on products delivered in kind were sometimes carried by the *publicani* outside the province depends on a restoration in the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (see Chap. XII note 34), col. II, l. 36f.: *Quos per eorum fineis publicanei ex eo vectigali transportabunt* [*eorum fructuum portorium Termenses ne capiunto*].

19. This is evident from the fact that each had its *magister* (or *pro magistro*); see above note 16. See also Ivanov, p. 23f.

20. See Ivanov, p. 20f., who showed that such a combination existed not only in Asia, but in other provinces as well. For the *Bithynica Societas* as a combination of the *societates* operating in Bithynia see Chap. XVI note 72.

21. For the *magister* and *pro magistro* see above note 16: Cicero *pro Plancio* 32: *Scholia Bob.* p. 157 Stangl: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 9, 2 (for Bithynia): Marquardt *R.St.V.* II² p. 300f.: Ivanov, pp. 51f. and 69f.: Broughton, p. 538f.

22. Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 16 and *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 9, 3: Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 103: Appian *B.C.* II 13. See also Ivanov, pp. 65f. and 74f. and Broughton, p. 539.

23. Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 15, 3; 21, 4. These *tabellarii* belonged to the companies which farmed the taxes of Cilicia, but it may be inferred that those which operated in Asia had them also.

24. Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 4; III 5, 4; V 20, 9; *Epist. ad. Att.* XI 1, 2; 2, 3; cf. *II Verr.* III 165. See also Ivanov, p. 42 and E. J. Jonkers in *Mnem.* IX (1941), p. 185.

25. See Passerini in *Athenaeum* XV (1937), p. 252f., who combined several fragments of the senatus consultum and the decree of the magistrate and his *consilium* dealing with the matter, all found at Smyrna (see *Türk Tarih* II [1934], p. 240f., part of which is in *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 173). An even more fragmentary copy, found at Adramyttium, has been known since 1875; see *I.G.R.* IV 262 and Mommsen in *Eph. Ep.* IV p. 213f. = *Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 344f. and *R.St.R.* III p. 967, note 4. This copy, on the evidence of the names of the members of the *consilium*, was dated in about 110 B.C. by Cichorius *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, p. 3f., accepted by Münzer in *R.E.* XV 618, l. 64. Passerini, on the other hand, on the basis of his restorations in the Smyrna copy [Μάνιος Ἀκύλλιος Γαΐος Σεμπρώ]νιος ὕπατοι (l. 9) and [Μάνιος Ἀκ]ύλλιος ὕπατος (l. 17), dated it in 129 B.C. This dating, however, although accepted by M. Segre in *Athenaeum* XVI (1938), p. 124 and subsequently by Münzer (quoted in Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VI note 86) and by Hansen (*Attalids*, p. 151), is questionable. Although the restoration in l. 17 is reasonably certain, since . . . υλλιος can hardly be restored in any other way, and although the clause ἐὰν αὐτῷ φαίνηται, which immediately follows, evidently alludes to the Consul of the year, the restoration of l. 9, based on the assumption that the names of the Consuls of the current year are to be read here, is not convincing. Moreover, it is hard to believe that a controversy between the *publicani* and the Pergamenes could have arisen as early as 129, when the revolt of Aristonicus had scarcely been quelled. It seems much more probable, therefore, that the [Ἀκ]ύλλιος in

question was the younger Manius Aquilius, Consul with Gaius Marius in 101 B.C. and in 90 a special commissioner in Asia (see above p. 208), and that the Consuls (the second named . . . *νιος* mentioned in l. 9) were those of some unknown year. This view seems to be supported by the presence of Lucius Domitius Cn. [f.] in the *consilium* (l. 37), who, as Passerini observed (p. 269), can hardly be any other than the Consul of 94. It is difficult to suppose that this man was old enough in 129 to have been a member of a magistrate's *consilium*; for since his father, Gnaeus Ahenobarbus, was Consul in 122 B.C., Lucius (who was the second son) could scarcely have been born before 145; in 129, therefore, he was not more than 16 years old. If Passerini's dating of the inscription cannot be accepted, we must question also his inference (p. 277f.) that the taxes of Asia were leased to the *publicani* immediately after the acquisition of the province, and that the Lex Sempronia of Gaius Gracchus (see above note 15) was merely a change in the system already existing, by which either tithes were introduced or the percentage imposed on harvests was altered.

26. *I.G.R.* IV 194 = *O.G.I.* 440 = *Dessau* 8770 = Abbott and Johnson *Municipal Administration in the Rom. Emp.* (Princeton 1926), no. 14. A somewhat similar case, as Dittenberger observed (*O.G.I.* 440, note 4), is found in the Senate's decision in 73 B.C. against the claim of the *publicani* that the lands of the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropus on the border between Attica and Boeotia were subject to taxation; see *I.G.* VII 413 = *Syll.*³ 747 and Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* III 49. On the other hand, an inscription from Telmissus in Caria (*J.H.S.* XIV [1894], p. 377f. = Michel 459), which records a restoration of land to Apollo, and a fragment from Pergamum of the early second century after Christ (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 177, no. 27 = *I.G.R.* IV 397), recording a similar restoration to Dionysus, were cited by Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 440, note 3) as parallel cases, but, as they contain no mention of *publicani*, they cannot be regarded as definite instances of aggression of this kind. It is also difficult to connect with the *publicani*, as was suggested by Viereck (*Sermo Graecus*, p. 9), a fragmentary letter of the proconsul P. Cornelius Scipio to Thyateira containing mention of [*ἱε*]*ρῶν χρημάτων* (*I.G.R.* IV 1211, see Chap. XX note 37).

27. *Ins. Priene* 111, ll. 112f. and 140f. and p. xix, with the restorations of Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XXXI (1907), p. 387f. = *Études* I p. 309f.; a somewhat similar dispute seems to be referred to in the fragmentary decree, *Ins. Priene* 117 (l. 14f.).

28. *Milet* I 7, p. 290f., no. 203, dated about 130 B.C. by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923, VIII p. 23f. In addition to sacrifices on specified days to the *Δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων* and Roma, the priest had to offer a victim on the first of every month, and on certain days he conducted contests for the young men and the boys of the city, the weapons won as prizes to be dedicated *ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ* when completed. The priest had to purchase his office in the

usual way (see Chap. XXIII note 17), but he received a yearly salary of 600 drachmae and, as perquisites, certain portions of some of the victims.

29. *Milet* I 9, p. 182f., no. 368, after 108 B.C. (Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E.* XV 1612).

30. *I.G.* II^2 1009, three Μιλήσιοι (117/6 B.C.); 1011, col. VI, two Μιλήσιοι (107/6 B.C.); 1028, seven Μιλήσιοι (102/1 B.C.). See Hiller von Gaertringen *ibid.* and, for the dates of the respective archons, Menoetes, Aristarchus and Echecrates, Pritchett and Meritt *Chron. of Hellenist. Athens* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940), p. xxxiii f.

31. Haussoullier *Études*, p. 209f., no. 10, a list of gifts to the Temple at Didyma in the year of the stephanephoros [Aristan]or, son of Aristanor, dated before 89 B.C. by Rehm in *Milet* I 3, p. 253, note 1. The list contains mention of τῶν δοθέντων χρημάτων ὑπὸ Εἰρηνίου τοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος, whose name has been restored as one of the ταμιεύοντες καὶ παρεδρεύοντες in the Temple in the stephanephorate of Dionysodorus (Haussoullier *Études*, p. 252, dated about 100 B.C. by Rehm in *Milet.* I 3, p. 390f.). The donors of φιάλαι were Cos, Erythrae, Mylasa, Chios, Ilium, Myrina, Chalcis, Megalopolis, Alinda, Cyzicus, Iasus, Smyrna, Chalcedon, Clazomenae, Rhodes, "King Antiochus" (either VIII, IX or X), "the eldest son of King Ptolemy," *i.e.* Ptolemy X (see *Ins. Delos* 1531, dated in 111/10 B.C., and 2037 = Durrbach *Choix*, nos. 124 and 125 [= *O.G.I.* 170]), Brogitarus, tetrarch of the Trocmi, and his sister, Abadogiona (Adobogiona, see Chap. XV note 40).

32. *Ins. Priene* 111, l. 143f. and 120, l. 15f.; see Hiller von Gaertringen in *Ins. Priene*, p. xix and *R.E.* XV 1612 and above Chap. IV note 84.

33. See M. Schede *Ruinen v. Priene* (Berlin 1934), pp. 8, 36f., 54, 88f. The north colonnade of the *agora* has a dedicatory inscription probably of King Ariarathes VI of Cappadocia (*Ins. Priene* 204, as corrected on pp. xviii and 311, see also *Arch. Jahrb.* XLIX [1934], p. 106), who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father about 130 (see above pp. 151 and 202) and whose gifts may have aided in the construction of the building; for his εὔνοια to Priene see *Ins. Priene* 109, l. 103. For the contributions of Moschion to the gymnasium see *Ins. Priene* 108, ll. 34f. and 111f. As Rostovtzeff observed (*Hellenist. World*, p. 824), there is no reason to suppose (with Schede, p. 8) that these buildings were built with the money deposited in Priene by the Cappadocian pretender Orophernes (see Chap. IV note 93).

34. *Ins. Priene* 99-103 in honour of Thrasybulus, dated by the mention (no. 99, l. 19) of τῆς στοᾶς τῆς βορέου (*i.e.* of the *agora*), erected probably under Ariarathes VI (see above note 33); 107 (Athenopolis); 108 (Moschion); 109 (Herodes); 111 (Crates). It seems highly questionable whether we may infer, as did Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. VI note 71), from the benefactions of Moschion that Priene was in a "sorry plight" or sup-

pose that his embassies to Syria, Egypt and the Nabataeans were "in search probably of help"; Rostovtzeff himself observed (p. 809) that there is no indication in these decrees that the war had affected the welfare of Priene and suggested (p. 805) that the embassies may have been connected with Moschion's commercial ventures. The fact, however, that Moschion was sent as *θεωρός* to Demetrius I, as well as to Magnesia, Tralles and Cibyra, shows that these missions were sacred in character, and it may be supposed that the others also were performed in connexion with the city's relations with the kings in question.

35. This fragment of a senatus consultum, dated by the names of the Consuls of 116 B.C., was found in a village near Oynayan on the Southern Highway northeast of Apameia and well within the borders of Phrygia; see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 762, no. 710 = *O.G.I.* 436 = *I.G.R.* IV 752. It is true that the name of Mithradates has been restored, for but little of the document is extant. The number of the *πρεσβευταὶ εἰς Ἀσίαν διαβάντες* has also been lost.

36. Appian *Mith.* 57, where Sulla is represented as saying that after the acts of Aquilius had been annulled, the Senate declared Phrygia free, and as advancing the argument that if the Romans, who had taken Phrygia by war (against Antiochus III), did not see fit to govern the district themselves, it did not necessarily follow that Mithradates had any right to it. Elsewhere we find only the simple statement that the Romans took Phrygia from the youthful Mithradates; see Appian *Mith.* 11; 12; 15; 56: Justin XXXVIII 5, 3. In Livy *Per.* LXXVII Phrygia is described as *provincia Populi Romani.*

37. *E.g.* Marquardt *R.St.V.* I^2 p. 335: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 76: Greenidge *Hist. of Rome* I p. 187. The freedom of Phrygia was described by Ramsay as "more nominal than real," and he regarded its status as one of "semi-dependence on the province Asia"; see *C.B.* I pp. 341, 423 and 762 and *Hist. Comm. to the Epist. to the Galatians* (London 1899), p. 68 (where Phrygia is described as "really dependent on Rome and the governor of the province Asia"). A somewhat similar view was expressed by Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 106, namely, that "the communities of the country seem to have been organized into some loose form of league, which was perhaps placed under the general supervision of the governor of Asia." Mommsen, who believed that Phrygia became a sort of protectorate and that after its incorporation into the province it enjoyed "eine gewisse Selbstständigkeit" (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 67), found support for this view in coins bearing the legend *Κοινὸν Φρυγίας Ἀπαμεῖς* (or *Ἀπαμεῖς Κοινὸν Φρυγίας*); see *Coll. Wadd.* 5464, 5690, 5707f. and 5720: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 90, no. 122, p. 94f., nos 143f. and 150f. and p. 99, no. 172. These coins, however, were issued under Nero, Vespasian and Caracalla and in the time of Philip, and, although we are unable to determine the nature of this "commonalty" (for Phrygia as a separate unit in the administration of the emperor's revenues see Chap. XXIV note 6), it is dangerous to draw any inference from its existence

in the imperial period as to the status of the district at the time of its annexation.

38. See Cicero *pro Flacco* 65 (59 B.C.): *Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lydia.* For a short time, however, in the middle of the first century before Christ most of Phrygia was attached to the province of Cilicia; see below notes 41 and 42.

39. According to the planimetric measurements of Map no. IV in Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus* made by J. Beloch in *Die Bevölkerung d. Gr.-Röm. Welt* (Leipzig 1886), p. 223f., the areas of the various districts were as follows:

Mysia	31,100 sq. km.		
Lydia	24,250 "	"	
Caria	19,350 "	"	
Phrygia	46,950 "	"	
Cibyratis	6,400 "	"	
Islands	6,834 "	"	
Total	134,884 "	"	(52,079 sq. miles; England, 50,874 sq. miles).

40. For this incident see Diodorus XXXVI 13 and Plutarch *Marius* 17, 5f. For the name Battaces as an official name of the Priest of Pessinus see Chap. I note 71. According to Plutarch, when Battaces, after his arrival in Rome, predicted a victory over the Teutones, the Senate voted to build a *ναὸς ἐπινίκιος* for the Goddess, but this is scarcely credible.

41. For the judiciary districts, called *conventus* by the Romans and διοικήσεις in Greek, see Strabo XIII p. 628, Ῥωμαίους . . . διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις, ἐν αἷς τὰς ἀγοραίους ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰς δικαιοδοσίας: A. Schulten *De Conventibus Civium Rom.* (Berlin 1892), pp. 6 and 126f.: Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 1173f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 351f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 123. The suggestion of von Wilamowitz that the *conventus* was a Pergamene institution taken over by the Romans, which was adopted by Schulten (p. 129) and Kornemann, was based on the fact that these districts were regularly referred to by Cicero as διοικήσεις and not as *conventus*. There is, however, no evidence for the belief that this institution existed in the Greek world in the pre-Roman period, for, as Brandis observed (*R.E.* V 786f.), both in Athens and in the cities of Asia Minor the word διοίκησις had no territorial significance but designated the administration of the public treasury. Moreover, Cicero's application of the term to the judiciary districts of his province of Cilicia (*Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 4; XIII 67, 1; *ad Att.* V 15, 3; 21, 7; VI 2, 4), as well as to a district of Asia (*ad Fam.* XIII 53, 2), cannot be regarded as showing that the word *conventus* was not so applied in his time or that the existence of judiciary districts antedated the rule of the Romans in Asia. Cicero, indeed, seems to have used the term *conventus Syracusanus* (*II Verr.* II 70) to denote the judiciary

district of that city, and in connexion both with Cilicia and with Sicily he applied the word *conventus* to the assembly held for the administration of justice; see *ad Fam.* III 8, 6; XV 4, 2; *II Verr.* V 28. The transference of the term to the city in which this assembly took place (see *e.g.* Cicero *II Verr.* II 160 and Caesar *Bell. Gall.* VIII 46) and thence to the judiciary district of which this city was the centre was not unnatural. It was thus used in the geographical summaries of Pliny (*N.H.* V 105-126), where the cities of the Asianic provinces are listed according to the *conventus* in which they were severally situated (see below note 42), an arrangement which is generally regarded as based on the official survey compiled by Agrippa early in Augustus's principate (see Chap. XX note 17) and therefore represents the system used in the latter part of the first century before Christ. It was supposed, in fact, by Kornemann (*ibid.* 1175) that in the East this arrangement of well defined judiciary *conventus* was not introduced until this time. This view, however, seems not to take account of the fact that the three Phrygian "dioceses" which in Cicero's time were attached to the province of Cilicia, namely, Laodiceia-Cibyra, Apameia and Synnada (see Chap. XVI notes 18 and 77), also appear in Pliny's list (V 105f.) as the three *iurisdictiones* of Phrygia. Since in the case of these three *conventus*, the arrangement that obtained under Augustus was in effect in the middle of the first century before Christ, it seems possible to infer that the others listed by Pliny also existed at this time. This inference, in fact, is borne out by a letter of a Roman magistrate of the time of Cicero, addressed to the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων in Asia, which exists in two copies, found respectively in Miletus and Priene; see *Milet* I 2, p. 101f., no. 3 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 22 and *Ins. Priene* 106 and Chap. XVII note 9. This letter was sent to various cities of Mysia, Lydia and Caria which were evidently the centres of the judiciary districts, and as these (with three exceptions, see note 42) are identical with the cities listed as centres by Pliny, there seems to be no doubt that the arrangement known to him existed also in the pre-Augustan period. Ramsay, on the other hand, dated (*C.B.* I p. 265) the division of the province of Asia into judiciary *conventus* in the time of Sulla (85/84 B.C.). There is, however, no evidence that Sulla divided the province into any districts except the forty-four *regiones* temporarily created for collecting the fine which he had imposed on the communities (see Chap. X note 17), an arrangement which, of course, had no connexion with the *conventus*. Much more convincing, therefore, is the view of Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 68, note 1), who pointed out that since from the beginning the administration of justice was one of the governor's duties, the judiciary districts were "unquestionably" as old as the province itself.

42. For the list of the judiciary *conventus* of Asia, with the communities included in each see Pliny *N.H.* V 105-126: O. Cuntz in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol., Suppl.* XVII (1890), p. 490f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 64f. The *conventus* thus listed are: in Phrygia; Cibyra (with Laodiceia), Synnada and Apameia: in Caria; Alabanda: in Lydia, Ionia and Mysia; Sardis, Smyrna, Ephesus, Adramyttium and Pergamum. The accuracy of the list, as far as the three

Phrygian *conventus* are concerned, is shown by the frequent references by Cicero to these districts, which comprised the whole of Phrygia and between 56 and 49 B.C. were attached to the province of Cilicia (see above note 41). With regard to Caria, Lydia, Ionia and Mysia, on the other hand, the accuracy of the list is rendered questionable by the letter of a Roman official found at Miletus (*Milet* I 2, p. 101f., no. 3, see above note 41), in which the writer informs the Milesians that he is sending his letter not only to them but also to the communities of Ephesus, Tralles, Alabanda, Mylasa, Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis and Adramyttium, ἵνα ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ δ[ιοικ]ήσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ πόλεις διαποστείλησθε—in consequence of which command a copy was inscribed at Priene (*Ins. Priene* 106). Since it seems evident from the expression ἐν τῇ δ[ιοικ]ήσει τῇ ἰδίᾳ that the cities named in this letter were the centres of judiciary *conventus*, we must suppose that Miletus (for which Magnesia was unfortunately substituted by Jones *Cities*, pp. 61 and 391 and *Greek City*, p. 123), Tralles and Mylasa should be added to the list of the centres existing in the middle of the first century before Christ—for the omission of the Phrygian districts indicates that the letter was written between 56 and 50, a dating borne out by the mention (l. 39) of Cicero (Marcus or Quintus). With regard to Miletus and Mylasa we have no further information, but this supposition is rendered highly probable by their situation, for it is hard to believe that the southern bank of the lower Maeander and the whole of Caria were comprised in the single *conventus* of Alabanda. With regard to Tralles, on the other hand, there is additional testimony in Cicero *pro Flacco* 71; for Pergamum, Smyrna and Tralles are here cited as places in which *ius a nostro magistratu dicitur*, and also, perhaps, in Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 21, §244, where an otherwise unknown governor, P. Servilius Galba (for his possible identity see Münzer in *R.E.* II A, 1790, no. 58), describes himself as ἄγων τὸν ἀγόραιον in Tralles. When Pliny's lists were compiled, however, Tralles had evidently ceased to be the centre of a *conventus*, for, as both Cuntz (*ibid.* p. 493) and Buresch (*A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 107f.) observed, the name of the city appears in the form Caesarienses (from the name Caesareia which it assumed in 26/5 B.C. see Chap. XX note 7) in Pliny *N.H.* V 120, where (together with Mastaura and Briula situated farther east) it is included in the *conventus* of Ephesus; Cuntz also pointed out (p. 496) that the enumeration of Tralles (with Nysa) among the towns of Caria, as though it belonged to the *conventus* of Alabanda, was taken from another source, which was evidently incorrect.

Another indication of the centres of the various *conventus* might be supposed to appear in the decree of the "Commonalty of Asia" concerning the introduction of the new calendar in 9 B.C. (see below Chap. XX note 39), in which the order is given that the documents in question should be inscribed on stelae ἐν ταῖς ἀφηγουμέναις διοικήσεων πόλεσιν (*O.G.I.* 458, l. 65). The fact that fragments of the documents were found at Apameia, Dorylaeum, Eumeneia and Priene (see *O.G.I.* 458) led Mommsen to suggest (*Ges. Schr.* V p. 523) that all these places were centres of *conventus*. This assumption, however, questionable in itself not only for the reason

that of the four places only Apameia is known to have been a centre but because of the nearness of Eumeneia to Apameia, was rendered still more improbable by the subsequent discovery of a fifth fragment at Maeonia in Lydia (Keil-Premerstein II no. 166); for not only was Maeonia a place of insufficient importance to be the centre of a *conventus*, but, as the editors pointed out (p. 81), it appears in Pliny (V 111) as one of the towns in the *conventus* of Sardis. We must therefore suppose that the ἀφηγούμεναι πόλεις caused these documents to be inscribed also in the various communities of their respective districts. The question arises likewise in regard to Philomelium, which was placed among the judiciary *conventus* by Marquardt (*R.St.V.* I² p. 342) and Jones (*ibid.* p. 64f.). Philomelium evidently belonged to the province of Asia in 70 B.C. (Cicero *II Verr.* III 191), but it was transferred with the Phrygian *conventus* to Cilicia, and Cicero, while governor of this province, held court in the city; see *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 5f.; XV 4, 2; *ad Att.* V 20, 1. On the other hand, it seems to have been returned to Asia after the transfer of the Phrygian districts in 49 B.C.; see Chap. XVII note 44. Marquardt also listed (*ibid.* p. 340f.) Cyzicus, Philadelpheia and Thyateira among the *conventus*. While it is hardly probable that, as Marquardt supposed, Cyzicus was the centre of a *conventus* of the Hellespont mentioned by Cicero in *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 53, 2 (which was presumably that of Adramyttium, since, according to Pliny V 122f., this included the Troad), it seems evident from the mention of trials by Aristides (*Orat.* LI 42f. Keil) that in the second century after Christ it was a judiciary centre. The city, to be sure, is not listed by Pliny, but since places farther east, namely Apollonia ad Rhyndacum and Miletopolis, were included by him in the *conventus* of Adramyttium (*N.H.* V 123), it may be assumed that in his time Cyzicus also was in this district. Philadelpheia likewise appears to have been the centre of a *conventus* in the second century (see Aristides *Orat.* L 96 and 98 Keil), but when Pliny's lists were compiled it was in the district of Sardis (*N.H.* V 111). At this time also Thyateira was attached to the district of Pergamum (*N.H.* V 126), but it was finally made a separate *conventus* by Caracalla; see *I.G.R.* IV 1287 = *O.G.I.* 517 and Chap. XXVIII note 41. It may be inferred from the creation of these *conventus* that under the later emperors there was a tendency to reduce the size of the districts as originally formed; see Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 1179. It is obvious that Pliny's list omits the names of many cities included in the several *conventus*. An attempt was made by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 118f.) to supply those omitted from the *conventus* of Ephesus, Pergamum, Adramyttium and Sardis, but the results are necessarily very uncertain. It is nevertheless possible even from Pliny's somewhat haphazard arrangement to determine the approximate limits of many of the districts. Thus we learn that whereas the *conventus* of Adramyttium included the Troad and interior Mysia as far east as Abrettene (§123), the greater part of the coast of Aeolis and also Hyrcanis in the basin of the Hermus in Lydia belonged to the district of Smyrna (§120). The *conventus* of Pergamum also, which included Hiera Come (the later Hierocaesareia) and Hermocapeleia (§126), extended into Lydia, where it touched that of Smyrna. The district of Sardis, consisting of the

basins of the upper Hermus and the Cogamis, extended toward the east to Cadi in Abbaïtis (near the border of the *conventus* of Synnada, see Chap. XVI note 19) and toward the southeast across the range of Tmolus to Tripolis on the Maeander, while that of Ephesus contained the basin of the Caÿster and the communities on the northern bank of the Maeander from Briula (west of Tripolis) westward. This partition of Mysia and Lydia into several *conventus* and the fact especially that the *conventus* of Pergamum contained parts of both seem to justify the statement of Strabo (XIII p. 628) that the Romans added to the confusion among the old districts of Asia Minor because *μὴ κατὰ φῦλα διελεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις.*

43. Cicero *de Prov. Cons.* 6. It was maintained by Mommsen (*R.St.R.* I[3] p. 377f.) that a Roman official might not appear in a free city with his full train of lictors. This belief was based solely on Tacitus, who related (*Ann.* II 53, 3) that when in A.D. 18 Germanicus on his way to the East (see above p. 497) visited Athens, *foederique sociae et vetustae urbis datum ut uno lictore uteretur.* The whole procedure of Germanicus, however, was obviously sentimental (and has been made more so by the narrator), and it may not be inferred from this single instance that a governor was debarred from using all his insignia of office when he entered a free city. Mommsen supposed that Albucius came to Athens (in 121 B.C.) as praetor with his lictors (see Cicero *de Fin.* I 8f.), but there is no indication in the passage that the lictors belonged to Albucius; they were evidently those of the elder Scaevola, the governor of Asia.

44. This was pointed out by Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 129) and A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 263). The effect of the holding of a judiciary *conventus* on the prosperity of Apameia in the early second century after Christ is described by Dio Chrysostom in *Orat.* XXXV 15f. Jones observed (p. 363, note 6) that *I.G.R.* IV 1287 = *O.G.I.* 517 (see above note 42) and *S.E.G.* VII 813 show the eagerness of Thyateira and Gerasa in Arabia to become judiciary centres.

45. By a *Lex Porcia*; see *Lex Antonia de Termessibus*, col. II, l. 13f. (*C.I.L.* I[2] 589 = Dessau 38 = Bruns, *Fontes*[7] no. 14, see below Chap. XII note 34). This law was attributed by Lange (*Röm. Alt.* II[3] p. 207) to Cato the Censor, Consul in 195 B.C., but it has been correctly pointed out by Rotondi in *Leges publicae P.R.* (Milan 1912), p. 269f. that it is to be dated at some later time, when Rome's provincial administration was more developed than it was in 195.

46. For Scaevola the Augur (who appears as one of the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogue *de Re Publica*) see Münzer in *R.E.* XVI 430f., no. 21. For his visit to Rhodes see Cicero *de Orat.* I 75. For his trial and acquittal see Cicero *de Fin.* I 8f.; *de Orat.* II 281; *Brut.* 102. The trial was satirized by

Lucilius; see l. 55f. Marx (with *Prol.* p. xli f.) and Cichorius *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, p. 237f.

47. For Scaevola the Pontifex see Münzer in *R.E.* XVI 437f. His term of office in Asia was dated by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 36f.), followed by Fränckel in *Ins. Perg.* II p. 200, Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 437, note 3 and Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 175, in 98/7 B.C.; but it was maintained by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 107, note 3), followed by Münzer *ibid.* 438 and *R.E.* I A 1274, that he was governor in 94/3, the year after his consulship (95 B.C.). Their arguments were supported by the fact that in Scaevola's letter to Ephesus concerning the compact between this city and Sardis (see below) he calls himself *ἀνθύπατος Ῥω[μαίων]*, *i.e. proconsul*, and that in the dedication to him at Olympia (see below) he appears as *[στρατη]γὸς ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων*. An attempt to defend the earlier date was made by J. P. V. D. Balsdon in *Cl. Rev.* LI (1937), p. 8f. on the ground that the statement *provinciam . . . deposuerat* in Asconius p. 20 Stangl refers, not to Scaevola's resignation of the governorship of Asia after nine months of office (see below), but to his refusal to take any office after his consulship. Balsdon, however, was unable to explain satisfactorily why, if Scaevola and Rutilius Rufus left Asia in 97, the trial of the latter (see below note 49) did not take place until 92. For the excellence of his administration of Asia and his return from the province at the expiration of nine months see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 17, 5; *II Verr.* II 34: Asconius p. 20 Stangl: Diodorus XXXVII 5-6: *Script. Hist. Aug., Vit. Gord.* 5, 5: *Inschr. v. Olympia* 327 = *O.G.I.* 439. For his edict see Cicero *ad Att.* VI 1, 15. For the pact between Sardis and Ephesus see *Ins. Perg.* 268 = *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437. A fragment of an agreement concerning *isopoliteia* between Sardis and Ephesus (*Ins. Sardis* 6) is probably part of a copy of this document inscribed at Sardis.

48. *Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίᾳ*; see *O.G.I.* 438 = *I.G.R.* IV 188 (Poemanenum?): *Inschr. v. Olympia* 327 = *O.G.I.* 439: L.W. 1721 b = *I.G.R.* IV 291 (Pergamum). The inscription from Poemanenum (the most completely preserved) and, apparently, also the inscription from Olympia add, *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ εἰρημένοι* (or *ἐλόμενοι*) *μετέχειν τῶν Σωτηρίων καὶ Μουκιείων*. Since the inscriptions from Poemanenum and Pergamum honour persons other than Scaevola (as Dittenberger observed in *O.G.I.* 438, note 7, of the early first century before Christ), the organization seems to have become permanent. It appears also as *οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δῆμοι*, who honoured a former priestess of the Ephesian Artemis in an inscription at Tralles of unknown date; see *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 348, no. 12 = *P.A.S.* II p. 330, no. 384. The organization is referred to in Scaevola's letter written to the Ephesians in connexion with their pact with Sardis (*O.G.I.* 437, l. 27f., see above note 47) as *[τῶν ἐν τῇ] φιλίᾳ κριθέ[ντων] δήμων τε καὶ ἔ[θνων ψηφισαμέ]νων*. Mommsen, who erroneously supposed that the inscriptions from Poemanenum and Pergamum contained the combination *τὰ ἔθνη καὶ αἱ πόλεις*, believed that these, in distinction to the *δῆμοι*, were those communities to

which the Greek δημοκρατία could not be applied; see *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 194 = *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 65. This is clearly, however, the distinction between the δῆμοι and the ἔθνη, evidently the tribal districts (see Chap. V note 68); a distinction, however, between πόλεις and δῆμοι appears to be made in a monument to Julius Caesar at Ephesus (*Syll.*[3] 760, see Chap. XVII note 9). The expression *οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα κεκριμένοι, etc.*, corresponds, as Dittenberger observed (*O.G.I.* 438, note 3), to the phrase *in amicorum formulam relati* = *εἰς τὸ τῶν φίλων διάταγμα ἀνενεχθέντες* (see Chap. IV note 76). A connexion between this organization and the Κοινὸν Ἀσίας known from the middle of the first century before Christ onward (see above note 41 and Chap. XVII note 9), was suggested by Brandis in *Herm.* XXXII (1897), p. 512f., who saw in it the "seeds" of the later Κοινόν. Although Brandis pointed out that this body was presumably the one which collected money for a festival in honour of the proconsul L. Valerius Flaccus (see Chap. XVI note 1), having no documentary evidence for the existence of the Κοινόν before the time of Mark Antony, he regarded it as a development from the earlier organization rather than a later form of it. The festival in honour of Scaevola is called in the inscriptions cited above Σωτήρια καὶ Μουκίεια. As Pfister suggested (*R.E.* III A 1229), the double name may be due to the addition of a new festival for Scaevola to an older Soteria. It is called Mucia in Cicero *II Verr.* II 51 and Pseudo-Asconius pp. 202 and 262 Stangl. Scaevola, in his letter to the Ephesians, referred to it as θυμ[ε]λικοὶ κ[α]ὶ [γυμνικοὶ ἀγῶ]νες πενταετηρι[κοί]. For its continuance under Mithradates see Cicero *II Verr.* II 51.

49. For P. Rutilius Rufus see Münzer in *R.E.* I A 1269f. and, for his autobiography, G. L. Hendrickson in *C.P.* XXVIII (1933), p. 153f. It was supposed by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 32f.) that Rufus had previously, about 111 B.C., been governor of Asia. The sole evidence on which his argument was founded is a passage of Pomponius (*Digesta* I 2, 2, 40), *P. Rutilius Rufus qui Romae consul et Asiae proconsul fuit.* Münzer, however, showed (*ibid.* 1273) that Pomponius is often inaccurate and that this appellation of *proconsul* is mistaken, and that after Scaevola's withdrawal from Asia Rufus was proconsul in fact though not in name. For his treatment of the *publicani* and their enmity toward him and Scaevola see Diodorus XXXVII 5: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* I 9, 26 and *pro Plancio* 33. For his trial and withdrawal to Asia (where Cicero visited him in 78 B.C.) see Cicero *pro Font.* 38; *de Orat.* I 229f.; *Brutus* 85 and 115: Ps.-Asconius p. 202 Stangl: Livy *Per.* LXX: Velleius Paterculus II 13, 2: Valerius Maximus II 10, 5: Cassius Dio frg. 97 Boiss.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Pontus is called ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Καππαδοκία in Strabo XII p. 534 and Καππαδοκία ἡ περὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον in Polybius V 43, 1. In a decree of Ephesus of 86 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 742, see above p. 224f.) Mithradates Eupator is called Καππαδοκί[ας βασιλεύς], and he is referred to as βασιλεὺς Καππαδόκων in an epigram quoted by Posidonius (Athenaeus V 53, p. 215 B=*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 248). The name Πόντος, on the other hand, was originally restricted to its proper meaning as the coast of the Euxine; see Ed. Meyer *Gesch. d. Königr. Pontos* (Leipzig 1879), p. 1f.

2. The section of this range between Phazimonitis (see below note 6) and Amisus was described by von Flottwell in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXIV (1895), p. 16 as consisting of three chains running parallel to the coast and separated by streams.

3. The course of the Halys is described in Herodotus I 72. For its middle section—where it flows from south to north—from Avanos, about 30 miles west of Kayseri, to Kesik Köprüköy, about 40 miles southeast of Ankara, see Oberhummer and Zimmerer *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1899), pp. 143f. and 219f. For portions of its lower course see von Flottwell *ibid.* p. 11f. For the gorges above and below its junction with the Amnias see W. F. Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 92 and Hamilton *Researches* I p. 325. For the great gorge below Çeltek see von Flottwell, p. 27f.

4. This range consists of the Gürlevik Dağ and its extensions, east of the bend of the upper Halys, and the Ak Dağ, continued by the Çomak Dağ and the Çiçek Dağ, west of the river. This boundary was suggested with some hesitation by R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 17 A, but it seems to be the "mountain-range parallel to the Taurus" which was regarded by Strabo (XII p. 540) as dividing Pontus from Cappadocia; see Ruge in *R.E.* X 1910f. As Ernst Meyer observed (*Grenzen*, p. 118), the region of Camisene, containing the headwaters of the Halys, was in Pontus (Strabo XII p. 546 and Ruge in *R.E.* X 1841). Meyer pointed out (p. 118f.) that since the region of Saravene was one of the *strategiai* of Cappadocia (Strabo XII p. 534, see Chap. XXI note 7), the Aquae Saravenae (Aravenae) shown on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 1) was within the latter kingdom. Accepting the identification of this place with Terzili Hamam (on the upper Kanak Su, about 40 miles southeast of Yozgat), as proposed by Hirschfeld in *R.E.* II 304, Ramsay *H.G.* pp. 268, 297 and 301, and Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris 1898), p. 118f., Meyer supposed that the southern boundary of Pontus was north of the Kanak Su. The boundary seems, indeed, to have run through this region, but it is much more probable that Aquae Saravenae was at Kırşehir, northeast of Lake Tatta, and that Terzili Hamam was Basilica Therma of the Byzantine period; see Ruge in *R.E.* I A 2427 and de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* XIX (1935), p. 73.

5. For Phanaroea see Strabo II p. 73 and XII p. 556: Hamilton I p. 342f.: Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 54f.: Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 54, who included in it the two basins of the Lycus (the Taş Ova and the plain around Niksar), separated from each other by a ridge projecting from the Paryadres. Hamilton, finding no olive-trees in the plain, questioned the accuracy of Strabo's epithet ἐλαιόφυτος; Anderson, however, saw remains of ancient oil-presses, and Jalabert (*Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] [1908], p. 443) saw wild olives growing on the surrounding mountain-slopes. For Dazimonitis (Kaz Ova) see Strabo XII p. 547: Ainsworth *Travels* II p. 22f.: Hamilton I p. 357: Cuinet *Turquie* I p. 726: Ramsay *H.G.* p. 329: Anderson, p. 68f. The suggestion that it was the property of the Great Mother (see below note 13), assigned to her, perhaps, by Pompey (see above p. 371), was made by Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III (1893), p. 736, who, basing this view on an inscription showing that the emperor Maurice (A.D. 582-602) owned an estate in it, supposed that this had come into the possession of the Roman emperors from the priests of the Goddess. For Chiliocomum (Sulu Ova, the basin of the Tersakan Su) see Strabo XII p. 561: Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 143f.: A. Struck in *Deutsche Rundschau f. Geogr. u. Stat.* XXII (1900), p. 300, where a more favourable picture of its cultivation is given.

6. For Phazimonitis see Strabo XII p. 560: Hamilton I p. 332f.: Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 79f.: Cumont in *R.E.G.* XIV (1901), p. 33f. and *Stud. Pont.* II p. 125f. The principal place of the region under the Pontic kings was probably Φαζημὼν κώμη, a κατοικία near (κατά) which, according to Strabo, the city of Neapolis was founded by Pompey (see Chap. XV note 35). This was placed at the modern Merzifon, overlooking the Sulu Ova (Chiliocomum, see above note 5), by Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 15 A, followed by A. Herrmann in *R.E.* XIX 1909. There is, however, little to be said for this identification. The plain of Chiliocomum, according to Strabo (p. 561), was in the territory of Amaseia, and the southern boundary of Phazimonitis seems to have been the range (Tavşan Dağ) along the northern edge of this plain; see Cumont in *R.E.G.* XIV p. 36 and *Stud. Pont. l.c.* Furthermore, there is no evidence that there was an ancient settlement at Merzifon; see *Stud. Pont.* II p. 140. It is therefore much more probable that, as was suggested by Hamilton (I p. 330), Neapolis was at Vezirköprü, north of the Tavşan Dağ on a tributary of the Halys; see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 88f. and II p. 133f., followed in *Receuil* I[2] p. 189*. This view is strengthened by the fact that in the Paphlagonians' oath of allegiance to Augustus in 3 B.C., which was found at Vezirköprü, the inhabitants of the place are called Φαζιμωνεῖται οἱ [τὴν νῦν Νεάπο]λιν λεγομένην κατοικοῦν[τες]; see *I.G.R.* III 137 = 1449 = *O.G.I.* 532 = Dessau 8781 = *Stud. Pont.* III no. 66 and Chap. XIX note 47. On the other hand, in an inscription of A.D. 282/3 (*I.G.R.* III 139 = *Stud. Pont.* III no. 67) the city is called Neoclaudiopolis. This name appears also on coins from Trajan to Caracalla (*Receuil* I[2] p. 190*f.); it was evidently taken under Claudius (see Chap. XXIII note 20). This identifies it with Ἄνδραπα ἡ καὶ Νεοκλαυδιόπολις, included among

the cities of Paphlagonia by Ptolemy (v 4, 4), and with the Andrapa listed in Helenopontus in Hierocles 701, 7, the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* and Justinian *Novellae* XXVIII *Praef.* This identification is borne out by an inscription found at the neighbouring village of Doyran (*Stud. Pont.* III no. 68), which is dated A.D. 435/6, *ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Παραλίου*, for Paralius, Bishop of Andrapa, was present at the Council of Ephesus in 431 and was represented by a deputy at the Council of Chalcedon in 451; see Mansi *Sacr. Concil. Collectio* IV pp. 1214 D and 1364 C and VI pp. 572 D and 945 B (*Stud. Pont.* III p. 87). As Cumont (*R.E.G.* XIV p. 33) and Anderson (p. 92f.) observed, Andrapa was evidently the name of the settlement *near* *Φαζημὼν κώμη* which Pompey chose as the site of Neapolis and which, as happened elsewhere, afterward resumed its original name. Like other foundations of Pompey, Neapolis was on the line of the great road which connected eastern Pontus with Paphlagonia and Bithynia (see below note 33). The hot springs—the *θερμὰ ὕδατα τῶν Φαζημωνιτῶν* (Strabo XII p. 560)—were identified with those of Havza, 16½ miles southeast of Vezirköprü (Anderson, p. 82), by Hamilton (I p. 333); see also Cuinet *Turquie* I p. 770f.: *Stud. Pont.* I p. 82 and II p. 124f.: G. B. Ravndal *Turkey, a Commercial and Industrial Handbook*, p. 158. An inscription, probably of the second century after Christ (*C.R.A.I.* 1925, p. 35), records the repaving of the thermae and the rebuilding of the aqueduct by an *astynomos*. Dedications to Asclepius and the Nymphs (*Stud. Pont.* III nos. 24-27) attest the gratitude of patients as late as the fourth century after Christ. Laodiceia is not mentioned by any ancient author. Its existence, however, can be inferred with reasonable assurance from the name of the modern settlement Ladik and from coins bearing the usual types of Mithradates Eupator and the legend *Λαοδικείας*; see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 79f. and III p. 33f.: *Receuil* I² p. 114f. (see below note 11). It may have derived its name from either of two Pontic queens called Laodice, the sister-wife of Mithradates IV (see below note 48) and the sister-wife of Mithradates Eupator.

7. Strabo XII p. 555: Pliny *N.H.* XVI 197: Horace *Odes* I 14, 11f. See also Hamilton I p. 334f.: Cuinet I pp. 57f., 630f., 768 and 784: von Flottwell, p. 18: Ravndal, p. 124f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 616. The frequent prohibition of the exportation of ship-timber, as *e.g.* in Macedonia and Athens, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining it in comparatively treeless lands like Egypt were pointed out by E. C. Semple *Geography of the Medit. Region* (London 1932), p. 266f., who also suggested (p. 275) that Miletus may have founded her colonies (Sinope and Amisus) on the Euxine coast partly for the purpose of securing timber for her merchant-marine.

8. For the Chalybes, near the river Thermodon and east of it, see Xenophon *Anab.* V 5, 1: Ps.-Scylax 88: Strabo XII p. 548f.: *Periplus Mar. Eux.* 31: Pliny *N.H.* VI 11: Dionysius Periegetes 768f. and Eustathius's commentary: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*: Valerius Flaccus IV 610f. and V 141f. The statements of Xenophon (*Anab.* IV 7, 15, see also IV 4, 18 and 5, 34f.) that they

lived near the upper Çoruh and of Strabo (XI p. 528) that in the second century before Christ they possessed the region of Caranitis (near Erzurum) were explained by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 15 B) by the supposition that their territory extended in a wide circle from the coast near the Thermodon through Armenia Minor to the sources of the Euphrates (near Erzurum) and the Çoruh. It seems more probable, however, that these statements are due to a confusion with the Chaldaei, who lived in eastern Armenia Minor; see Xenophon *Anab.* IV 3, 4; V 5, 17; *Cyrop.* III 1, 34f.: Strabo XII p. 555. This confusion Strabo (XII p. 549), followed by Eustathius (*l.c.*), tried to correct by the statement that οἱ νῦν Χαλδαῖοι were in ancient times called Chalybes. In Pliny *N.H.* VI 29 these people are called Armenochalybes. For the iron of the Chalybes see Aeschylus *Prom.* 714f.; *Septem* 728f.: Euripides *Alc.* 980 and scholium: Xenophon *Anab.* V 5, 1: Apollonius Rhodius II 374f. and scholium and 1002f.: Catullus 66, 48: Vergil *Georg.* I 58; *Aen.* VIII 421 and X 174: Pliny *N.H.* VII 197: Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 8, 21: Avienus *de Or. Marit.* 947. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 622. The process of extracting the iron (washing and smelting) is described in Ps.-Aristotle *de Mir. Ausc.* 48, p. 833 B. For the Tibareni, east of the Chalybes, and the Mossynoeci, still farther east in the mountains southeast of Trebizond, see Xenophon *Anab.* V 4, 2 and 5, 1f.: Diodorus XIV 30, 5-7: Hecataeus quoted by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Χοιράδες: Ps.-Scylax 86f.: Strabo XII pp. 548 and 555: *Periplus Mar. Eux.* 33 and 35. See also *R.E.* VI A 764 and XVI 377f. The deposits of iron in the mountains south of Ünye (on the coast east of the mouth of the Thermodon) and the method of smelting the ore were described by Hamilton (I p. 274f.). For the iron in this region see also Cuinet I p. 88 and Ravndal, p. 142. For the copper in the territory of the Mossynoeci see Ps.-Aristotle *de Mir. Ausc.* 62, p. 835 A, where it is called λευκότατος and is said to have been melted with "some kind of earth"; the alloy was supposed to have been brass by H. Michell *Economics of Ancient Greece* (1940), p. 118. There are copper-mines south of Tripolis (Tirebolu) and deposits southeast of Cerasus; see Hamilton I p. 259f. and Cuinet I pp. 56f. and 68. In all, Cuinet reported (I p. 17) ten mines of iron and thirty-four mines of copper in the former sandjak of Trebizond; see also Ravndal, p. 138f. Silver-mines, formerly operated, are mentioned by Strabo (XII p. 549), and the name of a place called τὰ Ἀργύρια, twenty stades east of Tripolis (Arrian *Periplus* 16, 4f. Roos and *Periplus Mar. Eux.* 36), suggests that they were in this neighbourhood. Strabo also connected (XII p. 549) the Alybe, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη, of *Iliad* II 857 with Pontus, a view which has met with a wide difference of opinion among scholars, both ancient and modern, but has been revived by M. Cary in *Mélanges G. Glotz* I p. 135f. Hamilton (I p. 259) saw the remains of silver-mines on the west bank of the Harşit Dere, and mines of argentiferous lead are known to exist in this neighbourhood, as well as farther west, in the mountains south of Cotyora (Ordu); see Cuinet I pp. 57 and 80. According to Cuinet (I p. 17), there were 21 mines of argentiferous lead in the sandjak of Trebizond. There are also great deposits of it near Gümüşane, high up in the Paryadres southeast of Trebi-

zond (Hamilton I p. 234f. and Cuinet I p. 126f.), as well as south of the range in the general neighbourhood of Şebin Karahisar (Cuinet I p. 782f., see Ravndal, p. 150). These are probably the mines near Cabeira mentioned in Strabo XII p. 556.

9. For the alum see Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 184. For mines at Şebin Karahisar see Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 297f. and Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 155. For the salt see Strabo XII pp. 546 and 560f. and Cuinet I p. 632f. The salt lakes near Sivas (from which, according to Cuinet, salt is obtained by evaporation) were mentioned by Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III (1893), p. 723.

10. For the land-system in Pontus see Rostovtzeff in *B.S.A.* XXII (1916-18), p. 11 and *C.A.H.* IX p. 214f. It is questionable, however, whether the inference (*C.A.H.* IX p. 215 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 155) that the kingdom was divided into administrative districts called ἐπαρχίαι may be drawn from the statements of Strabo (XII p. 560) that Pompey πολλὰς ἐπαρχίας προσώρισε τῷ τόπῳ (the new *polis* of Zela, see Chap. XV note 35) and that Ateporix's (see Chap. XVIII note 25) μέριδα, οὐ πολλὴν οὖσαν, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι καλουμένην ἐπαρχίαν. The existence in Pontus of a class of nobles or "barons" may be inferred from their apparent importance in the neighbouring Cappadocia (see Chap. IX note 6). There seems to be little reason, however, for supposing with Rostovtzeff (*C.A.H.* IX p. 215 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 576) that Meriones ὁ κύριος at Amaseia (*Stud. Pont.* III no. 95 A) was such a "baron" rather than a commandant of the garrison (see below note 12). For the Asianic village-system see Chap. V notes 69 and 70. According to Strabo (XII p. 555), Mithradates Eupator had 75 strongholds (χωρία). These included, besides Cabeira and Gaziura (see below note 11), the following places known to Strabo: Καινὸν Χωρίον on a high rock "distant less than 200 stades from Cabeira," Mithradates's chief treasure-house (XII p. 556 and Plutarch *Pomp.* 37, 1), identified by de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* V² (1912), p. 135*f. with the ruins of an ancient fortress called Mahalle Kalesi in the Paryadres 15 miles north-northwest of Niksar; Camisa (XII p. 560), above the valley of the upper Halys east of Sivas (see Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III p. 723 and Ruge in *R.E.* X 1841); Cizari and Sagylium (XII p. 560), commanding Phazimonitis (*Stud. Pont.* I pp. 80 and 83); ἐρύματα πλείω (demolished in Strabo's time) in the territory of Amaseia (XII p. 561); Pimolisa (XII p. 562) at Osmancik on the right bank of the lower Halys (*Stud. Pont.* I p. 101f.); Sinoria (see Chap. XV note 9). To these may be added Taulara, where, according to Appian *Mith.* 115, Mithradates had a treasure-house (perhaps near Sivas, see Chap. XIV note 31), and Dadasa (Cassius Dio XXXVI 12, 2f.), possibly the ancient fortress five miles south of Tokat described by Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 243f. For these strongholds see also Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 266. For a list of the known ruins see de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 29f.

11. For Cabeira, refounded and renamed Diospolis by Pompey (see Chap. XV note 35), see Strabo XII 556f. Its situation, described by Strabo as *πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ παρωρείᾳ τοῦ Παρνάδρου* about 150 stades south of Eupatoria-Magnopolis (at the confluence of the Iris and the Lycus, see Chap. XIV note 26), corresponds to that of the modern Niksar, high above the north bank of the Lycus and commanded by a citadel on a spur of the range of the Paryadres, and the identification has been generally accepted; see *e.g.* Hirschfeld in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1882, p. 1091: Munro *ibid.* p. 732 and *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 56f.: Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 57f.: Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 259f. (with a detailed description of the site): R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII. The distance from the confluence of the rivers, at least 25 miles (22.27 miles from Herek [Erbaa], Anderson p. 58), it is true, does not agree with that recorded by Strabo. The identification was rejected by Ruge in *R.E.* X 1397 and XVI 2409f. on the ground that Niksar is evidently the Neocaesareia described by Pliny *N.H.* VI 8 as an *oppidum quod Lycus (praeterfluit)* and that this city is said by Gregory of Nysa (*Vita S. Gregor. Thaumat.* Vol. XLVI p. 897 Migne) to have been founded by a Roman Caesar in person. Ruge pointed out, furthermore, that, according to Strabo (p. 557), Queen Pythodoris (to whom this part of Pontus was assigned by Augustus, see Chap. XX note 52) gave Cabeira-Diospolis the new name of Sebaste, and that the subjects from the legend of Perseus which appear on the coins of Cabeira issued under Mithradates Eupator (*Receuil* I² p. 117f.) are not shown on the coins of Neocaesareia. These arguments, however, are hardly convincing. There is no record of a visit of any of the Julio-Claudian emperors to this part of Pontus, and there is no reason why after Pythodoris's death her city of Sebaste should not have been renamed Neocaesareia—perhaps in A.D. 63, when the kingdom of Pontus Polemoniacus, which included Neocaesareia (Justinian *Novellae* XXVIII *Praef.*), was taken over by Rome (see Chap. XXIII note 62). The earliest known coin of Neocaesareia (*Receuil* I² p. 118, no. 6), moreover, was issued in A.D. 92/3, and it is difficult to see why at this late date the city should have used the coin-types of Mithradates. As yet, no other site has been found which can be regarded as that of Cabeira, and the identification with Niksar, while not certain, seems highly probable. For Gaziura (Turhal) see Strabo XII p. 547: Hamilton I p. 359f.: Munro *ibid.* p. 736: *Stud. Pont.* I p. 69f. For the inscription on the fortress see *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 23, no. 9 and p. 160=*Stud. Pont.* III no. 278 (of about 100 B.C.). For the coins see *Receuil* I² p. 112f. Coins had been issued in Gaziura under Ariarathes, Persian satrap of Cappadocia, about the time of Alexander; see also *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 29. In addition to Cabeira and Gaziura, coins were issued by Mithradates Eupator under the names of the following places also: Amaseia, Comana, Laodiceia, Pharnaceia, Taulara and Pimolisa; see *Receuil* I² pp. 32f., 107f., 114f., 138f., 146 and 193: Head *H.N.*² p. 502: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 157. Jones, observing that these copper coins, like those of Amisus and Sinope also (see *Receuil* I² pp. 63f. and 206f.), are similar in fabric, standard and types, suggested that Mithradates "issued a series of pseudo-civic coins in order to create a good impression in the outside world."

12. For Amaseia (Amasya) and the royal tombs see Strabo XII pp. 547 and 561: Pliny *N.H.* VI 8: Hamilton I p. 366f.: H. Barth in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* III (1860), p. 32f.: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 366f.: A. Struck in *Globus* LXXVII (1900), p. 170f. and *Deutsche Rundschau f. Geogr. u. Stat.* XXII (1900), p. 301f.: Belk in *Verh. d. Berl. Ges. f. Anthropologie, etc.* 1901, p. 461f.: *Stud. Pont.* II p. 148f.: de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 5 and plates I-III. For the garrison see *O.G.I.* 365 = *Stud. Pont.* III no. 94, a dedication in behalf of King Pharnaces (*i.e.* Pharnaces I) by Metrodorus φρουραρ[χήσ]ας. Another commandant (rather than a "baron," see above note 10) was Meriones ὁ κύριος, who gave command to erect a stele on the monument of his follower Pharnabazus; see *Stud. Pont.* III no. 95 a. These men were not necessarily natives of Amaseia, for, as was pointed out by G. T. Griffith *Mercenaries of the Hellenist. World* (Cambridge 1935), p. 186, they may have come from Sinope or some other Greek city. For Zeus Stratius and his sanctuary (at Ebemi, east of Amasya) see Cumont in *Rev. de l'Hist. d. Religions* XLIII (1901), p. 47f. and *Stud. Pont.* II p. 172f. and III p. 150f., who expressed the view (p. 54f.) that the God was probably an ancient local deity, who was transformed by the Greeks into Zeus and by the Persians into Ahura Mazda. Mithradates Eupator offered a ceremonial sacrifice to Zeus Stratius in 82, on the occasion of his defeat of Murena, and again in 73, on setting out for his invasion of Bithynia; see Appian *Mith.* 66 and 70 and above pp. 245 and 324. The sacrifice on the former occasion is said to have been performed ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ, which suggests the site of the sanctuary near Amaseia; Appian, however, adds that the flames were visible to sailors τήλου χιλίων σταδίων, and Cumont, who took this statement literally, expressed the opinion that therefore it must have taken place on some mountain nearer the coast. A νεωκόρος of the God is mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 98/9 found in the ruins of the sanctuary (*Stud. Pont.* III no. 141). For a metrical epitaph in Greek commemorating a man with an Asianic name see *Stud. Pont.* III no. 95 b. Strabo calls Amaseia ἡ ἡμετέρα πατρίς (χώρα, πόλις) in XII pp. 547, 560 and 561. He was born in 64/3 B.C., according to Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 567f., followed by E. Honigmann in *R.E.* IV A 77.

13. For Comana and the possessions of the Temple see Strabo XII p. 557, 559 and 574f.: *Bell. Alex.* 66, 4 (which seems to refer to the Pontic, rather than the Cappadocian, Comana because of the mention of Lycomedes, appointed priest of the former, see Chap. XVII note 21). For the Cappadocian Comana see Chap. IX note 5. For the situation of Comana, near the village of Gümenek on the Iris about six miles northeast of Tokat, see Hamilton I p. 349f.: *Stud. Pont.* I p. 63 and II p. 248f. As Cumont observed (*Stud. Pont.* II pp. 247 and 251), the Temple seems to be represented on coins of Comana of the second and third centuries after Christ (*Receuil* I² p. 109f.) as a tetrastyle building, and the eight great columns of grayish marble which now support the entablature of the mosque at Tokat were probably taken from it. For the cult of Ma see Drexler in Roscher *Lexikon* II 2217f. and A. Hartmann in *R.E.* XIV 77f. The latter pointed out that the

Goddess (originally probably, like the many Μητέρες worshipped in Asia Minor, a goddess of fertility) had a distinct warrior-character; this appears not only from the names Enyo and Bellona to which she was assimilated but also from inscriptions from Comana in Cappadocia and from Edessa in Macedonia, in which she has the epithets Νικηφόρος and Ἀνίκητος, and from the coin of Comana Pontica, issued under Septimius Severus, on which the Goddess is armed with club and shield; see *Receuil* I² p. 109, no. 12. For the claim that Orestes founded the cult see Pausanias III 16, 8 and Cassius Dio XXXVI 11, 1f. The same claim was made by the Cappadocian Comana; see Strabo XII p. 535 and Cassius Dio *l.c.* It was also asserted by Castabala in Cilicia and by various cities in Asia Minor and Greece; see Chap. XI note 35 and Pausanias §7f. In Procopius *Bell. Pers.* I 17, 12f. an attempt was made to reconcile the claims of the two Comanas by the statement that Orestes founded both cults. For the ritual prostitution at Comana see Strabo p. 559. For the practices of the votaries of Bellona in Rome see Tibullus I 6, 43f. While this description is doubtless too highly-coloured, similar orgiastic practices are alluded to briefly by other Roman writers; see Wissowa *Cultus u. Rel. d. Römer*² p. 348f. and Hartmann *ibid.* 80. They were presumably taken from the Pontic and Cappadocian cults.

14. For Zela (Zile) on the Zile Su, which flows into the Iris at Gaziura, see Strabo XI p. 512 and XII p. 559: *Bell. Alex.* 72, 1: Hamilton I p. 361f.: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 378: *Stud. Pont.* I p. 42 and II p. 188f. The fertility of the surrounding country appears from coins issued under Trajan and Caracalla (*Receuil* I² p. 159f., nos. 2 and 16), the former of which shows Anaïtis holding a sheaf of grain, and the latter a sheaf of three ears; see *Stud. Pont.* III p. 234. The continuance of the cult of the Goddess is attested by a coin of A.D. 113/4 inscribed Θεὰ Ἀναΐτις Ζηλειτῶν (*Receuil* I² p. 159, no. 2). For Ameria see Strabo XII p. 557, where the deity is called Μὴν Φαρνάκου; the addition of the name Pharnaces, as in the other cults of Men in Asia Minor where a personal name in the genitive is attached to that of the God, indicates the founder; see Keil-Premerstein II p. 104, followed by Lesky in *R.E.* XV 695. In Syria there are many instances of similar cults in which Θεός is likewise followed by the genitive of a personal name. See *Publications of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Expeditions to Syria* III (Leyden 1921), p. 406f. For the development of temple-villages into towns and even *poleis* see Chap. V note 65. A similar development seems to have taken place at Ameria, for Strabo calls it a κωμόπολις.

15. For these plains see Strabo XII p. 546f. They are described as "park-like" by Nowack in *Geogr. Review* XXI (1931), p. 81f. The grain, according to Pliny *N.H.* XVIII 63, although not exported to Italy, was highly thought of in Greece. Strabo (XII p. 548) includes grapes, pears, apples and nuts among the products of Themiscyra. For "Pontic" nuts see also Athenaeus II 41f., pp. 53 C-D and 54 B: Pliny *N.H.* XV 88f.: *Geoponica* X 73 Beckh: Macrobius *Sat.* III 18, 6f.: Dioscurides I 125: Oribasius *Coll. Med. Reliq.* VIII 47, 20:

Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 611f. Κάρυα Ποντικά appear in the inventories of consignments of merchandise shipped to Alexandria in 259 B.C.; see *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, nos. 59012, l. 48 and 59013, l. 23 and L. C. West in *J. R. S.* VII (1917), p. 52. Hazel-nuts and walnuts are still important products of the region; see Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 105f. The olives of Amisus are mentioned in Strabo II p. 73. For protecting wool by hides see Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* I² (Leipzig 1912), p. 99. For the modern protection of wool in Pontus see Ravndal, p. 108. It was suggested by E. C. Semple (*Geography of the Medit. Region*, p. 661) that the desire to obtain the wool of the Euxine coast for the textile industry of Miletus may have been one of the reasons why the city founded colonies in this region.

16. For the honey see Polybius IV 38, 4: Pliny *N.H.* XI 59; XV 65; XXVII 18. A variety supposed to cause insanity is mentioned in Strabo XII p. 549 and Pliny *N.H.* XXI 77 and 83. The following perfumes and drugs from Pontus are known: amomum (Dioscurides I 15, 1 and Pliny *N.H.* XII 49); a variety of spikenard (Dioscurides I 10f. and Pliny XII 47); acacia (Dioscurides I 101, 4); liquorice (Pliny XXII 24); an inferior variety of mastich (Pliny XII 72 and XIV 128); wormwood (Pliny XI 194; XIV 109; XXVI 91; XXVII 45); hellebore (Pliny XXV 49); aristolochia (Pliny XXV 97). See also Broughton, p. 614f. *Venena* from Pontus are mentioned in Vergil *Buc.* 8, 95f. For the poisons and antidotes of Mithradates Eupator see Celsus V 23, 3 and Galen *de Antid.* II 1f. (XIV p. 107f. Kühn) and Chap. XV note 18.

17. According to the fanciful etymology of the ancient Greek writers the Euxine was originally called Ἄξενος because of the rigour of the winter-climate and the savagery of the Scythians who lived on its shores; see Pindar *Pyth.* IV 203: Euripides *Andr.* 793; *Iph. Taur.* 253 and 341: Apollodorus cited by Strabo VII p. 298f. Apollodorus adds that its name was changed to Εὔξεινος after the Ionian colonies were founded on its coasts.

18. For the situation and history of Sinope (Sinop) see Polybius IV 56, 5f.: Strabo XII p. 545f.: Hamilton I p. 306f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 355: D. M. Robinson in *A.J.P.* XXVII (1906), pp. 125f. and 245f.: F. Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV 1 (1920), p. 30f.: Ruge in *R.E.* III A 252f.: E. Nowack in *Geogr. Review* XXI (1931), p. 80f. For the tradition of an early settlement, attributed to the Assyrians or connected with Autolycus, the follower of Heracles, who was rescued by the Argonauts, see Diodorus IV 72, 2: Ps.-Scylax 89: Scymnus 945: Apollonius Rhodius II 946f.: Strabo *l.c.*: Plutarch *Luc.* 23, 4f.: Avienus *Descr. Orb. Terrae* 1153: Dionysius Periegetes 772f. and 972 and Eustathius's Commentary: Valerius Flaccus V 108f. See also Robinson, p. 145f. For the foundation by Milesians see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 1, 15: Diodorus XIV 31, 2: Strabo *l.c.*: Arrian *Periplus* 14, 5 Roos: Scymnus 947. For the date (Ol. 37, 3 = 630/29 B.C., according to Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 88-9 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 96 Helm) see Beloch *G.G.*² I 2, p. 235.

19. For Poseidon Heliconius as the god of the Ionian Federation see Chap. III note 47; he also had a cult at Miletus itself (Pausanias VII 24, 5). His cult at Sinope is attested both by an inscription (*Syll.*[3] 1017) which specifies the privileges and perquisites of his priest, and by the likeness of the god on a coin of the third century before Christ (*Receuil* I[2] p. 203, no. 48). Apollo—sometimes the god's head only, sometimes his full figure—appears on coins from the third century onward; see *Receuil* I[2] p. 202f., nos. 45f. and 50f. For the colonies see Xenophon *Anab.* IV 8, 22; V 3, 2; 5, 3 and 10: Diodorus XIV 30, 3 and 5; 31, 1: Arrian *Periplus* 16, 4 Roos: Scymnus 911. The foundation of Trapezus was dated in Ol. 6, 1 = 756/5 B.C. by Eusebius (*Chron.* II p. 80 Schöne = p. 182 Karst), but, as Beloch observed (*G.G.*[2] I 2, p. 233), this is obviously too early. The independence of Sinope in the fifth and early fourth centuries is shown both by the tribute received from its colonies (Xenophon *Anab.* V 5, 7 and 10) and by the coins bearing magistrates' names (*Receuil* I[2] p. 197*f.) At the beginning of the fourth century the territory of Sinope included Armene on the peninsula of Lepte, 50 stades west of the city (Xenophon *Anab.* VI 1, 15, see also Strabo XII p. 545), but, as Robinson observed (p. 130, note 4), it may have extended farther west. It did not necessarily include Cytorus, called by Strabo (XII p. 544) *ἐμπόριον ποτὲ Σινωπέων*, since the place may have been merely a trading-station. In the second century after Christ the city's territory extended eastward as far as the Halys; see Arrian *Periplus* 15, 1 Roos = *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 25. For Datames's attempt to capture the city see Polyaenus VII 21, 2 and 5 and Aeneas Tacticus 40, 4. He seems later to have occupied it, for his name appears on its coins; see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 508 and *Receuil* I[2] p. 199*f., no. 21 b. Coins dated by the editors of *Receuil* I[2] (p. 200*f.) in 360-320 (?) bear the names of magistrates who were Greeks, but others dated about 340-330 (p. 197**f.) show the names of the Persian satraps Abd Sasan or Susin (Sysinas, son of Datames, according to J. P. Six in *Num. Chron.* XIV [1894], p. 302f.) and Ariarathes, both written in Aramaic; see also Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 9f. The statement of Arrian (*Anab.* III 24, 4) that the envoys of Sinope to Darius were sent to their home by Alexander on the ground that the Sinopeans were *ὑπὸ Πέρσαις τεταγμένοι* shows that the city was at least nominally subject to the Persians.

20. For the importance of the trade of the Euxine with the Aegean see Polybius IV 38, 3f. Robinson pointed out (*ibid.* p. 134f.) many instances in which distances of places on the coast are reckoned from Sinope and emphasized the commercial relations which the city carried on with the western end of the Euxine and with Greece. Leaf in *J.H.S.* XXXVI (1916), p. 3f., on the ground that the roads connecting Sinope with the interior were so difficult as to preclude all trade with the back-country, went so far as to maintain that the city's trade was altogether by sea; but see below note 21. For the timber (see above note 7) see Strabo XII p. 546 and Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* IV 5, 5. For the finer woods see Strabo *l.c.*, where the word *ὀροκάρνον*, because of the inexactness of the ancient terminology

(see Hehn *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere*,[7] p. 387f.), may mean either walnut or chestnut. In modern times chestnut wood as well as walnut is cut on the mountains south of Sinope; see Cuinet IV p. 568. For maple furniture see Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* II p. 247f. For the nuts (see above note 15) from Sinope see Athenaeus II 43, p. 54 D. At present the walnuts of the region are shipped from Samsun (Amisus); see Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 106. For the olives see Strabo II p. 73 and XII p. 546. For the mullets see Athenaeus III 87, p. 118 C and VII 77, p. 307 B. For the tunny see Strabo VII p. 320 and XII p. 545. For the tunny-fishing in the Euxine see also Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* VIII 13, p. 598: Pliny *N.H.* IX 47f.: Aelian *Hist. Anim.* IX 42: Steier in *R.E.* VI A 724f. and 730: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 626. For the fishing in the Bosporus and at Heracleia see Chap. XIII notes 7 and 24. For the prices which the salted fish from the Euxine commanded in Rome see Polybius XXXI 25, 5f. (24, 3) and Diodorus XXXVII 3, 5f.

21. The existence of an ancient route across Asia Minor has been inferred from the statements of Herodotus (I 72 and II 34, repeated in Ps.-Scylax 102) that for an εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί the ἰθέα ὁδός from the Cilician coast to Sinope was five days' journey; see Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.*[2] III p. 416, note 3 and Ruge in *R.E.* III A 255. The distance, however, in an air-line across the "isthmus" from Issus to Sinope was estimated by Apollodorus (Strabo II p. 68 and XIV p. 677) as 3000 stades (it is actually about 3200), and as Herodotus reckoned (IV 101) an ordinary day's march at 200 stades, it seems evident that he had no knowledge of the distance involved, and consequently it is dangerous to infer from his statements that this route existed. There was, however, a route of great importance which led from the Euphrates at Izoli through Pontus to the mouth of the Halys (see below note 25). It has sometimes been held that the cliffs on the coast prevented traffic by land between the delta of the Halys and Sinope, and that the city was cut off from the interior; see Leaf in *J.H.S.* XXXVI (1916), p. 3f. and Nowack *ibid.* p. 81. Ramsay, on the other hand, went too far in his belief (*J.H.S.* III [1882], p. 260f.) that the commerce carried on in early times between Phrygia and Greece passed through Sinope. While the terrain between Sinope and the delta of the Halys is undoubtedly difficult, an ancient route connecting the former with the Halys and Amisus appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 644), and the modern route from Sinop to Bafra (at the mouth of the Halys) is described in Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 11. A connexion between Sinope and the interior in early times is shown also by the exportation of "Sinopic miltos" (see below note 22), which was brought overland from Cappadocia. Leaf's argument that the envoys of Sinope advised Xenophon (*Anab.* V 6, 7f.) not to march along the coast is not convincing; for the purpose of this advice was not to make the Greeks' journey easier but to keep them out of Sinope's territory, as indeed one of them suspected (§11). For the Euxine coast road leading westward from Sinope see Chap. XIII note 25; two milestones of Probus were found together 14 hours west of the city; see *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 329, no. 78, with corrections in X (1906), p. 433, and *A.J.P.* XXVII (1906), p. 449,

no. 3, the former being no. XXXII from Sinope. Sinope was also connected with the interior by a route which led southward over the mountains into the valley of the Amnias (*Itin. Rom.* 670). For milestones of Vespasian, Carus and Diocletian (no. XXXV) see *A.J.A.* IX p. 327f., nos. 75-77. This route was used by Hamilton (I p. 314f.) from Sinop to Boyabat; see also Murray *ibid.* p. 11. It was described by Nowack (p. 81) as "comparatively good but little used."

22. Μίλτος Σινωπική or Σινωπίς; see Strabo III p. 144; XII p. 540 (=Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 1166): Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 52: Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 31, 36 and 50: Dioscurides V 96: Isidore *Origg.* XIX 17. It has sometimes been believed to be cinnabar, *e.g.* by Leaf *ibid.* p. 10f. and by Ramsay in *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 378; it is much more probable, however, that it was red ochre (clay coloured by ferric oxide), which is said to be found in Cappadocia; see Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* IV p. 480f.: M. Stephanides Ὀρυκτολογία τοῦ Θεοφράστου (Athens 1896), p. 163f.: K. C. Bailey *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects* (New York 1929f.) II pp. 79f. and 208f. For its use in medicine see also Celsus V 6, 1; 19, 21; VI 6, 19 *et al.*: *Pap. Soc. Ital.* X 1180, l. 55. Μίλτος Σιν[ωπική] appears in a list of painting-materials in *Pap. Cairo Zenon*, no. 59767.

23. An inscription, evidently of the Hellenistic period (*A.J.A.* IX [1905], p. 312f., no. 40), mentions fourteen πρυτάνεις holding office for the month Panemus, one of whom acted as ἐπιστ[άτ]ης of the Council and another as *grammateus*. The civic administration, therefore, was carried on, as at Miletus in the early fourth century and also at Athens, by committees of the Council serving for one month; see Chap. III note 18. The inscription begins ν[ο]μοφυλακ[οῦ]ντ[ο]ς τοῦ δεῖνα, which suggests that the *nomophylax* was the eponymous official. The ἀστυνόμος appears on handles of amphorae; see *A.J.A.* IX p. 294f. The independence of Sinope is shown also by a decree of Histiaea on Euboea (*I.G.* XII 9, 1186), renewing the "friendship" between the two cities and granting privileges to resident Sinopeans. For the threatened attack of Mithradates II and the purchase of supplies in Rhodes see Polybius IV 56, 1f., where it is recorded that the Rhodians voted a credit of 140,000 drachmae, which was expended by commissioners appointed by them for the purpose. Rostovtzeff suggested (*Hellenist. World*, p. 1485, note 92) that this credit was not a gift but a loan. The friendship with Rhodes seems to be expressed also by a coin of Sinope of the third century which bears the head of the Sun-God (*Receuil* I² p. 203, no. 46 and note 1). Friendly relations with the Coans are shown by a decree (unpublished) of Sinope found on Cos in honour of an envoy who had aided and encouraged the citizens at this time; see Herzog in *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 198 and *A.M.* XXX (1905), p. 182. The frequently-repeated story of the bringing of a statue of Serapis from Sinope to Alexandria under Ptolemy I or II (see Roeder in *R.E.* I A 2404) suggests, as Rostovtzeff observed (*ibid.* p. 593), that the city maintained good relations with Egypt.

24. For Amisus (Samsun) see Hamilton I p. 290f.: Cuinet I p. 101: Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 112f.: K. Lehmann-Hartleben *Die Ant. Hafenanlagen = Klio Beih.* XIV p. 242f.: Nowack, p. 83. According to Theopompus quoted in Strabo XII p. 547 = frg. 389 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 614), Amisus was settled first by Milesians, then by a Cappadocian leader (whose name has been lost from the text), and thirdly by Athenians under Athenocles, who gave the city its new name. According to Scymnus 917f., it was a colony of Phocaea, founded four years earlier than Heracleia. For the date of its foundation see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} I 2, p. 235. The Athenian colonization is also recorded by Plutarch *Luc.* 19, 6: Appian *Mith.* 8 and 83: Arrian *Periplus* 15, 3 Roos; it is attested by the legend Πειραιέων which appears (in various abbreviations), together with the Athenian owl, on coins of the fourth century (*Receuil* I^{2} p. 54). These coins bear also the names of magistrates. For the subjection of Amisus to the Persians see Appian *Mith.* 83. It seems to have been held, like Sinope (see above note 19), by Datames; see Polyaenus VII 21, 1 = Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II 23, p. 1350 B and Judeich *Kleinasiat. Studien*, p. 194, note 2. For the restoration of the "democracy" by Alexander see Appian *Mith.* 8 and 83. An ἀστυνόμος of the city appears on a brick, probably of the Hellenistic period (*Stud. Pont.* III no. 1 c).

25. This route from the Euxine coast to the crossing of the Euphrates at Izoli (see Chap. II note 17 and Chap. IX note 16) has through the ages been one of the great trade-routes of Asia Minor. For the modern route from Samsun *via* Kavak, Havza, Amasya, Turhal (Gaziura) and Tokat (Dazimon) to Sivas (Sebasteia) in the valley of the upper Halys see Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III (1893), p. 735f. and Murray's *Handbook*, p. 38f. The road from Amisus to Amaseia and thence to Zela (see below), now paralleled by a railway, was regarded by Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 54f. as the commercial highway of ancient Pontus and likened to the "alimentary canal of the national body." Leading southwest from Samsun, the road, like the modern highway, crossed the coast-range to Kavak (about 25 miles from Samsun), near which have been found the remains of an ancient fort and a milestone with an inscription of the sons of Constantine; see von Flottwell in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXIV (1895), p. 15f.: A. Struck in *Deutsche Rundschau f. Geogr. u. Stat.* XXII (1900), p. 245f.: Grégoire in *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 10: *C.I.L.* III 12161 = 14184.[18] South of Kavak, where there are traces of its ancient course (*Stud. Pont.* I p. 50 and II p. 123), the road joined the great east-west route of Pontus (see below note 33), leading east to Laodiceia (see above note 6) and west to Therma Phazimonitarum (Havza, see above note 6). From Laodiceia a road leads across the mountains to Amaseia. The principal route, however, in Antiquity, as also in modern times, led by way of Therma, where, leaving the trunk-route, it ran southward down the long narrow valley of the Tersakan Su and along the eastern edge of the plain of Sulu Ova (Chiliocomum, see above note 5), where, at Alevi, there is a milestone of Diocletian (*C.I.L.* III 14184^{22}). At the southern end of the plain the road is joined by the route from Laodiceia, and from here it

runs southeast along the Tersakan Su to the junction of this stream with the Iris, which it crosses by a bridge whose foundations are ancient (see Strabo XII p. 561 and *Stud. Pont.* II p. 147f.) to Amaseia. At Amaseia there is a milestone of Nerva (*C.I.L.* III 6896). South of Amaseia, the road to Zela continues southward along the Iris, while the route leading to Turhal and Tokat diverges to the east. Near the point of divergence a milestone of the emperor Carus was found; see *Stud. Pont.* II p. 185. For the ancient road to Zela, continuing on to Sebastopolis, see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 267: Cumont in *C.R.A.I.* 1905, p. 348f. and *Stud. Pont.* II pp. 186f. and 194f. For Sebastopolis (Sulusaray), perhaps originally Carana, see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 34 and II p. 201f. and Ruge in *R.E.* II A 956. For a milestone with inscriptions of Severus and Diocletian at Zela see Grégoire, p. 27, and for milestones between Zela and Sebastopolis, no. VII (from Zela) and no. V (from Sebastopolis), both of Severus Alexander, see Cumont *ll. cc.* A road from Sebastopolis to Sebasteia (Sivas) is listed twice in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (205 and 214), with the intermediate stations Verisa and Siara(?). Of these, Verisa was placed at Balus, in the Art Ova south of Tokat, by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 329), followed in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 37f. and II p. 238 and by de Jerphanion in *Byz. Ztschr.* XX (1911), p. 496, and Siara at Yenihan (Yıldızeli), northwest of Sivas, by Ramsay (p. 262), followed in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 39 and II p. 215 and by Honigmann in *R.E.* II A 2068. Between Yenihan and Sivas there are remains of an ancient bridge over the Kavak Çay; see Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 215f. and de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 42.

The other and, at least in mediaeval and modern times, much the more important route from Amasya to Sivas, after diverging from the Zela road south of Amasya, runs due east through Ezine Pazar, where there is an old khan (de Jerphanion *ibid.* p. 56). Then, turning south through the defile of Çengel Boğaz, it rejoins the Iris. The remains of an old bridge at the entrance to the gorges of the river six km. below Turhal suggest that the road crossed the Iris here and led up the southern bank to Turhal; see de Jerphanion *ibid.* p. 36. For a milestone at Turhal see *C.I.L.* III 14184[18]. From Turhal to Tokat the modern highway, without touching the former, leads eastward along the northern bank of the Iris. It is probable that in Antiquity also the road followed this bank as far as Çerçi (on the southern bank some seven miles west of Tokat), where remains of an ancient bridge over the Iris, found by de Jerphanion (*Byz. Ztschr.* XX p. 496f. and *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII p. 43), show that the road crossed the river here. From this point a road led up the river to Tokat, where there are three milestones, evidently not *in situ*; see *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 223, note 1 (no. II of Nerva or Trajan) and *C.I.L.* III 307 and 12157. Thence it ran northeastward to Comana, where it crossed the Iris by a bridge, and then led over the mountains to the valley of the Lycus and Niksar (Cabeira, later Neocaesareia, see above note 11); see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 63f. and II p. 247f. and for milestones see *R.E.G.* XV (1902), p. 312, no. 1 (Comana) and p. 333, no. 53 (Dönekse, no. VI, evidently from Neocaesareia) and *C.I.L.* III 12155 and 12156 (Omala); see also Munro, p. 732f. and Murray, p. 46f.

From Comana a road leading to Nicopolis (see below note 33) appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 675); none of the intermediate stations can be identified. This probably corresponded to the modern route, which, after running for some distance high above the southern bank of the upper Iris, crossed the river by a bridge, remains of which are visible, and led high above the northern bank, eventually reaching the plain of Endires; see Jalabert in *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] (1908), p. 445f. and Grégoire, p. 31.

The main road to Sivas seems to have led from the bridge at Çerçi due south over the pass of Çaput Bel, some distance west of the course of the modern highway, to Balus in the Art Ova; traces of its course and the ruins of two old khans were found by de Jerphanion (*Byz. Ztschr.* xx p. 496f. and *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII pp. 43 and 61f.). If Balus may be identified with Verisa (see above) the road from Sebastopolis joined the route from Çerçi here. In any case, a milestone of Hadrian in the Art Ova a short distance east of Balus (*R.E.G.* XVII [1904], p. 334) shows that this was the course of the ancient road, which, therefore, led south over the pass of Çamlibel (questioned by Munro, p. 735) to Yenihan (Siara(?), see above) and Sivas. For the modern road leading southeast from Sivas over the pass of Deliktaş, in the range which formed the southern boundary of Pontus (see above note 4), and *via* Kangal to Melitene (Eski Malatya, some six miles north of Malatya) see Munro, p. 720f. and Murray, p. 264. This route appears in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (176f.) with the following intermediate stations: Blandos, Euspena (perhaps Kangal, see Ruge in *R.E.* VI 1446), Aranis, Ad Praetorium, Pisonos; see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 275: K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 683f.: Ruge in *R.E.* X 1916. A milestone, probably of Constantius II (*C.I.L.* III 13642, perhaps=6893), has been found near the bridge over the Tohma Su north of Melitene. From Melitene eastward to Izoli the distance is about twenty miles (see Chap. II note 17).

26. For tables showing the exports and imports of the two cities in modern times see Cuinet I p. 94f. (Samsun) and IV p. 585 (Sinop). The contrast between the two ports has recently become even more marked, for Nowack (pp. 81 and 83) described Sinop as "almost depopulated" and Samsun as "on its way to becoming the most important port of the entire Black Sea coast of Anatolia." See also Ravndal, p. 17. For the exports of Amisus in Antiquity see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* IV 5, 5 and above note 7 (timber): Ps.-Aristotle *de Mir. Ausc.* 48, p. 833 B (steel): Pliny *N.H.* XXXVII 115 (a variety of *iaspis*): Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 593 (pottery).

27. For Mithradates II and Sinope see above note 23. We have no definite knowledge of any attempt actually made by this monarch, for the statements that Sinope was taken by "the kings" (Strabo XII p. 547) and by *οἱ Ποντικοί* (Appian *Mith.* 83) are too general. Nor may it be inferred from the statement of Memnon 24 (see above p. 189f.) that the grain presented to Mithradates II by Heracleia was shipped to Amisus that the city was subject to him.

28. For the boundaries of Paphlagonia see Strabo XII pp. 541, 544, 562f. and 566: Arrian *Periplus* 14 Roos: *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 13. In Xenophon *Anab.* V 5, 6f. and VI 1, 1f. the district seems to be regarded as extending as far east as Cotyora in Pontus. In Roman times it included the region of Phazimonitis, east of the Halys, where the Phazimonitae took the oath of allegiance to Augustus exacted from the Paphlagonians (see above note 6). On the west, Paphlagonia was separated from Bithynia by the massifs of Meğri Dağ and (farther south) Ala Dağ. For a description of the latter and especially its highest peak (Köroglu, 7500 ft. in height) see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXXV (1898), p. 50f. and R. Leonhard *Paphlagonia* (Berlin 1915), p. 13f. On the south the boundary probably corresponded in general to the ranges of Kös Dağ, Gülek Dağ (Leonhard, p. 68f.) and (farther southwest) Aydos Dağ (Leonhard, pp. 61 and 115f.), which form the southern watershed of the Devrek Çay, and (farther west) the Aluç Dağ (Leonhard, p. 9f.). Paphlagonia, however, did not lie wholly north of this boundary, for the city of Gangra, the capital of its kings, lay south of the watershed (see below note 32). For the coast-range south of Inebolu (Abonuteichus) see Leonhard, p. 84f. and for the section farther east see von Flottwell *ibid.* p. 25f.

29. For general descriptions of the formation of Paphlagonia see G. Hirschfeld in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1882, p. 1090 and Nowack, p. 71f. The valley of the Amnias (Gök Irmak) eastward from Kastamonu to Taş Köprü (Pompeiopolis) and from Boyabat to its junction with the Halys was described by Ainsworth (*Travels* I p. 84f.), and from Kastamonu to Boyabat by Leonhard (pp. 74, 79f. and 127f.); that of the Devrek Çay by Ainsworth (II p. 35f.), by von Flottwell (p. 9f., from Tosya to its junction with the Halys) and by Leonhard (pp. 62f., 69 and 122f.); see also Nowack, p. 91. For the range of Olgassys (Strabo XII p. 562 and Ptolemy V 4, 3), the modern Ilgaz Dağ, see Leonhard, pp. 70f. and 125, and Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2474. For Καστάμων (Kastamonu) see Ephraemius Monachus ll. 3865 and 3890 (p. 164f. Bonn): Cinnamus 1 5-6 (p. 13f. Bonn): Ramsay *H.G.* p. 65f. and p. 320f., note ‡: Leonhard, pp. 73 and 131. For the gorge of the Filyos Çay (Billaeus) below its junction with the Araç Çay see Nowack, p. 86f. The situation of Timonitis is uncertain. According to Strabo XII p. 562 it was ὅμορος τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ. The statement of Memnon (37, 2) that Mithradates marched through it on his way from Pontus to Galatia can hardly be correct, and the location ὑπὸ τοὺς Χαλκηδονίους assigned to it by Ptolemy (V 1, 3) is evidently wrong. It was placed by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 3 A) in southwestern Paphlagonia, east of the Ala Dağ; the northern part of this region, the plateau south of the Ulu Çay (the upper Billaeus), was described by Leonhard (p. 11f.) and the country farther east by Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), p. 62f. Leonhard (p. 349) placed it in the valley of the upper Araç Çay.

30. For the timber see Strabo XII pp. 545 and 546: Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 15, 5: Pliny *N.H.* XVI 71: Catullus 4, 11f. See also above note 7

and Broughton, p. 616. For descriptions of the forests see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 65 (the region north of Gerede): von Flottwell, p. 25f. (south and southeast of Sinope): Leonhard, p. 84 (southwest of Inebolu). For the realgar see Strabo XII p. 562 and Vitruvius VII 7, 5. See also Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV 177: Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 51: Dioscurides V 105: Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* IV p. 484: Broughton, p. 623. It was pointed out by T. L. Shear in *A.J.A.* XXXII (1928), p. 331f. and Kroll in *R.E.* XV 1851 that the name of the mineral, *σανδαράκη*, was connected with that of the port of Sandarace on the Euxine coast east of the river Oxinas (Arrian *Periplus* 13 Roos and *Periplus Mar. Eux.* 13), which was identified by von Diest (*ibid.* p. 77f.) with Zonguldak. Though in actual distance this was much farther than Sinope from the mines, it was more convenient for exportation, since it could be reached by the road leading from the valley of the Amnias to that of the Araç Çay (see below note 33), whereas the road from the Amnias (at Boyabat) to Sinope led over the coast-range (see above note 21). The difficulty of crossing the coast-range (back of Inebolu) was observed by Leonhard (p. 85).

31. For Abonuteichus (Inebolu) see Strabo XII p. 545, where it is called a *πολίχνιον*: Arrian *Periplus* 14 Roos: *Periplus Mar. Eux.* 19 (where *τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Ἰωνόπολιν* appears to be added). For its situation see G. Hirschfeld in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 886 and Leonhard, p. 86f. A decree of the *φράτορες* of the place, on motion of a *ἱερατεύων* in 137 B.C., honoured a *στρατηγὸς τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ*; see *R.E.G.* XVII (1904), p. 252=*Num. Chron.* V (1905), p. 114 and below note 35. For the coins see *Receuil* I² p. 167*f. A coin issued under Mithradates Eupator (no. 1) is inscribed *Ἀβωνουτείχου*, those of Trajan, Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius (nos. 2-10) *Ἀβωνοτειχειτῶν*, and those from M. Aurelius through the third century (nos. 11-20) *Ἰωνοπολειτῶν*.

32. For Gangra (Çankırı) see Strabo XII p. 562, where it is called a *πολισμάτιον ἅμα καὶ φρούριον* and said to contain the royal residence of Morzius (see below note 40). For its situation on the Karakaya Su (Çankırı Çay), which flows southward from the range of Gülek Dağ and then eastward into the Halys, see von Flottwell, p. 38f.: Leonhard, p. 66: Nowack, p. 92. It was famous for its apples (Athenaeus III 23, p. 82 c). A road connecting it with Pompeiopolis in the valley of the Amnias appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX 4-5, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 670). Ancient pavement on the northern side of the Gülek Dağ, south of Ilgaz in the valley of the Devrek, which was seen by Leonhard (p. 121), was perhaps on this road; there are also remains of an ancient town at Cendere near Ilgaz (Leonhard, pp. 122 and 344). Gangra was also connected with Ancyra in Galatia, evidently by a route corresponding to the modern road; see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 10 and Leonhard, p. 57f. For milestones see *C.I.L.* III 13645 (Hadrian?), 13646 (Caracalla?) and 14184[58] (Hadrian, no. XL); see also von Flottwell, p. 42, who reported remains of a Roman road.

33. For the road leading from the Propontis to the pass of Köroglu Derbent, north of the Ala Dağ (see above note 28) and regarded as the frontier of Paphlagonia, see Chap. XIII note 11. East of this pass was Crateia (modern Gerede), which was refounded by Vespasian as Flaviopolis (see Chap. XXIV note 11). In this neighbourhood the two routes through Paphlagonia to the Halys diverged. The more southerly, leading apparently east from Gerede to Bayındır, is marked by a milestone with an illegible inscription found between the two places (*C.I.L.* III 344). This seems to be the road which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX) with the following stations east of Crateia: Manoris (perhaps at Doğancılar, south of Lake Çaga, west of Crateia, see *R.E.* XIV 1231), Potomia Cepora, Antoniopolis, Anadynata, Gangaris, with branches leading, respectively, to Pompeiopolis and to Otresa, Virasia and Amaseia. This route apparently corresponds to the "old post-road to Bagdad," leading from Gerede through Bayındır, Çerkeş, Karacaviran, Ilgaz and thence down the Devrek to the Halys, which it crosses at Osmancik, a short distance above its junction with the Devrek; see Ainsworth *Travels* II p. 35f. and Murray's *Handbook*, p. 11f. Of the intermediate stations, only Gangaris, evidently Gangra, can be identified, and this does not lie on the "post-road"; it is highly probable, therefore, that the place was reached by a branch-road, perhaps, as in modern times (see Murray, p. 12), from Karacaviran. Attempts have been made to place the other stations at existing towns along the "post-road"; see R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 3 A: K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 668: Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), p. 100 (whose identifications are wholly misleading). Since little reliance, however, can be placed on the distances between them which are given in the *Tabula*, and since the only known ancient remains appear to be those of an amphitheatre at Çerkeş (see Leonhard, p. 97), these identifications are very uncertain. From the crossing of the Halys the road probably led eastward to the Sulu Ova, where it joined the trade-route from Amisus to Amaseia, and thence by way of Sıvas to the Euphrates (see above note 25).

The more northerly road leading from the neighbourhood of Crateia through central Paphlagonia to the Halys was evidently a highway of importance in the first century before Christ, when it was used by Nicomedes IV of Bithynia in his invasion of Paphlagonia and by Mithradates Eupator when, coming from Pontus with a large army (including scythed chariots), he marched up the valley of the Amnias and, after defeating Nicomedes near Taş Köprü, advanced into Bithynia (see Chap. IX note 25). The section of this road which led eastward from the Halys through Pontus to Armenia, described by Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 54f. as "the grand trunk road" of Pontus and likened to the "spinal cord" of the kingdom, was regarded as a thoroughfare of great military importance by the Roman emperors, of whom no less than twelve have left inscriptions on the milestones along its course. Unfortunately, our sources for the march of Mithradates yield no information for its course west of Pompeiopolis, for Mt. Scorobas, described in Appian *Mith.* 19 as the boundary between the Bithynians and the Ποντικὴ χώρα, cannot be identified; see Ruge in

R.E. III A 584. The ancient itineraries, moreover, contain no information about this road, and no milestones have been found in the section west of the Halys. We are forced, therefore, to depend for our knowledge of its course through Paphlagonia on what may be inferred from modern routes and the physical geography of the country and on travellers' records of the remains of ancient roads and bridges. In general, the Paphlagonian section seems to have corresponded to the modern route leading from Gerede by way of Safranbolu, Kastamonu and the valley of the Amnias through Taş Köprü and Boyabat to the Halys; see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 6f. The ancient road seems to have diverged from this route near Lake Çaga (west of Gerede), on the northern, as well as the southern, side of which there are remains of ancient buildings (Anton, p. 79). North of the lake, traces of a road in the valley of the Çaga Çay and a bridge across this stream and further traces in the valley of the Mengen Çay (a tributary of the Çaga Çay) suggest that this was the course of the road (von Diest *ibid.* p. 64 and Anton, pp. 75 and 93), which then crossed the watershed into the plain of Viranşehir (Leonhard, p. 246). Here Hadrian founded the city of Hadrianopolis, which replaced the older community of the Caesareis (see Chap. XXVI note 23), and which, it may be assumed, was on this road. Northeast of the plain, the ruins of a fort on the stream of Viranşehir (Anton, p. 74) indicate that the road passed this way. North of this fort it probably avoided the ravine of Kilise Boğaz (Anton, pp. 66 and 73 and Leonhard, p. 145), through which the stream flows, and soon afterward it crossed the Billaeus, probably in the neighbourhood of Aktaş (on the southern bank), near which are the ruins of a fort and stumps of columns (Anton, p. 72). In the hill-country on the northern side are rock-cut tombs and other ancient remains (Leonhard, pp. 142f. and 335f.). Here, in the neighbourhood of Safranbolu (where inscriptions have been found, see *B.C.H.* XXI [1897], p. 92f. and XXV [1901], p. 30f.), near the junction of the Billaeus and the Araç Çay, the road reached the latter and, turning to the east, like the modern highway, ran up the broad valley of this river. A well-preserved bridge over the Eflani Su, a tributary of the Araç (Anton, p. 71), seems to show its course. From here to Taş Köprü no ancient remains have been found, but it may be assumed that the road led up the valley of the Araç to the head-waters of the river and thence over the watershed to Kastamonu (see above note 29), whence it followed the Amnias eastward to the Halys. An ancient settlement at Ispiroglu and a bridge in the narrows of the Amnias between Taş Köprü and Boyabat (Leonhard, p. 80) were on its course. Running along the left bank of the Halys, it crossed the river above Çeltek (at the entrance to the great gorge in which the Halys breaks through the coast-range, see above note 3), where there are the ruins of an ancient bridge; see Hamilton I p. 326 and Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 85.

East of the Halys, in marked contrast to the Paphlagonian section, numerous milestones have been found, which, even though they are not all *in situ*, give a clear indication of the line of the road. For its course between the Halys and Niksar (Neocaesareia, see above note 11) see Anderson,

p. 73f. (where it is described in the reverse direction). Between the Halys and Vezirköprü (Neapolis, see above note 6), at Incesu, six miles from the latter, a group of milestones was found; see *C.I.L.* III 14184[33] (Nerva), 14184[34] (no. VIII, evidently from Neapolis, Severus), 14184[35] (Probus) and 14184[36] (Constantius I). About three miles farther on, at Gerizli, there is a milestone (no. VIII of Antoninus Pius); see *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 14, evidently not *in situ*. For milestones at Vezirköprü or in the immediate neighbourhood see *C.I.L.* III 14184[28] (=*I.G.R.* III 138, no. VII, Hadrian), 14184[29] (Diocletian), 14184[30] (Severus Alexander), 14184[31] (Constantine) and 14184[32] (no. I, Nerva). From Neapolis the road continued southeastward through Phazimonitis, past the hot springs at Havza; for milestones see *C.I.L.* III 14184[25] (Decius), 14184[26] (Antoninus Pius), 14184[27] (no. VII, eastward from Neapolis, Severus Alexander): Grégoire in *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 14f. (no. IX). For milestones at Havza see *C.I.L.* III 12158 (Nerva), 12159 (no. XVI, Nerva), 12160 (=*I.G.R.* III 145, no. XVI, Hadrian); the last two have been brought to Havza from Susuz(?), two miles to the northwest and sixteen Roman miles from Vezirköprü (see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 82). East of Havza the road coincided for some distance with the great route from Amisus to Amaseia (see above note 25); from this section come the milestones *C.I.L.* III 6895 (no. XXIII, Diocletian) and 14184[24] (no. XXIII, Constantine?). East of Laodiceia (see above note 6) and Lake Stiphane the road, crossing the watershed, led down the left bank of the Destek Çay (see *Stud. Pont.* I p. 78) and crossed the united Lycus and Iris just below the junction of the two rivers, where there are the substructures of an ancient bridge (*Stud. Pont.* I p. 75f.). From the junction, where Pompey founded the city of Magnopolis (see Chap. XV note 35), it led to the southeast up the right bank of the Lycus to Neocaesareia. On this section was found a milestone, *C.I.L.* III 14184[23] (no. XXIII, evidently from Neocaesareia, Nerva or Trajan), and at Neocaesareia itself is *C.I.L.* III 14184[19] (Constantine).

For the course of the road from Neocaesareia eastward see Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III p. 728f. and Cumont in *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 221 and *Stud. Pont.* II p. 273f. It continued up the right bank of the Lycus, where the remains of its dyke have been preserved, but about 30 miles from Niksar the ruins of a Roman bridge show that it crossed to the left bank; see Munro, p. 730. Some 35 miles farther on, it left the Lycus, and, crossing a low watershed, traversed the plain of Endires, where Pompey founded his city of Nicopolis, whose site has been fixed at Pürk, near the southwestern corner of the plain; see Chap. XV notes 7 and 35. A milestone on the northern side of the plain, about five miles northeast of Pürk, shows the course of the road; see Grégoire, p. 37. From Nicopolis a road ran southward, perhaps to Zara (see Munro, p. 54), as is shown by a milestone (*C.I.L.* III 6057=12154, no. VII, Hadrian) found about six miles south of Pürk. Grégoire, however, suggested (*ibid.* p. 38f.) that this road joined the route from Satala to Melitene (see below). From Nicopolis to Satala (Sadak, near the head-waters of the Lycus, see Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 343f. and Ruge in *R.E.* II A 59) the *Itinerarium*

Antonini shows two routes. The shorter (*It. Ant.* 183=207, 100 Roman miles), which appears in an imperfect form on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 675) has the stations Nicopolis, Olotoaelariza, ad Dracones, Haza, Satala. The longer (*ibid.* 215-16, 122 miles) shows the stations Nicopolis, Olotoedariza, Carsais, Auraracos, Soissa, Satala. One of these was evidently the road leading in a direction south of east from the plain of Endires marked by the milestones found, respectively, at Sevindik (no. XVI, evidently from Nicopolis, with an illegible inscription) and Ağvanis (Valentinian and Valens); see Cumont, p. 319f. and Grégoire, pp. 33 and 36. As the distance from Pürk to Ağvanis corresponds closely to that from Nicopolis to Olotoedariza (24 miles), the latter was placed at Ağvanis by Cumont (p. 320f.), who regarded this as the point of divergence of the two routes, supposing that the shorter led along the Çobanlı Su and across the mountains to the Lycus and Satala, and that the longer, turning toward the south, led up the Belgazi Çay and by way of Refahiye and Melik Şerif, which he identified with Carsais, and thence over the pass of Çardaklı Bel to the Euphrates near Erzincan, whence it ran north to Satala. These identifications were questioned by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 16 B), but milestones found, respectively, at Sibdi(kin?) in the valley of the Belgazi Çay (Cumont *ibid.* p. 324 and *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 221, note 3, no. XLV, evidently from Nicopolis, with inscriptions of Domitian? and Hadrian) and at Melik Şerif (*C.I.L.* III 306=Dessau 8904, no. III of Vespasian) and the remains of ancient forts on both sides of the pass (*Stud. Pont.* II p. 332f.) seem to show that this was the course of the road. As Carsais appears also (as Carsaga) on the road (*Itin. Ant.* 207f.) from Satala to Melitene, it was evidently the point of divergence for the road which led southward along the bank of the Euphrates. For this route see Yorke in *Geogr. Journ.* VIII (1896), p. 465f. A bridge *su[p(er)] flumini Sabrinae* (Karabudak Su) has an inscription of Decius (*J.H.S.* XVIII [1898], p. 320, no. 34=*C.I.L.* III 13644).

34. For the kings of Pontus see Ed. Meyer *Gesch. d. Königr. Pontos*, p. 31f. and *R.E. Suppl.* I 129f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 29f.: Beloch *G.G.*^{2} IV 2, p. 214f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2158f.: E. Diehl in *R.E.* XIX 1849f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 216f. While it is probably true that the family was of Persian origin (Geyer 2157), Meyer showed (p. 31f.) that the claim that the Pontic monarchs had ruled over the kingdom in the Persian period and that they were descended from one of the conspirators who murdered the Pseudo-Smerdis (Polybius V 43, 2: Diodorus XIX 40, 2: Florus I 40, 1: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 76, 1) or from Darius I (Sallust *Hist.* II 73 Maur.: Justin XXXVIII 7, 1: Tacitus *Ann.* XII 18, 3: Appian *Mith.* 9 and 112) was fictitious. For Mithradates I, a nephew of Mithradates II of Cius (see Geyer 2158 and Chap. XIII note 19), see Diodorus XX 111, 4: Strabo XII p. 562: Appian *Mith.* 9: Plutarch *Demetr.* 4=*Apophthegm. Reg. Antig.* 18: Lucian *Macrob.* 13, where, as Meyer observed (p. 36), the uncle and nephew are combined into one person. For Mt. Olgassys see above note 29. Cimiata was tenta-

tively placed by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 14 B) and Leonhard (p. 348) on its southern slope near Cendere above the Amnias east of Ilgaz.

35. The assumption of the title was dated in 281 B.C. by Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 161 and *Mith. Eup.* p. 8, note 2, followed by Beloch (p. 215) and Geyer (2159). Beloch suggested that the occasion was Mithradates's defeat of Seleucus's general Diodorus (see below note 36) in 281 or the death of Seleucus himself in the following winter. This date, however, rests solely on the evidence of Syncellus (p. 523 Bonn), according to whom the Pontic kingdom lasted 218 years, *i.e.* 281-63 B.C. On the other hand, the era which appears on the coins of Mithradates Eupator is reckoned from 298 or 297 B.C. (see *Receuil* I² pp. 5, 8, note 1 and 13f.); this era seems also to be used in the decree from Abonuteichus (*R.E.G.* XVII [1904], p. 252, see above note 31) dated ἔτους αξρ′ and erected under Mithradates V Euergetes (ca. 150-120 B.C.), although it is not impossible that the date was reckoned according to the Seleucid era. It is difficult to suppose, nevertheless, that so soon after his flight as 297 Mithradates I had sufficient power to declare himself king. For another era, used by Pharnaces I, see below note 45.

36. Trogus *Prol.* XVII, where the defeat of Diodorus is placed *in Cappadocia*; Pontus, however, is meant, for Cappadocia (called Καππαδοκία Σελευκίς in Appian *Syr.* 55) was subject to Seleucus (Beloch, pp. 218 and 355). According to Strabo (XII p. 534), the "Macedonians" (*i.e.* the Seleucids) were "willing" to allow Cappadocia to become a kingdom instead of a satrapy (under Ariarathes III, see Chap. IX note 7) but were "unwilling" to permit the change in Pontus. For the "Northern League," formed against the Seleucids by the cities of Byzantium, Chalcedon, Heracleia Pontica, Tieium and Cierus (the later Prusias ad Hypium), and its alliance with Mithradates I see Memnon 11 and 19, 2 and Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 98. For the surrender of Amastris (see Chap. XIII note 29) see Memnon 16. It was dated in 279 by Ed. Meyer (*Pontos*, p. 43, note 2), whose assumption, however, followed by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 117), that Mithradates had previously seized the Paphlagonian coast (except Sinope) as far as Amastris is hardly justified.

37. Memnon 24. The incident related by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἄγκυρα) from Apollonius of Aphrodisias, frg. 13 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 312), namely, that the Galatians νεήλυδες (*i.e.* soon after 275), in alliance with Mithradates and Ariobarzanes, repelled an attack by an Egyptian force and, in return, received the district of Galatia, although questionable (see Geyer 2159f., who observed, however, that it may be inferred that Mithradates I was on friendly terms with the Galatians) and evidently embellished, was accepted by Ed. Meyer in *R.E. Suppl.* I 130, Stähelin *Gesch. d. Kleinasiat. Galater*² p. 11, note 2 and W. Otto in *Philol.* LXXXVI (1931), p. 408 as a reason for believing that Ptolemy II sent a naval expedition to the Euxine and that some of the troops landed and advanced into the

interior. For the relations of Egypt about this time with the Euxine cities Sinope and Heracleia Pontica see note 23 and above p. 310.

38. For the marriage of Mithradates to Laodice see Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251 Schöne = p. 118 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 6 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1215). The claim that Phrygia was included in her dowry is recorded only in the speech attributed to Mithradates Eupator in Justin XXXVIII 5, 3. It is rendered questionable by the statement of Eusebius (*l.c.*) that Antiochus Hierax afterward overran Phrygia and compelled its inhabitants to pay tribute, and it is perhaps only a grievance attributed to the King by the historian, based on the fact that Phrygia was given to Mithradates V by the Romans and taken back after his death (see Chap. VI note 26 and Chap. VII note 36). Nevertheless, it has been taken seriously by modern writers, *e.g.* Stähelin (*ibid.* p. 40), who supposed that the gift was merely a nominal one, and Beloch (*G.G.*^{2} IV 1, p. 677, note 1), who suggested that it consisted only of northern Phrygia (Galatia and Phrygia Epictetus), pointing out that the possession of the southern part of the district was necessary to the Seleucids on account of the line of communication with the Aegean coast. Mithradates's support of Antiochus Hierax during the latter's revolt against Seleucus II (see Chap. I note 23) is recorded by Eusebius (*l.c.*). For the marriage of his daughter Laodice to Antiochus III see Polybius V 43, 1f. and *O.G.I.* 237 (a decree of Iasus). According to Polybius VIII 20 (22), 11, another daughter, also named Laodice, was the wife of Achaeus. This was accepted by Stähelin in *R.E.* XII 706f., no. 17 and by Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2161 but rejected by Beloch (IV 2, p. 202f.), who held that it was an error on the part of Polybius and that his previous statement (V 74, 5) that Laodice "who became the wife of Achaeus" was placed under the guardianship of a citizen of Selge by Antiochus Hierax shows that she was the daughter of the latter.

39. Mithradates III, son of Mithradates II, is not mentioned by the ancient historical writers (unless it was he, and not his father, who threatened Sinope), but his existence was assumed by Ed. Meyer (*Pontos*, p. 53f.) to account for the statements of Plutarch (*Demetr.* 4, 4) and Appian (*Mith.* 112) that there were eight kings of Pontus (ten, according to Syncellus p. 593 Bonn), as well as that of Appian (*Mith.* 9) that Mithradates Eupator was the sixth of the name. He was accepted also by Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2161). For his coins see *Receuil* I^2 p. 10, no. 2f. Another type (no. 1), bearing the legend Μιθραδάτου Βασιλέως, but without a portrait, cannot be definitely assigned to him; it may have been issued by his father or even his great-grandfather.

40. For the Paphlagonians' submission to Alexander under the stipulation that he should not enter their country with an army or they be forced to pay tribute see Arrian *Anab.* II 4, 1 and Curtius Rufus III 3. For a dynast called Gaezatorix (probably a Galatian), from whom a region in western Paphlagonia took its name and who presumably ruled over a part of the

district, see Strabo XII p. 562. He has been identified with the Galatian *condottiere* of the same name, who in 181 (Polybius XXIV 14 (8), 6) aided Pharnaces I against Eumenes II; see Stähelin *Galater*[2] p. 49, note 5 and Willrich in *R.E.* VII 510. This identification, however, was doubted by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 600, note 1 and by Unger in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 251f. For Morzius see Strabo XII p. 562: Livy XXXVIII 26, 4: Niese *ibid.* p. 571; *G.M.S.* II p. 755 and III p. 70f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XVI 327.

41. Polybius XXIII 9, 1f. = Livy XL 2, 6f. (182 B.C.). For our very meagre knowledge of the war see Polybius XXIV 1, 1f. = Livy XL 20, 1 (181 B.C.); XXIV 5 and 14-15 (181/80 B.C.); frg. 112 B.-W.: Diodorus XXIX 22-24: Trogus *Prol.* XXXII. See also Ed. Meyer *Pontos*, p. 71f.: Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 74f.: K. Meischke *Zur Gesch. d. Königs Eumenes II v. Perg.* (Pirna 1905), p. 30f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 96f. In a speech attributed to Mithradates by Justin (XXXVIII 6, 2) the action taken by the Romans against Pharnaces is included among the many charges brought by the King against them.

42. If Polybius frg. 96 B.-W. may be connected with this incident, as was suggested by Niese (*G.M.S.* III p. 76, note 1), Pharnaces offered Seleucus fifty talents for his assistance.

43. For this treaty see Polybius XXV 2 (180/79 B.C.). In addition to various princes, the independent (*αὐτονομούμεναι*) cities Heracleia, Mesambria, Chersonesus and Cyzicus were "included" (*περιελήφθησαν*) as signatories, thus becoming parties to it and thereby obtaining recognition as sovereign states; see Bickermann (Bikerman) in *Philol.* LXXXVII (1932), p. 278f. and Chap. I note 35.

44. The silver statue of Pharnaces, which Pompey brought from Pontus to Rome and exhibited in his triumph (Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 151), is not a proof of the King's affluence, since it may have been erected by one of his successors. For Pharnaces's promise to Athens see *I.G.* XI 4, 1056 = *Ins. Delos* 1497 *bis* = *O.G.I.* 771 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 73, a decree passed under the archon Tychandrus in 160/59 B.C. (see W. B. Dinsmoor *Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* [New York 1939], p. 190 and Pritchett and Meritt *Chron. of Hellenist. Athens* [Cambridge, Mass. 1940], p. xxix), in which honours were voted to Pharnaces, as well as statues (to be erected on Delos) of himself and Nysa, whom *προσήγγελται κ.τ.λ. συνῳκηκέναι τῷ Βασιλεῖ Φαρνάκει*. The Queen (whom Pharnaces had evidently recently married) is described as the daughter of *Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου καὶ Βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης*. Durrbach (followed in *O.G.I.* 771, note 13 and by Stähelin in *R.E.* XII 707, no. 18) pointed out that Nysa was probably the daughter of Antiochus, eldest son of Antiochus III (who had the title of King during his father's lifetime but died before the latter) and his sister Laodice, to whom he was married by their father in 196/5 (Appian *Syr.* 4); for, since Antiochus IV was evidently not married until after his return from Rome to Syria in 175 (see Wilcken in *R.E.* I 2471),

the only other possibility is one of the daughters of Antiochus III and his wife Laodice, daughter of Mithradates II (see above note 38), and in 160 she would have been too old to have been recently married to Pharnaces.

45. For this treaty see Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* I² 402. The major portion is lost, and little remains but the oath sworn by Pharnaces. This is dated in the 157th year *καθὼς Βασιλεὺς Φαρνάκης ἄγει*, a date which cannot be brought into accord with either the Seleucid era or that used by the later kings of Pontus (see above note 35), since, if reckoned by either, it would be subsequent to Pharnaces's death (see below note 46). It was, therefore, suggested by Loeper (followed by Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 217f. and Diehl in *R.E.* XIX 1850) that the year was reckoned from the accession of Mithradates II of Cius (the uncle of Mithradates I of Pontus) in 337/6 B.C.; if this suggestion can be accepted, the date of the treaty with Chersonesus is 180/79, the year in which the general treaty of peace was signed by Pharnaces.

46. The Athenian decree passed in Pharnaces's honour in 160/59 B.C. (see above note 44) shows that he was alive in this year; see S. Dow in *Hesperia* IV (1935), p. 91. He died, however, before 156, when his successor, Mithradates IV, was reigning (Polybius XXXIII 12, 1).

47. For the relations of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia and Prusias II of Bithynia with Rome see Chap. IX note 7 and above p. 316.

48. *C.I.L.* I² 730 a = VI 30922 a = *I.G.* XIV *Add.* 986 a = *I.G.R.* I 62 = *O.G.I.* 375 = Dessau 30, a dedication (in Greek and Latin) by Mithradates Philopator Philadelphus, *regus Metradati f.*, to the Roman People [*amicitiai e*]*t societatis ergo*. The identity of this monarch was long in doubt. Mommsen's suggestion (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 71f.) that he was an otherwise unknown son of Mithradates Eupator found wide acceptance. Ed. Meyer (*Pontos*, p. 55), however, had already inferred from a coin inscribed *Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλαδέλφου* (*Receuil* I² p. 12, no. 6) that a king of this name preceded the father of Mithradates Eupator, and Reinach in *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 128f. (partly reaffirmed in *B.C.H.* XXX [1906], p. 47f.), pointing out that the King's dedication in Rome is to be dated about the same time as a dedication of the Lycians erected after the recovery of their freedom in 167 B.C. (*C.I.L.* I² 725, see Chap. IV note 67), showed that this monarch was Mithradates IV, brother and successor of Pharnaces. This identification has now been generally accepted; see *e.g. O.G.I.* II p. 550: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2161f.: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 221. A coin of this king and his sister-wife Laodice bears their portraits and the legend *Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου καὶ Βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης Φιλαδέλφων* (*Receuil* I² p. 13, no. 7). Laodice was honoured, evidently during the reign of Pharnaces, in an inscription at Delos, in which she is called *ἡ Βασιλέως Φαρνάκου καὶ Μιθραδάτου ἀδελφή*; see Reinach in *B.C.H.* XXXIV (1910), p. 429f. and *Ins. Delos* 1555 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 74.

49. His surname appears in the decree from Abonuteichus cited above (notes 31 and 35) and in two inscriptions from Delos, *Ins. Delos* 1558 (= *O.G.I.* 366) and 1559 = Durrbach *Choix*, nos. 99 and 100, the former on a statue erected by the gymnasiarch of 129/8 B.C. It is also found in Strabo x p. 477 and Appian *Mith.* 10. The suggestion was made by Robert in *B.C.H.* LIX (1935), p. 460 that he may be the king who is mentioned several times in a list of victors in horse-races at Chios (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. XI [1927-8], Παράρτ. 23f.). M. Segre in *Il Mondo Class.* II (1932), p. 129f. had restored the name in ll. 13 and 15 as [Βασιλέ]ως Μιθραδάτου Εὐ[πάτορος] and connected the races with this king's conquest of Ionia in 88 B.C., but Robert pointed out that the name may equally well be read Εὐ[εργέτου]. An inscription from Delos (*Ins. Delos* 1557) honouring Βασ[ιλ]έα Μιθραδάτη[ν] Βασιλέως Φαρνάκου evidently refers to Euergetes and shows that he was the son of Pharnaces and not, as has sometimes been supposed, of Mithradates IV. This bears out the statement attributed in Justin XXXVIII 6, 2 to Mithradates Eupator that Pharnaces was *avus suus*, which was accepted by Reinach (*L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 134 and *B.C.H.* XXX [1906], p. 48). Since in 160/59 Pharnaces had only recently been married to Nysa (see above note 44) and Euergetes became king about 150, he must have been born of a previous marriage. The statement of Appian (*Mith.* 10) that Euergetes was the first king of Pontus to become an ally of the Romans is shown to be incorrect by Philopator's dedication in Rome (see above note 48).

50. Strabo x p. 477: Justin XXXVII 1, 6: Memnon 30, 2. It was supposed by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 50f., *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 133f. and *B.C.H.* XXX [1906], p. 49) that Euergetes's wife was Laodice, daughter of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and that perhaps a coin bearing the legend Βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης (*Receuil* 1^2 p. 13, no. 8, where, however, it is attributed to Laodice, sister-wife of Mithradates IV) was issued by her during her regency. This theory, however, has no foundation except the indefinite allusion in a speech attributed by Justin (XXXVIII 7, 1) to Mithradates Eupator, in which the King is represented as claiming that his maternal ancestors included Alexander and Seleucus I; it was, therefore, rightly rejected by Stähelin in *R.E.* XII 709. The frequently-repeated assertion that Euergetes's wife was involved in the murder of her husband is not found in the ancient sources. According to Strabo (*l.c.*), Mithradates Eupator was eleven years old at the time of his father's death, according to Memnon (*l.c.*), thirteen years old. Strabo's statement is correct, for he was born in 132/1 B.C.; he died in 63 at the age of 68 or 69 (Appian *Mith.* 112), after a reign of 56 years (Pliny *N.H.* XXV 6); see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 52, note 1. The younger son, Mithradates Chrestus, is known from *O.G.I.* 368 and 369 = Durrbach *Choix*, nos. 114 and 113 (about 115/4 B.C.). For the annexation of Phrygia see Chap. VII notes 36 and 37. It is represented as a grievance against the Romans in speeches attributed to Mithradates (Justin XXXVIII 5, 3) and his envoy Pelopidas (Appian *Mith.* 12 and 15).

51. The fictitious character of the romantic narrative in Justin XXXVII 2, 4f. was pointed out by Ed. Meyer (*Pontos*, p. 84f.); it may be assumed, however, that Mithradates, during the first few years after his father's death, took no part in governing the kingdom. According to Sallust (*Hist.* II 75 Maur.), Mithradates poisoned his mother; according to Memnon 30, 2, he threw both her and Chrestus into prison, where they were later put to death. In Appian *Mith.* 112 the mere fact of their murder is mentioned.

52. It was pointed out by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 935 that both for commercial and for strategic reasons Mithradates needed the full control of the Bosporus and the Hellespont, and that in order to create the strong state which he envisaged he had to be able to command the resources and the intelligence of the Asianic Greeks.

53. According to Justin XXXVII 3, 1 and XXXVIII 7, 4, Mithradates's war in the Crimea took place in the opening years of his reign. Its beginning was dated in 114/3 B.C. by Niese (*Rh. Mus.* XLII [1887], p. 567f.), followed by Brandis (*R.E.* III 773), but in 110 by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 67), followed by Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2164); the latter date is probably correct. For the war see Strabo VII p. 309f. and the inscription of Diophantus, Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* I^2 352=*Syll.*^{3} 709; see also Niese *ibid.* p. 559f. and Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 229f. The suggestion of Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 232) that Mithradates established "a kind of Pontic protectorate" over these cities has been confirmed by an inscription from Apollonia Pontica (*J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 89) recording honours conferred by the "Council and People" on ὁ ἡγούμενος τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων ὑπὸ Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος ἐπὶ τὴν [σ]υν[μαχίαν?]. While the inscription cannot be dated, it seems easier to connect it with Mithradates's earlier expansion of his power across the Euxine than, as suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 1559), with the Second Mithradatic War or, as the editor believed, with aid sent to these cities during the campaign of Marcus Lucullus against them in 72/1 B.C. (Appian *Illyr.* 30: Eutropius VI 10). As Rostovtzeff pointed out (*l.c.*), a decree of Olbia in honour of a shipowner of Amisus (Latyschev I^2 35) as restored by Wilhelm in *Klio* XXIX (1936), p. 50f. shows that Mithradates had established "Armenian" settlers in the city; see Chap XIV note 40. The decree also mentions envoys sent to Mithradates by the Olbians and perhaps assistance sent to them by the King.

54. Strabo XII pp. 541 and 555: Eutropius V 5: Justin XXXVIII 7, 2 (where Mithradates is represented as asserting that he had conquered Armenia Major also). For his conquest of Colchis see Strabo XI p. 498f.: Memnon 30, 2: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 77f. For the mines see above note 8 and for the king's strongholds see note 10. For the timber, hemp and flax of Colchis see Herodotus II 105: Strabo XI p. 498: Vergil *Georg.* II 440f.: Broughton, pp. 615 and 822. For the cavalry from Armenia Minor see Appian *Mith.* 17 and *Expositio Totius Mundi* 43 (p. 115 Riese). The horses were probably

obtained from the herds reared on the plain of Themiscyra and the territory of Amaseia (Strabo XII pp. 547 and 561 and Broughton, p. 618) and also perhaps from Armenia Major (Strabo XI p. 530).

55. Justin XXXVII 3, 4f. This journey was dated by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 95, note 1) in 106/5 or, less probably, 107/6, by H. Bernhardt (*Chronologie d. Mithr. Krieges* [Marburg 1896]; p. 8) in 105, and by Ed. Meyer (*Pontos*, p. 103) in 104. But, as the partition of Paphlagonia seems to have been carried out in 107 (see below note 57), the journey, if it took place at all, must be dated somewhat earlier.

56. Justin XXXVII 4, 8, where Pylaemenes is said to have been the *Paphlagonum regum nomen*. The statement is at least true of the king who aided the Romans against Aristonicus, and it affords the only reasonable explanation of the fact that Nicomedes III of Bithynia gave the name to his son when he made the latter king of Paphlagonia (see above p. 197). The name was also borne by one of the rulers created by Pompey (see Chap. XV note 37). Coins with the legend Βασιλέως Πυλαιμένου Εὐεργέτου (*Receuil* 1^2 p. 163*) have been assigned to one or the other of these two kings, but it is possible that they were issued by some other member of the dynasty. The name was later revived by Amyntas, King of Galatia (see Chap. XIX note 3), who gave it to one of his sons; see *C.I.G.* 4039=*I.G.R.* III 157=1459=*O.G.I.* 533 II, ll. 13 and 41.

57. According to Diodorus XXXVI 3, 1, Nicomedes refused to send aid to the Romans in their war against the Cimbri on the ground that τοὺς πλείους τῶν Βιθυνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δημοσιωνῶν διαρπαγέντας δουλεύειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις. By δημοσιῶναι must be meant the Roman money-lenders, for there could not have been any *publicani* in the independent kingdom of Bithynia. For the partition of Paphlagonia see Justin XXXVII 4, 3f.; XXXVIII 5, 4; 7, 10. See also Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 571f. It was dated by Reinach in 104 B.C. (*Mith. Eup.* p. 95) but in 107 in *Mith. Eup.* German Ed. p. 87 and *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 160, and this date was accepted by Daux in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 81. According to Strabo XII pp. 541 and 544, Mithradates obtained the coast as far as Heracleia and also "the nearest part of the interior," *i.e.* Phazimonitis and the valley of the Amnias; see Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 5f. The valleys of both the Amnias and the Devrek would seem to be included in "the region around Mt. Olgassys" which, according to Strabo XII p. 561f., was in Pontus. For the Romans' order that both kings should evacuate Paphlagonia see Justin XXXVII 4, 4f. The attempt of Mithradates's envoys to bribe the Roman senators, recorded in Diodorus XXXVI 15, 1 (103 B.C.), although Paphlagonia is not mentioned in the text, is probably, as Ed. Meyer observed (*Pontos*, p. 92), to be connected with this order. The statements of Strabo cited above seem to show that Mithradates did not evacuate what he had seized, and it is therefore difficult to accept the inference of Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 77) from Justin XXXVIII 5, 6 (*non Phrygiam Paphlagoniamque dimissas?*

in a speech attributed to Mithradates) that he withdrew from the district. The Amnias valley was in his kingdom when it was invaded by Nicomedes in 88 B.C. (see Chap. IX note 25).

58. Strabo XII p. 567. The site of Mithradatium was placed by Anderson (*Stud. Pont.* I p. 25f. and III p. 226), followed by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 118), at the ruins on the Körkenes Dağ, east-southeast of Yozgat, which, following Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 261) he supposed to be the later Euagina. These ruins, however, are those of a city—the largest pre-Hellenistic site known in Asia Minor (see von der Osten in *Geogr. Rev.* XVIII [1928], p. 23 and *Univ. of Chicago Oriental Inst. Commun.* VIII [1930], pp. 160 and 169)—and, as Ruge observed (*R.E.* XV 2215f.), the identification with Mithradatium is doubtful.

CHAPTER IX

1. Appian *Mith.* 112: Ed. Meyer *Gesch. d. Königr. Pontos*, p. 84f.: Mommsen *R.G.*[7] II p. 266f.=Eng. Trans. IV p. 7f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 276f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2198f.: Cary in *C.A.H.* IX p. 391f.

2. For the boundaries of Cappadocia see Strabo XII pp. 533f. (where, however, Pontus is included) and 539f. For the boundary between it and Pontus see Chap. VIII note 4. See also Ramsay *H.G.* p. 314f.: Ruge in *R.E.* X 1910f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 119f. For Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü) see Chap. XIX note 15.

3. For Mazaca (Kayseri), later Caesareia (see Chap. XXI note 9), see Strabo XII p. 538: Hamilton *Researches* II p. 257f.: H. Barth in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* III (1860), p. 56f.: Oberhummer and Zimmerer *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1899), pp. 175f. and 236f.: E. Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris 1898), p. 133f.: Ruge in *R.E.* III 1289: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 179. The ancient etymologists derived its name from Meschus or Mosoch, the legendary ancestor of the Cappadocians; see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* I 6, 1, §125: Constantine Porphyrogenitus *de Them.* I p. 20f. Bonn: Philostorgius *Hist. Eccles.* IX 12. It is more probably formed from the Avestan *maza*= "large" with the Sanscrit suffix—*aka*. For Mt. Argaeus (Erciyaş Dağ) see Hamilton II p. 275f. and von der Osten in *Univ. of Chicago Orient. Inst. Commun.* XIV (1933), p. 111f. It was suggested by J. Partsch in *Philol. Abh. Martin Hertz* (Berlin 1888), p. 105f. that, as the only active volcano in Asia Minor, Argaeus was originally regarded as the abode of the fire-breathing monster Typhon, the embodiment of volcanic power, whom the later form of the legend connected with Corycus in Cilicia (see Chap. XI note 19). For the city-rights granted to Mazaca by Ariarathes V (see below note 8) see Chap. XXI note 8. For the roads see Chap. XXI note 3. For tumuli (perhaps royal graves) in the neighbourhood see *Arch. Jahrb.* LIV (1939), *Arch. Anz.* 548f.

4. For Tyana (near Kemerhisar) see Strabo XII p. 537: Hamilton II p. 300: H. Rott *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler aus Pisidien, etc.* (Leipzig 1908), p. 98f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 178f. It was probably the Dana of Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 20; see Ramsay *H.G.* pp. 39 and 246. For the rights obtained presumably from Ariarathes V see Chap. XXI note 8. For the road leading from Tyana to Cilicia see Chap. XI note 36. The road to Iconium, with the intermediate stations Cybistra (Ereğli) and Barata, appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 728). Tyana later became famous as the birthplace of the wonder-worker Apollonius.

5. For the worship of the Great Mother (Ma) at Comana in the *strategia* of Cataonia (southern Cappadocia) and of Zeus at Venasa in the *strategia* of Morimene (western Cappadocia) see Strabo XII pp. 535 and 537. For the cult of Ma at Comana in Pontus see Chap. VIII note 13. For the site of

the Cappadocian Comana at Şar, some seventy miles by road (see Chap. XVII note 21) southeast of Kayseri, see Chantre *ibid.* p. 133f.: de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* v (1911), p. 287f.: Ramsay *Social Basis of Rom. Power,* p. 101f. The Goddess is called ἡ Νικηφόρος Θεά in *O.G.I.* 364 (in honour of her priest) and *Mél. Beyrouth* v p. 320f., no. 17. The priest of Διὸς Δακιήου (emended to Ἀσβαμαίου by Meineke) is said by Strabo (p. 537) to have been third in importance; the sanctuary was near a salt lake, but nothing is known of its situation.

6. For the nobles of Cappadocia see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 91. Their importance is perhaps shown by the statement of Strabo (XII p. 540) that the "friendship and alliance" with Rome was concluded not in the name of the monarch alone, as was usual (see Mommsen *R.St.R.* III pp. 592f. and 652), but in that of the king and the ἔθνος jointly. For the strongholds see Strabo XII pp. 537 and 539f., where the following φρούρια are mentioned: Azamora; Dastarcum, on the river Carmalas; Argus, near the Taurus; Nora, where Eumenes of Cardia was besieged by Antigonus (Diodorus XVIII 41f. and 50, 4: Plutarch *Eum.* 10f.: Justin XIV 2, 2f.: Nepos *Eum.* 5, 3f.), perhaps Sivri Hisar on the Hasan Dağ, southeast of Aksaray (*R.E.* XVII 923f.); Dasmenda, in the *strategia* of Chamanene (northwestern Cappadocia); others belonging to the king or his "friends." *Castella* in Cappadocia are mentioned also by Nepos (*Datames* 4, 2; 10, 2). Various sites were described by Ainsworth (*Travels* I pp. 203, 210, 242 and 246), Hamilton (II p. 293), Sterrett (*P.A.S.* II pp. 233 and 301f.) and Rott (*ibid.* pp. 265, 269, and 276f.), some of which, however, are doubtless Byzantine.

7. For the rulers of Cappadocia see Diodorus XXXI 19: Niese in *R.E.* II 815f. (Ariarathes I—X) and Judeich in *R.E.* II 813 (Ariamnes). For the assumption of the title of King by Ariarathes III and his marriage to Stratonice see Diodorus (§6) and Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 251 Schöne = p. 118 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 32, 6 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1215). For his coins with the title of Βασιλεύς see Reinach *Trois Royaumes,* p. 33f. He assumed this title about 255 B.C., for, according to Diodorus (§9, quoted by Syncellus p. 523 Bonn), the dynasty ruled for 160 years, and the last member of it, Ariarathes VIII, was driven out by Mithradates Eupator in 96 (see above p. 204). Ariarathes annexed to his kingdom the *strategiai* of Cataonia and Melitene, which had previously formed a Seleucid satrapy; see Strabo XII p. 534 and Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 360. He received his brother-in-law Antiochus Hierax during the latter's flight about 227 (see Chap. I note 24). For Ariarathes IV Eusebes see Polybius IV 2, 8 and Justin XXIX 1, 4, and, for his coins, Reinach, p. 35f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 31f. For his marriage to Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus III, and the betrothal of his daughter Stratonice to Eumenes II see Chap. I note 72. For his aid to Antiochus III at Magnesia see Livy XXXVII 31, 4 and 40, 10 and Appian *Syr.* 32f. For his surrender to the Romans and his "friendship" with Rome see Polybius XXI 41 (43), 4f. and 45 (47) = Livy XXXVIII 37, 5f. and 39, 6; this may have been the "friendship and alliance" mentioned in Strabo XII

p. 540 (see above note 6). For his participation in the war against Pharnaces of Pontus see above p. 192, and for the aid which he sent to the Romans against Perseus of Macedonia see Livy XLII 29, 4 and Appian *Mac.* II, 4.

8. For the cognomina of Ariarathes V see *I.G.* II² 1330 = *O.G.I.* 352 (see below) and his coins (Reinach, p. 37f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 33). He is called Philopator in Diodorus XXXI 21. For his Athenian citizenship and his erection, together with Attalus II, of a statue of Carneades see Chap. I note 82. For the gift of Ariarathes and his wife Nysa to the Artists of Dionysus (see Chap. III note 114) at Athens see *I.G.* II² 1330 = *O.G.I.* 352, dated after 146 B.C. by Ferguson in *C.P.* II (1907), p. 401f. and interpreted in part (l. 13) by Robert *Ét. épigr. et philol.* (Paris 1938), p. 38f. For published letters of Carneades addressed to Ariarathes see Diogenes Laertius IV 65, and for the King's interest in Greek culture, particularly philosophy, and his success in drawing scholars to Cappadocia see Diodorus XXXI 19, 7f. Durrbach pointed out (*Choix*, p. 151, note 1) that there is no reason to believe that the Ariarathes whose name appears as ἐπιμελητής of the emporium on three weights from Delos (*B.C.H.* XXIX [1905], p. 18 and p. 226, no. 85 and XXXIV [1910], p. 409, no. 59) was, as the editor suggested, the future Ariarathes V.

9. For the charges of the Trocmi see Chap. I note 72. For the Roman commissions of 164/3, headed, respectively, by M. Junius (probably M. Junius Brutus, Consul in 178, see *R.E.* X 970) and Cn. Octavius (Consul in 165), who rendered the favourable verdict, see Polybius XXXI 2 (12), 13 and 8 (13). For the envoys sent to Rome by Ariarathes in 160/59 and the Senate's gifts see Polybius XXXII 1 (5), 1f. and Diodorus XXXI 28. For the revolt of Orophernes, the Senate's decision (in 158/7) and the aid rendered by Attalus see Polybius III 5, 2; XXXII 10 (24); 11, 1f. (25, 2f.); 12 (22, 8): Livy *Per.* XLVII: Diodorus XXXI 32 and 34: Appian *Syr.* 47: Trogus *Prol.* XXXIV: Justin XXXV 1, 2f. Polybius's account of the Senate's decision is lost, but the fragments (as well as those of Diodorus) indicate that Orophernes ruled for a time, and this is borne out by his tetradrachms inscribed Βασιλέως Ὀροφέρνου Νικηφόρου (see Reinach, p. 44). The version of Appian, therefore, which relates that the Romans ordered the two brothers to rule jointly, seems more accurate than the statement in the *Periocha* of Livy that the Senate restored Ariarathes. For the attack on Priene see Chap. IV note 93.

10. For the cognomina of Ariarathes VI see *Ins. Priene* 109, l. 103f. and *O.G.I.* 353 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 135 c (an inscription of his son). He is called Epiphanes in *S.E.G.* I 466 and on his coins (Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 46 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 35). Nysa's regency is attested by a coin inscribed Βασιλίσσης Νύσης καὶ Βασιλέως Ἐπιφανοῦς τοῦ υἱοῦ. According to Justin XXXVII 1, 3f., the Queen (who is incorrectly called Laodice), wishing to keep her power, poisoned her five oldest sons, but the sixth was saved by his relatives and made king after his mother was killed by her

angry subjects. This story, which is in keeping with the sensational character of much of Justin's work (see *e.g.* above p. 30 and Chap. VIII note 51), is highly improbable, but it may at least be supposed (so Niese in *R.E.* II 819) that after the death of Ariarathes V strife broke out in the royal family.

11. For Mithradates's seizure of the control of Cappadocia see Mommsen *R.G.*[7] II p. 276 = Eng. Trans. IV p. 19f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 97f.: H. Bernhardt *Chronologie d. Mithr. Kriege* (Marburg 1896), p. 8f.: Geyer in R.E. XV 2167: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 235f. Our knowledge of it is derived almost entirely from the meagre account in Justin XXXVIII 1f. Since the coins of Ariarathes VI (see above note 10) include those of his 15th (perhaps of his 18th) regnal year and since he began to reign about 130, his assassination cannot be dated before 115; as Reinach observed (*Mith. Eup.* p. 90, note 3), it is probably to be placed about 111. The cognomen of Ariarathes VII is known from *O.G.I.* 353 (see above note 10) and his coins (Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 49 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 36f.). As the coins include those of his 12th year, his murder (recorded also in Memnon 30, 1) may be dated about 99.

12. For the coins of this boy-monarch, dated by his regnal years 2-5 (perhaps also 6) and 12-13 see Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 51f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 38. They were probably issued in 98-95 and 88-87 B.C., ceasing when Ariobarzanes was made king of Cappadocia in 95 (see below note 15) and beginning again when he was expelled (in 91 or 89). An undated tetradrachm gives Ariarathes's cognomina as Eusebes Philopator (see below note 41). For a portrait-bust of him see *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 415f.

13. Plutarch *Marius* 31, 3; this interview, if authentic, must have taken place in 99, the year after Marius's sixth consulship. His visit to Cappadocia is alluded to by Cicero in *Epist. ad. Brut.* I 5, 3.

14. According to Orosius VI 2, 2 and Eutropius V 5, 2, Mithradates (in 88 B.C.) invaded Bithynia and Paphlagonia *pulsis ex ea* (*i.e. Paphlagonia*) *regibus* (*amicis populi Romani* inserted in Eutropius) *Pylaemene et Nicomede*. As we know of no Pylaemenes at this time except the son of Nicomedes Euergetes (see above p. 197), it was supposed by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 572 and Unger in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 253f. that he must be the monarch referred to and that, if the statement of Eutropius is accurate, he must at some time have been recognized by the Senate as *rex et amicus*. Since his presence in Paphlagonia in 88 is hard to reconcile with the previous declaration of the Senate that Paphlagonia was "free," Niese and Unger argued that the people retained him as ruler either over a part of the kingdom (so Niese) or over the whole (so Unger). Unless we suppose that the two ancient writers are mistaken in including him with Nicomedes as *rex* or assume that he was merely present in Nicomedes's army, it seems neces-

sary to conclude that he still held some kind of a royal position in Paphlagonia, but its nature and extent cannot be determined.

15. Strabo XII p. 540: Justin XXXVIII 2, 8. The accession of Ariobarzanes can be dated in 95 B.C., for coins of his 34th year are extant (Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 59f.) and he abdicated his throne in 62; see Chap. XV note 48 and Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 101, note 1. His cognomen Φιλορώμαιος appears in two inscriptions of his son and on his coins; see *I.G.* II² 3426 and 3427 = *O.G.I.* 354 and 355: Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 60: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 39.

16. For Tigranes I of Armenia see Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 970f. He began to reign in 95 B.C. For his conquest of Sophene, together with Tomisa (opposite Izoli, see Chap. II note 17), see Strabo XI p. 532. For the previous sale of Tomisa see Strabo XII p. 535. For Tigranes's marriage to Cleopatra (about 93), the invasion of Cappadocia by his generals and the restoration of Mithradates's son see Justin XXXVIII 3, 2f.: Appian *Mith.* 10 and 15: Orosius VI 2, 1. According to Justin (§5), the agreement afterward made by the two kings provided that Mithradates should keep the territory which they conquered and that Tigranes should carry off the inhabitants and all else that could be removed. It is perhaps more probable that these were the original terms, formulated before Tigranes's invasion in 93 B.C.

17. Livy *Per.* LXX: Plutarch *Sulla* 5, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 10 and 57. Sulla's interview with the Parthian envoy is mentioned also in Velleius Paterculus II 24, 3. Its importance was probably emphasized in his Memoirs, the source of much that is said about him by Plutarch (see *Sulla* 6, 5; 14, 2; 16, 1; 17, 1; 19, 4; 23, 3; 27, 3; 37, 1f.), as well as by other later writers; see C. Vitelli in *Studi Ital. Filol. Cl.* VI (1898), p. 353f. For the question of Sulla's command "in Cilicia" see Chap. XII note 14.

18. Rome even demanded ships from her allies in Asia, as from Heracleia Pontica (Memnon 29) and, probably, from Miletus and Clazomenae, two captains from which were honoured by a senatus consultum of 78 B.C. for their services in the *bellum Italicum*, presumably the war against the Italians; see *C.I.L.* I² 588 = *I.G.R.* I 118 and Chap. X note 10.

19. It was supposed by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 113 and note 1) that Socrates was the son whom Nicomedes III had made king of Paphlagonia under the name of Pylaemenes (see above note 14). But, as Reinach himself admitted, the sole reason for this supposition is the fact that only Nicomedes and Socrates are mentioned as his sons by Licinianus (p. 29 Flemisch). For Socrates's petition to the Senate see Licinianus p. 30 Flemisch: Memnon 30, 3: Appian *Mith.* 10. See also Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 114. For the recognition of Nicomedes IV see Appian *Mith.* 7. Cicero (*de Orat.* III 229) represented Crassus as saying that Hortensius the orator had *nuper* (*i.e.* shortly before September, 91) pleaded for Nicomedes.

20. Justin XXXVIII 3, 4. Reinach suggested (*Mith. Eup.* p. 115, note 4) that the statement in Livy *Per.* LXXVI (89 B.C.), *Ariobarzanes Cappadociae, Nicomedes Bithyniae regno a Mithridate, Ponti rege, pulsi sunt*, has been misplaced, and that it refers to the expulsion of the two kings in 91. It seems more probable, however, that it alludes to the expulsion of Ariobarzanes in 89 (see above p. 210) and to the defeat of Nicomedes in Paphlagonia in 88 (see below note 25).

21. Diodorus XXXVII 2, 11 (89/8 B.C.). This statement is confirmed to a certain extent by a gold stater with a name in Oscan, which was presumably that of a leader of the Italians, and the head of a youthful Bacchus or a Bacchante and on the reverse a mystic cista with a thyrsus. It was pointed out in von Sallet-Regling *Die Antiken Münzen*[8] (Berlin 1929), p. 90f. that this coin-type was used also at Amisus in the time of Mithradates (see *Receuil* I[2] p. 65, no. 24) and that the stater in question was perhaps coined from gold contributed by the King.

22. Livy *Per.* LXXIV: Appian *Mith.* 11: Justin XXXVIII 3, 4. The praenomen of Cassius was Gaius (*Syll.*[3] 741, see below note 28); the name Lucius, which appears in Appian (*Mith.* 11; 17; 24; 112) is incorrect. He was perhaps C. Cassius L.f. Longinus, Consul in 96, but the designation *ἀνθύπατος* in Appian *Mith.* 24 does not necessarily mean that he had been Consul. The commission also included a Manlius Maltinus (or Malthinus); see Trogus *Prol.* XXXVIII: Justin XXXVIII 3, 4 and 8; 4, 4. The correctness of the name has been doubted, but it was accepted as genuine by Münzer in *R.E.* XIV 1190, no. 59.

23. According to Appian *Mith.* 12, Pelopidas was sent to the commissioners in Asia; according to Cassius Dio frg. 99 Boiss. and, apparently, Eutropius V 5, 1, he went to Rome; the former is probably the correct version. The brief statement of Florus (I 40, 3) suggests that Cassius went as envoy to Mithradates and the King made his complaint to him.

24. Appian *Mith.* 17. This force was commanded by Mithradates's son Arcathias, who has often been identified with Ariarathes, the boy-king of Cappadocia, but see below note 41. The obvious exaggeration in the size of Mithradates's forces as they appear in the ancient writers was noted by Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2169 and Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 240, note 2.

25. Appian *Mith.* 17f.: Strabo XII p. 562: Memnon 31, 1. His route was probably the road leading from Bithynium through central Paphlagonia to the Amnias (see Chap. VIII note 33). According to Strabo, the battle was fought near the site of the later city of Pompeiopolis (Taş Köprü on the Amnias, see Chap. XV note 35). The broad plain in which this place lies seems to accord better with Appian's description of the battle than does the narrow valley at Boyabat, farther down the river, which Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 123, note 1) regarded as the scene of the engagement.

G. Mendel supposed (*B.C.H.* xxv [1901], p. 74) that the battle was fought somewhere between the two places.

26. Appian *Mith.* 17. Aquilius's position, described as ἡ διαβατὸν ἦν ἐς Βιθυνίαν, was probably, as Mendel suggested (*ibid.* p. 74), between Bithynium and Crateia, perhaps at the pass of Köroglu Derbent (see Chap. VIII note 33), but it may have been farther west. The head of the Amnias valley, presumably the pass above Kastamonu, which was suggested by Munro (*J.H.S.* xxi [1901], p. 56), seems too far east. Cassius, according to Appian, stationed himself ἐν μέσῳ Βιθυνίας τε καὶ Γαλατίας. It was supposed by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 121), followed by Mendel (*l.c.*), that this was at Gordiucome in southeastern Bithynia, north of the Sangarius (see Chap. XIII note 14). If, however, as appears probable (see below note 28), he fell back on Afyon Karahisar, it is perhaps more likely that he was in the neighbourhood of Dorylaeum or even Pessinus, guarding the roads through Phrygia (see Chap. II note 21) against a possible advance of the enemy from Pontus by way of Ancyra (see Chap. XIX note 9). The position of Oppius is described in the texts of Appian as ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς Καππαδοκίας. It is difficult, however, to suppose that he was as far east as the "mountains of Cappadocia," and it seems more probable that ὅρων should be read and that he was stationed on the "boundaries" of the kingdom, in Phrygia Paroreius or Lycaonia, where he could guard the Southern Highway (see Chap. XII note 18). On the question of his official rank see Chap. XII note 14.

27. This narrative is a combination of Appian *Mith.* 19 and Memnon 31, 2. Mommsen, on the other hand (*Ges. Schr.* iv p. 71, note 4), as well as Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 124, note 3), held that only one battle was fought and that Menophanes and Naimanes were one and the same person. We are expressly told by Appian, however, that Aquilius was *retreating* when attacked by Neoptolemus and Naimanes, and a Menophanes later conducted a campaign for Mithradates against Delos (Pausanias iii 23, 3f.). The mere fact of Aquilius's defeat is recorded in Livy *Per.* lxxvii and Justin xxxviii 3, 8. According to Appian, the defeat of Aquilius by Neoptolemus took place ἀμφὶ τὸ πρῶτον Πάχιον Χωρίον; this was conjecturally placed by Mendel (*l.c.* p. 75) between Bithynium and Crateia, but, if we may suppose that Aquilius had been previously driven from his original position, it must have been farther west.

28. Appian *Mith.* 19, where the place to which Cassius withdrew is called Λεόντων Κεφαλή, ὃ τῆς Φρυγίας ἐστὶν ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον. It is described as a πόλις in the satrapy of Upper Phrygia in Plutarch *Them.* 30, 1. The most probable site for this stronghold is the precipitous rock of Afyon Karahisar, which commands the valley of the upper Akar Çay (see Chap. II note 17), as suggested by G. Hirschfeld in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1891, 1386f., followed by G. Radet in *Nouv. Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* vi (1895), p. 465. This identification was doubted by Körte in *G.G.A.* 1897, p. 395, note 1,

by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 13 A) and by Ruge (*R.E.* XII 2052), but on the insufficient ground that the only existing ruins on the top of the rock are Seljuk and not ancient. For Chaeremon see *Syll.*[3] 741, from the monument erected to him by the people of Nysa, containing a letter of Cassius to the city-officials testifying to his gift and two letters of Mithradates to his satrap Leonippus offering a reward for the capture of Chaeremon and his sons and ordering the arrest of Chaeremon in spite of the fact that he had taken refuge in the Artemisium in Ephesus.

29. Appian *Mith.* 24; Appian (*ibid.* 112) relates that Cassius was captured by Mithradates, but it was pointed out by Münzer (*R.E.* III 1680) and Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 125, note 2) that this must be an error, since the King failed to take Rhodes (see below note 40).

30. Appian *Mith.* 20 and 21, where the statements *ὑπηγάγετο Λυκίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν* and *Λυκίοις ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει* suggest that at least parts of the two districts were overrun. The troops sent to Lycia may have advanced some distance into that mountainous country (see Chap. XXII note 41), but they did not reach the coast, where Telmessus sent aid to the Rhodians against Mithradates, and the King himself laid siege to Patara at the end of the year; see above p. 218f. To what extent the attempt on Pamphylia was successful we do not know. It was pointed out by Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 241 that the territory of Termessus, near the pass which leads across the mountains surrounding the Pamphylian plain (see Chap. XI note 11), was overrun by the Pontic army and some of its inhabitants carried off into captivity; for a clause in the later *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (see Chap. XII note 34) promised the return to the Termessians of all those whom *leiberos servosve bello Mitridatis ameiserunt.* The Pamphylian plain itself may have been invaded, but if so, the occupation was a brief one, for in the autumn of 86 some of the coast cities supplied ships to Lucullus; see above p. 226.

31. Cicero *pro Flacco* 60: Diodorus XXXVII 26: Justin XXXVIII 3, 8: Appian *Mith.* 10. His agent Athenion (see below note 42) was hailed at Athens as *ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ Νέου Διονύσου*; see Posidonius quoted in Athenaeus V 49, p. 212 D=*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 244. Mithradates, however, bore this name long before the war, for it appears in inscriptions from Delos; see Durrbach *Choix*, nos. 133 and 134 of 101/0 B.C. and no. 137=*O.G.I.* 370 of about 94/3 B.C. A fanciful explanation of its origin is given in Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* I 6, 2.

32. Pausanias I 20, 5: Livy *Per.* LXXXI: Appian *Mith.* 21 and 61: Plutarch *Rei publ. ger. Praec.* 14. Although the name *Μάγνητες οἱ τὸν Σίπυλον οἰκοῦντες* is specifically given by Pausanias, it was supposed by Kern (*Ins. Magn.* p. xvi) that this is an error, and that Magnesia-on-Maeander is meant. In Appian (*Mith.* 21), however, the two cities are clearly distinguished; Magnesia-on-Maeander is the Magnesia which is mentioned together with

Ephesus as one of those *ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἁπάντων δεχομένων*, while the Lydian Magnesia is classed with those against which *ἔτι ἀντέχουσι διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπολέμει*. This distinction was noted by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 128, *note* 1) and W. Otto in *R.E.* VIII 731, but the erroneous statement that the city which resisted was Magnesia-on-Maeander was repeated by Bürchner in *R.E.* XIV 472. It was evidently in recognition of its resistance that Magnesia-near-Sipylus was granted freedom in 84 B.C.; see above p. 234.

33. Appian *Mith.* 21 and 112: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 11: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 48. According to the account preserved by Appian and Pliny, Mithradates killed him by pouring molten gold down his throat, but this may be a reflection of the similar story told about the Parthian King and the head of Crassus. The statement of Diodorus (XXXVII 27, 2) that he committed suicide in order to escape captivity is clearly an error; it was suggested by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 126, note 6) that this might have been his son. Valerius Maximus (IX 13, 1) comments scornfully on the fact that Aquilius preferred to live as a slave than to die nobly.

34. Appian *Mith.* 21. For his satrap Leonippus see above note 28. Mithradates's control of Pergamum is shown by the gold staters bearing his portrait and the dates *β'*, *γ'*, *δ'* (=88/7-86/5 B.C.) which were issued in the city; see H. v. Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 22 and *Receuil* I² p. 14. Gold staters issued in Ephesus, Erythrae, Miletus, Smyrna and Tralles are also to be assigned to the time of Mithradates's rule over these cities; see Head *H.N.*² p. 660 and Regling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXV (1925), p. 265f., who suggested that they may have been coined either from subsidies granted by Mithradates or from the plunder taken from the massacred Italians. Smyrna also issued a copper coin bearing a portrait apparently that of Mithradates; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 247, no. 118 and *Receuil* I² p. 8, note 2.

35. Strabo XIII p. 614. Strabo adds that Diodorus, evidently in fear of punishment, accompanied Mithradates when the latter finally withdrew to Pontus, but, unable to endure the ignominy resulting from the various charges brought against him, starved himself to death.

36. Livy *Per.* LXXVIII: Appian *Mith.* 22-23: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 7; *pro Flacco* 60: Velleius Paterculus II 18, 1-2: Cassius Dio frgs. 101 and 109, 8 Boiss.: Memnon 31, 4: Valerius Maximus IX 2, *ext.* 3: Plutarch *Sulla* 24, 4: Orosius VI 2, 2: Florus I 40, 6f.: Eutropius V 5, 2: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 76, 3.

37. This is the estimate given by Valerius Maximus and Memnon (see note 36); according to Plutarch (*Sulla* 24, 4), they numbered 150,000, an estimate presumably taken from Sulla's Memoirs and, like others from that source (see below note 44), greatly exaggerated.

38. Strabo quoted in Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 7, 2, §112 (also XIII 13, 1, §349): Appian *Mith.* 23; 115; 117; *B.C.* I 102. See also Paton-Hicks, p. xxxvii f.

Mithradates also seized Cleopatra's young grandson, who afterwards became Ptolemy Alexander II of Egypt; see Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Lagides* (Paris 1903f.) II pp. 100 and 117f.

39. The bestowal of some favour by Mithradates may be assumed from the fact that prior to the war the Rhodians had erected a statue of him; see Cicero *II Verr.* II 159, where it is told to their credit that they allowed it to stand in spite of the King's attack.

40. For the attack on Rhodes see Appian *Mith.* 24-27, on which alone we are dependent for our knowledge of details; the information was perhaps taken from Livy (so Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 445). The siege is also mentioned in Livy *Per.* LXXVIII: Velleius Paterculus II 18, 3: Florus I 40, 8: Memnon 31, 3; see also H. van Gelder *Gesch. d. Alten Rhodier*, p. 162f. Mithradates's construction of ships for the attack is recorded in Appian *Mith.* 22; it was suggested by Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 243) that this was necessary because he had sent the greater part of his fleet across the Aegean to take part in the invasion of Macedonia (see below note 41). For the strength of the Rhodian navy at this time see Diodorus XXXVII 28. For a list of the personnel of a warship in the period of the Mithradatic wars, including petty officers, technicians, soldiers, and sailors, see M. Segre in *Clara Rhodos* VIII (1936), p. 227f. and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 685f. The withdrawal mentioned in Appian 25 was represented as a Rhodian defeat by van Gelder (*l.c.*), but this seems to be an overstatement. Both van Gelder and Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 144f.) supposed that this meeting between the two fleets was the engagement off Myndus on the Carian coast referred to in Appian *B.C.* IV 71, but Appian's statement that the Rhodians ἐδόκουν ἐς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος εὐτυχῆσαι does not suggest a withdrawal. The name of the Rhodian admiral Damagoras (Appian 25), who later aided the Romans against Mithradates and is described as θαλασσίων ἀγώνων ἐμπειρότατος (Plutarch *Luc.* 3, 8f.), appears in a list of Rhodians who honoured a gymnasiarch; see *I.G.* XII 1, 46, l. 157 and Holleaux in *R. Phil.* XVII (1893), p. 175. One of his subordinate officers is commemorated in *I.G.* XII 1, 41, and his σύμβουλος Polycles is honoured in Maiuri *N.S.* 18. For descriptions of the mechanism for landing troops (the *sambuca*) see, besides Appian (26-27), Polybius VIII 4 (6): Vegetius IV 21: Athenaeus περὶ Μηχανημάτων in C. Wescher *Poliorcétique des Grecs* (Paris 1867), p. 27f.: Bito Κατασκευαὶ Πολεμικῶν Ὀργάνων, Wescher, p. 57f.: Fiebiger in *R.E.* I A 2125. The repulse of Mithradates was celebrated by the Rhodians by a special festival, a πανάγυρις μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, held in 88/7; see *I.G.* XII 1, 730 = *I.G.R.* IV 1140.

41. The chief sources for the war in Greece, of which only a brief summary is given here, are Appian *Mith.* 28-45 and 49-50 and Plutarch *Sulla* 11-21, the latter being drawn from the Memoirs of Sulla (see above note 17). Further information is to be obtained from Livy *Per.* LXXVIII and LXXXI: Memnon 32: Pausanias I 20, 4f. and IX 7, 4f.: Velleius Paterculus II

23, 3f.: Orosius VI 2, 4f.: Eutropius V 6: Florus I 40, 8f. See also Reinach *Mith. Eup.* pp. 138f. and 152f. and Kromayer *Antike Schlachtfelder* II p. 353f. The commander of the army sent to Macedonia is called Ariarathes in Plutarch *Sulla* 11, but Arcathias in Appian *Mith.* 35 and 41, where, presumably, he is identified with Arcathias, son of Mithradates, the leader of the King's Armenian cavalry in 88 (*Mith.* 17f., see above note 24). It has been generally assumed that the name given him by Plutarch is the correct one, and that he was the Ariarathes Eusebes Philopator whom Mithradates made king of Cappadocia in 99 when he was eight years old (see above note 12); see Ed. Meyer *Pontos*, p. 101f.: Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 51f. and *Mith. Eup.* p. 160f.: Niese in *R.E.* II 820: Wilcken in *R.E.* II 1161. This identification rests entirely on a tetradrachm bearing the legend Βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου Εὐσεβοῦς Φιλοπάτορος (Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 51 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 38, no. 1) and, on the reverse, the figure of Pegasus drinking, which appears also on tetradrachms of Mithradates (*Receuil* I² p. 14f., no. 11f.); behind the horse is a monogram, which was interpreted by Reinach (*ll. cc.*) as Ἀμφί(πολις) and regarded as evidence that this coin was issued at Amphipolis in Macedonia and, therefore, that the young king of Cappadocia was in command of the army sent to the Balkan Peninsula. The connexion of the coin with Amphipolis was accepted in *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. xxx f. and (with a question) by Head in *H.N.*² p. 751. It is, however, very doubtful. No monogram of this sort appears on any of the known coins of Amphipolis; see *Ant. Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* III 2 (Berlin 1935), p. 30f. Moreover, monograms generally similar to this one appear on corresponding tetradrachms of Mithradates in the same position behind the Pegasus; like those on the coins of the kings of Bithynia (see *Receuil* I p. 218), they probably represent the names of the officials who minted them, and it seems highly probable that the young Ariarathes adopted not only the device on his father's coins but also the practice of recording the official's name. An attempt was made by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 298, note 1) to explain the discrepancy between Plutarch and Appian by the theory that the boy-king was called Arcathias (or perhaps Carcathias) before Mithradates gave him the Cappadocian national name Ariarathes, but this explanation is hardly convincing. The identification, moreover, is open to objection on several grounds: (1) Appian makes a clear distinction between Arcathias the commander (*Mith.* 17-18; 35; 41) and Ariarathes the king (*Mith.* 10 and 15): (2) If it is true that Ariarathes was eight years old in 99, he would have been only nineteen in 88 and so too young (unless his duties were purely nominal) to be commander of an army: (3) According to Plutarch *Pomp.* 37, 1, the secret records of Mithradates found in Pontus by Pompey (see above p. 360) contained the information that the King had poisoned his son Ariarathes, and it is hard to suppose that the commander, who died in Thessaly during the campaign (see above p. 220), was thus put to death. There seems, therefore, to be no real reason for supposing that Ariarathes and Arcathias were the same man.

42. For Aristion at Delos and Athens see Strabo IX p. 398 and X p. 486: Appian *Mith.* 28f.: Plutarch *Sulla* 12f.; *Luc.* 19, 6; *Numa* 9: Pausanias I 20, 5. His name appears on coins of Athens of 88-86 B.C.; see Weil in *A.M.* VI (1881), p. 324f. and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 385. For his host (and backer) at Athens, named Δίης (as emended in Athenaeus V 49, p. 212 D by Wilhelm in *A.E.M.* XX [1897], p. 73), see S. Dow in *C.P.* XXXVII (1942), p. 311f. Aristion has sometimes been identified with Athenion, who appears in Posidonius quoted in Athenaeus V p. 211f. (=*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 243f.) as the agent of Mithradates at Athens and, for a short time, tyrant of the city; see Mommsen *R.G.*[7] II p. 287f.=Eng. Trans. IV p. 35: Weil *ibid.* p. 315f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 139, note 1. It has been shown, however, that the two must be distinguished and that Aristion followed Athenion; see Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XLII (1887), p. 574f.: Wilcken in *R.E.* II 900f. and 2038f.: Ferguson *Hellenist. Athens*, p. 446f.: von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1923, p. 39f.=*Kl. Schr.* V 1, p. 204f.

43. The occupation of Boeotia by the Romans during the winter of 87-86 is shown by a decree of Chaeroneia which mentions the π[α]ραχειμασ[ία] of a Thracian commandant who had brought soldiers to aid Sulla; see *R.E.G.* XXXII (1919), p. 320f.=Holleaux *Études* I p. 143f. The Peloponnese also evidently submitted, as Kromayer observed (*Schlachtfelder* II p. 355, note 1), for Sulla seized the temple-treasures at Olympia and Epidaurus in addition to those at Delphi; see Plutarch *Sulla* 12, 3f.: Diodorus XXXVIII 7: Appian *Mith.* 54: Pausanias IX 7, 5. For the date of the capture of Athens see Plutarch *Sulla* 14, 6 (from Sulla's Memoirs).

44. The size of Archelaus's army was estimated as 60,000 by Memnon (32, 3), and as 120,000 by Plutarch (*Sulla* 22, 4), Appian (*Mith.* 41), Eutropius (V 6, 3) and Orosius (VI 2, 5). This was evidently the number given by Livy, for he recorded (*Per.* LXXXII) that 100,000 fell at the battle of Chaeroneia. This number was doubtless taken from Sulla's Memoirs and is much exaggerated. Memnon's estimate was accepted by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 168, note 2), who, however, tried to account for the larger number by supposing that it represented the original size of the Pontic force in Greece. Reinach pointed out that the estimate of Memnon agrees with the statement of Appian (*l.c.*) that Sulla's force was less than one third of that of his opponent. Kromayer (*ibid.* p. 390f.), rejecting the estimate of 60,000, supposed that the Pontic army numbered about 40,000. For the size of Sulla's army see Plutarch *Sulla* 16, 1 (evidently from the Memoirs). It included a force of 6000 recently sent from Italy to Macedonia under the command of Lucius Hortensius, who, after a difficult march through the mountains, evaded the enemy and joined Sulla in Phocis; see Plutarch 15, 3f.: Memnon 32, 3: Kromayer, p. 358f. For the operations which preceded the battle of Chaeroneia and for the battle itself see Kromayer, p. 359f. and (for a somewhat different view of the topography) N. G. L. Hammond in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 186f., whose accounts are based on the narrative of Plutarch as clearer and freer from inaccuracies than that of Appian, al-

though both are ultimately derived from Sulla's Memoirs; see Kromayer, p. 394f. The statement that Sulla lost only twelve or thirteen men (Plutarch 19, 4: Appian 45: Eutropius v 6, 3) is evidently also from this source.

45. For Dorylaus see Strabo x p. 477f. and *O.G.I.* 372 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 136f., in which he is called *σύντροφος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου, τεταγμένος δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων Βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος*. See also Chap. XIV note 28. The size of his army was 80,000 according to Plutarch (*Sulla* 20, 2) and Appian (*Mith.* 49), 70,000 according to Eutropius (v 6, 3) and Orosius (vi 2, 6), presumably from Livy. Kromayer pointed out (p. 393) that both estimates are too large.

46. For the negotiations see Plutarch *Sulla* 22: Appian *Mith.* 54f.: Eutropius v 6, 3: Orosius vi 2, 9. The exact time when they were begun cannot be definitely determined. No indication of it is given by Plutarch; according to Appian and Eutropius, it was on the receipt of the news of the defeat at Orchomenus, according to Orosius, after the revolt of the Asianic cities. Since the defeat occurred in the autumn of 86 and Ephesus revolted after the deportation of the Chians in the summer of this year (see below note 50), it may be supposed that Mithradates sent his first instructions to Archelaus in the late autumn of 86, and that, since the discussion of terms was long protracted, the negotiations occupied most of the winter (see below notes 47 and 55). Memnon (35, 1) relates that Sulla took the initiative in proposing negotiations, but this version is hardly correct. According to Plutarch, Sulla and Archelaus met at Delium on the northeastern coast of Boeotia; Licinianus (p. 26 Flemisch) placed their meeting at the neighbouring Aulis.

47. Appian *Mith.* 51. The winter was that of 86/5 after the battle of Orchomenus in the autumn of 86; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 189 and Bernhardt *Chronologie d. Mithr. Kriege*, p. 12, note 5. Mommsen, who dated the battle in 85, supposed that the winter was that of 85/4; see *R.G.*[7] II p. 295 = Eng. Trans. IV p. 45. Mommsen assumed, however, that after the battle of Chaeroneia Sulla spent some time in Thessaly, whereas, on the contrary, he seems to have returned quickly to Boeotia on the news of Dorylaus's invasion; see Plutarch *Sulla* 20, 3 (*ταχέως ὑποστρέψας*). The supposition of Mommsen that Sulla, who, according to Licinianus (p. 24 Flemisch), returned to Athens before the battle of Orchomenus, spent the winter of 86/5 in Athens is also an assumption.

48. Plutarch *Sulla* 11, 2: Cicero *pro Flacco* 17. According to *I.G.R.* IV 298 as restored by Wilhelm, he maintained a garrison on the acropolis of Pergamum.

49. He seems to have held the office in 86/5 B.C.; see *Milet* I 3, no. 125 and Rehm in *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939 VIII p. 5f. The alternative suggestion of 85/4 was made by Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XLV (1921), p. 50f., but, as

Rehm had already observed (*Milet* I 3, p. 251), so late a date seems highly improbable, for Mithradates's power began to wane before the end of 86, and by this time it must have become evident to the Milesians that he would eventually be defeated by the Romans. For a dating in 87/6 proposed by Kolbe in *Phil. Woch.* LVI (1936), 1199 see Rehm in *S. B. Bayer. Akad. ibid.*

50. According to the order of events in Appian *Mith.* 46-48, the deportation of the Chians (see note 51) and the subsequent revolt of Ephesus (see above p. 224) took place after Mithradates heard of the defeat at Chaeroneia in the spring of 86. This chronology was rejected by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 181, note 1 and p. 183, note 1), who placed both events in the early winter of 87/6. This view was based on the belief that the *Historiae* of Posidonius, which contained mention of the deportation (see below note 51), closed with the death of Marius in Jan. 86 and that a decree of Ephesus containing provisions for the relief of debtors (*Syll.*[3] 364) was connected with the war against Mithradates. These grounds, however, are no longer valid; for it was shown by C. F. Unger in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 79f. that the work of Posidonius included the autumn of 86, and the Ephesian decree is now dated in the time of Lysimachus (see Chap. IV note 10). There is therefore no reason to suppose that the two events in question did not take place in the summer of 86. It was pointed out, furthermore, by Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 254, note 2) that although, according to Appian *Mith.* 46, Chios was seized by Zenobius on his way to Greece, it is recorded in Memnon 33 that it was taken by Dorylaus; it would appear, therefore, that Zenobius was detached for the purpose from Dorylaus's expeditionary force which crossed the Aegean in the summer of 86.

51. Appian 46-47: Memnon 33: Nicolaus and Posidonius quoted in Athenaeus VI 91, p. 266 E = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 249f. See also *I.G.R.* IV 943 = *Syll.*[3] 785, l. 13f. For the date see above note 50. According to Memnon, Mithradates accused the Chians of having aided the Rhodians in the defence of their island, but this is evidently an error, due to a misunderstanding of the belief (Appian *l.c.*) that the King's anger had been aroused by an accidental collision, during the siege of Rhodes, between the royal galley and a Chian vessel. The Chians were afterward praised by the Senate for their adherence to the cause of Rome in resisting Mithradates and for enduring the sufferings which they had received at his hands; see Chap. X note 6.

52. Appian *Mith.* 48 and 62: Livy *Per.* LXXXII: Orosius VI 2, 8 (presumably from Livy). The manuscript-reading of Appian 48 is Μεσοπολῖται, but, as was pointed out by Schweighäuser (accepted in *R.E.* XV 1105), this is evidently an error for Μητροπολῖται.

53. For this episode see Cassius Dio frg. 104, 1-5 Boiss.: Appian *Mith.* 52: Livy *Per.* LXXXII: Memnon 34, 1f.: Strabo XIII p. 594: Velleius Paterculus II 24, 1: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 70, 1f.

54. For Fimbria's assumption of the command and his subsequent campaign see Appian *Mith.* 52-53: Diodorus XXXVIII 8, 2f.: Memnon 34, 2f.: Livy *Per.* LXXXIII: Frontinus *Strat.* III 17, 5: Orosius VI 2, 10f.: Strabo XIII p. 594: Plutarch *Luc.* 3, 4f.: Dio frg. 104, 6f. Boiss.: Velleius Paterculus II 24, 1: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 70: Augustine *de Civ. Dei* III 7 (from Livy): *I.G.* XIV 1297=*I.G.R.* I 175 (the "Capitoline Chronicle," a chronological table compiled about A.D. 15/16). According to Memnon, the Senate appointed him to the "consulship," *i.e.* the command of the army, but this is probably an error; the expression in Livy, *imperium ad Fimbriam translatum*, is too indefinite to permit of any inference. The district called "Phrygia" by Diodorus is evidently Hellespontine Phrygia, *i.e.* northern Mysia. The cruelties ascribed to Fimbria by Cassius Dio may have taken place at Cyzicus, but, as no definite place is mentioned, they may have occurred during his devastation of northwestern Mysia or at Ilium.

55. For the negotiations see above note 46. It was supposed by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 194f.) that Sulla's offer of the kingdom of Pontus was an attempt to bribe Archelaus into a betrayal of his master. But it is hard to see what Sulla would have gained thereby, since he would have secured only those ships which were in Greek waters. His subsequent courteous treatment of Archelaus and his gift of land in Euboea, on the other hand, may have had the purpose of winning Archelaus's support in the negotiations with the King. But, as Reinach observed, the account of the interview as given by Plutarch is taken from Sulla's Memoirs and represents rather what Sulla wished to be known than what actually happened. It is true that, later, Mithradates, brooding over his failure, blamed Archelaus for persuading him to yield so easily, and that the latter was forced to flee from Pontus and take refuge with the Romans; see below Chap. X notes 34 and 35. In *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 76, 5 it is expressly stated that Sulla *classem eius* (*i.e.* Mithradates's) *proditione Archelai intercepit*, but this evidence is not conclusive. Geyer suggested (*R.E.* XV 2176f.) that Sulla made his offer merely to show Archelaus the dishonourable character of the offer which had been previously made by him.

56. The terms offered to Mithradates (which were those finally accepted by him) may be pieced together from Plutarch *Sulla* 22, 5: Appian *Mith.* 55 and 58: Licinianus p. 26f. Flemisch: Livy *Per.* LXXXIII: Velleius Paterculus II 23, 6: Memnon 35, 2: Florus I 40, 12. According to Memnon, the amount of the indemnity was 3000 talents. For the offer to Archelaus see Plutarch *Sulla* 23, 2f. (from Sulla's Memoirs).

57. Plutarch *Sulla* 23, 5: Licinianus p. 27f. Flemisch. The former placed a raid made by Sulla εἰς τὴν Μαιδικήν after the departure of Archelaus to Mithradates, the latter distinguished between the raid of Sulla's *legatus* (*i.e.* Hortensius) and Sulla's own march *in Maedicam*. Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* pp. 198 and 202) followed Licinianus, supposing that there were two separate raids, the second of which was conducted by Sulla himself after

Archelaus's departure; this, however, was doubted by Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 257, note 1) on the ground that "the diplomatic situation was such that Sulla could hardly have absented himself at this stage." Ormerod's objection is valid if we must suppose a distant campaign, but the territory of the Maedi was not far west of Philippi, and it is not improbable that Sulla marched there to receive the formal submission of the enemy, a supposition which accords with Licinianus's words (applied to all the marauding tribes) *in deditionem recepit.*

58. Plutarch *Sulla* 24: Appian *Mith.* 56–58: Licinianus p. 27 Flemisch: Livy *Per.* LXXXIII: Strabo XIII p. 595: Velleius Paterculus II 23, 6: Eutropius V 7, 2: Memnon 35. The date seems assured from the statement of Appian *B.C.* I 76 that Sulla's achievements were performed in ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὅλοις τρισίν, *i.e.* from the spring of 87 to the autumn of 85; see also above note 47 and Bernhardt *Chronologie*, p. 13, note 6. Reinach observed (*Mith. Eup.* p. 205, note 2) that a coin in his possession (as yet unpublished) of Ariobarzanes issued in the eleventh year of the King's reign (see also p. 476), *i.e.* 86/5 B.C., shows that in this year he had returned to his kingdom. On the other hand, the coins of Nicomedes IV dated in the 212th year of the Bithynian Era, *i.e.* 87/6 B.C., which Reinach cited as evidence, prove nothing, for there are also coins of his which are dated in the 210th and 211th years, when he was not in Bithynia; see *Receuil* I p. 232. The existence of these coins can be explained only by supposing either that some places in his kingdom did not fall into Mithradates's hands and continued to issue royal coins (so *Receuil* I p. 218) or that they were issued by Nicomedes while absent from Bithynia.

CHAPTER X

1. For this episode see Appian *Mith.* 59f.: Plutarch *Sulla* 25, 1: Livy *Per.* LXXXIII: Orosius VI 2, 11: *Liber de Viris Ill.* 70, 4: Velleius Paterculus II 24, 1. It is also mentioned in the "Capitoline Chronicle" of A.D. 15/16 (*I.G.* XIV 1297=*I.G.R.* I 175). The narrative in Appian *Mith.* 60, describing the interview between Rufus and Fimbria was thought by Ed. Meyer (*Kl. Schriften* [Halle 1910], p. 384, note 3) to have been taken from the former's Memoirs. The account given by Plutarch would lead one to believe that Fimbria killed himself in the camp at Thyateira, but this is probably due to an unskilful abbreviation of his source.

2. Appian *Mith.* 60: Licinianus p. 28 Flemisch: "Capitoline Chronicle." According to the restored text of Licinianus, Curio not only returned Bithynia to Nicomedes but gave him Paphlagonia as well. By this is presumably meant only western Paphlagonia, for the eastern part of the district seems to have remained under the power of Mithradates. In 73 he advanced, apparently, through the Amnias valley without opposition (see above p. 324), and *regii agri* in Paphlagonia belonging to him are mentioned by Cicero (*de Leg. Agr.* I 6; II 51) among the conquests of Pompey.

3. Cicero *Brutus* 312: Valerius Maximus II 2, 3. It has been suggested that this oration was the λόγος Μόλωνος κατὰ Καυνίων mentioned by Strabo (XIV p. 652); see van Gelder *Gesch. d. alt. Rhodier*, p. 165. Apollonius gave instruction in oratory to Cicero when in Rhodes in 79/8 B.C.; see Cicero *Brutus* 316: Plutarch *Cic.* 4, 4. For Caunus see Cicero *Epist ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 33, where it is said that the Caunians, finding the Rhodian taxgatherers worse than the Roman *publicani*, petitioned the Senate to be returned to Roman rule. This request was evidently granted, for in 51/50 the city was subject to the governor of Asia; see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 56, 3. It is impossible to determine the date of the revolt of the Caunians from Rhodes recorded by Strabo (XIV p. 652) after which κριθέντες ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπελήφθησαν πάλιν. In the list of Pliny (*N.H.* V 104) Caunus appears as an *oppidum liberum*.

4. For the resistance of Cyzicus to Mithradates in 73 see above p. 328f. The independence of Cyzicus at this time may be inferred from its possession of troops and ships with which it not only held out against the siege by Mithradates but also previously had attempted (in vain) to aid the Romans at Chalcedon (see Chap. XIV note 9). The mention in Tacitus *Ann.* IV 36, 3 and Suetonius *Tib.* 37 (in A.D. 25) of the Cyzicenes' *libertatem, quam bello Mithridatis* (*Mithridatico*) *meruerant* seems to refer to their resistance in 73, but it cannot be regarded as evidence for supposing that by their resistance they acquired independence at this time.

5. Lampsacus was apparently free in 80; see Cicero *II Verr.* I 81 and above p. 247. For the other cities belonging to the Ilian Federation see below note 24.

6. Appian *Mith.* 61: *C.I.G.* 2222 = *I.G.R.* IV 943 = *Syll.*[3] 765, quoting a senatus consultum of 80 B.C. which, in view of ὅσα ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων δι[έθη]κάν τε Μιθριδάτην ἀνδραγαθοῦντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔπαθον, conferred full rights on the Chians.

7. Orosius VI 2, 8 (where it is said that not only Smyrna, but also Ephesus, Sardis, Colophon and Tralles *portas obiecerunt*). The submission of Smyrna to Mithradates is shown by a coin issued under his domination (see Chap. IX note 34). Since Rutilius Rufus, on the surrender of Mitylene, took refuge in Smyrna (see above p. 215) and was alive at the end of the war (see above p. 232), it may be supposed that there was no general massacre in the city. For the gifts of clothing to the Roman soldiers see Tacitus *Ann.* IV 56, 2 (A.D. 26). Apparently Apollonis in Lydia was a free city in 59 B.C.; see Cicero *pro Flacco* 70f. As this passage suggests that it had been harshly treated by Mithradates, it may have received its freedom from Sulla in recompense.

8. The letter of Sulla to the Coans about 81 B.C. concerning the privileges of the "Artists of Dionysus" (*Riv. Fil.* LXVI [1938], p. 253, see above Chap. III note 114) is addressed to the ἄρχουσι, βουλῇ, δήμῳ. The Coans also supplied a ship to A. Terentius Varro about 82 (see below note 20). With regard to the status of Cnidus at this time we have no information. It was declared free and exempt from taxation by Julius Caesar in 48 B.C. (see Chap. XVII note 5), but whether this was a new grant or the confirmation of a privilege conferred by Sulla is uncertain.

9. The autonomy of Tabae was confirmed by a senatus consultum of about 81 B.C.; see *O.G.I.* 442, with a new copy and greatly improved text by Buckler in *M.A.M.A.* VI 162. The clause conferring rights on the city, which had been restored unsatisfactorily by P. Viereck in *Herm.* XXV (1890), p. 624f., now reads as follows: ὅσ[α (ὅσ[ας] Viereck) τε ψηφισθῆναι τού]των ἀρετῆς καὶ καταλογῆς ἕν[εκεν αὐτοῖς μετ]ὰ συνβουλίου γνώμης Λεύκιος Κ[ορνήλιος Σύλλ]ας αὐτοκράτωρ συνεχώρησεν · ὅπω[ς ([π]όλ[εις ὅπως] Viereck) ἐπ' ἴσῃ αὐ]τοῖς τοῖς νόμοις αἱρέσεσίν τε ὦσιν [κύρια]. Buckler's correction, by which the restoration [π]όλ[εις] has been eliminated, has been a great contribution to the intelligibility of the text, for it was especially difficult to explain why *cities* granted to Tabae should be autonomous. It has also rendered unnecessary the elaborate explanation offered by Mommsen in *Herm.* XXVI (1891), p. 146f. = *Ges. Schr.* V p. 515f., according to which these cities were assigned, not to Tabae, but to the σύστημα Χρυσαορέων (see Chap. V note 77). The autonomy of Stratoniceia was recognized in the *Senatus Consultum de Stratonicensibus* of about 81 B.C. (*O.G.I.* 441), in which (l. 43f.), because the city maintained good will and good faith and its alliance with the Romans [τὰ ἴ]δια πράγματα κ[ατὰ τ]ὴν προαίρεσιν [τὴν ἐκείνων διοικήσας καὶ Μιθραδάτῃ] πόλεμον ἐπο[ίησ]ε, the right of the citizens was recognized [κ]αὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐθισμ[οῖς τοῖς ἰδίοις, οἷς ἐχρῶντο ἐπάν]ω, ὅπως χρῶνται. They also received (ll. 50f. and

96f.) [Pedasum], Themessus, Ceramus, *χωρία*, *κώμας*, *λιμένας* and the revenues of the cities which Sulla granted them. The restoration [Πήδασον] (for the places of this name see Chap. III note 134 and Chap. IV note 78), which is based on Strabo XIII p. 611, *Πήδασον . . . ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονικέων πολίχνιον*, is, as Robert observed (*Ét. Anat.* p. 561f., note 4), exceedingly doubtful. Themessus is called by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* *Θεμισσός*) a *πόλις Καρίας*. The ethnicum appears (probably as a deme-name) in two inscriptions from Stratoniceia of the imperial period; see Robert *ibid.* p. 562f. For Ceramus, a harbour-town on the Gulf of Cos, as an ally of Rhodes soon after 167 B.C. see Chap. IV note 71. It is described by Strabo in XIV p. 656 as a *πολίχνιον*, but in XIV p. 660 as an important and independent member of the *σύστημα Χρυσαορέων*, a discrepancy which has led to the suggestion that in the latter passage, which describes the *σύστημα*, Strabo was using a source older than 81 B.C.; see Chap. V note 77. It was observed by Mommsen that the Romans might easily assign to a free and allied city certain subject communities, which, though they paid tribute to the city to which they had been assigned instead of to Rome, did not thereby lose their limited local autonomy, and *politically* were still under Rome's jurisdiction; see Mommsen *R.St.R.* III p. 772 and *Herm.* XXVI (1891), p. 146 = *Ges. Schr.* V p. 515. It does not necessarily follow, therefore, that Ceramus lost its position in the *σύστημα* or its right to representatives at the meeting of the league; nor need we accept the conclusion that Strabo is describing its status as it existed before 81 B.C. For an improbable view that a decree of Alabanda mentioning the grant of an alliance with Rome should be dated at this time see Chap. V note 32.

10. *C.I.L.* I^2 588 = *I.G.* XIV 951 = *I.G.R.* I 118 = Bruns. *Fontes*^{7}, no. 41, dated by the Consuls of 78 B.C. The *πόλεμος ὁ Ἰταλικός* (l. 7), in which the three men served, may have been either the war against the Italian Allies (90-88 B.C.), as supposed by Mommsen (*R.St.R.* III p. 591, note 1 and Bruns *l.c.*) and Münzer in *R.E.* XV 894f., or the war waged by Sulla in Italy in 83/2, as suggested by Klebs in *R.E.* II 1624 and L. Gallet in *Rev. Hist. de Droit Franç. et Étranger* XVI (1937), p. 252f. The long interval between the service and the conferring of the rewards which the former view presupposes may be paralleled, as Gallet admitted (p. 253, note 2), by the eleven years which elapsed before the return of two ships sent by Heracleia Pontica to take part in this war. On the other hand, Sulla returned to Italy in 83 with 1200 (Plutarch *Sulla* 27, 1) or 1600 (Appian *B.C.* I 79) ships, and in 82 a fleet of his, under the command of Metellus Pius, was operating off Ravenna (Appian *B.C.* I 89). In addition to the *φίλοι* of Rome mentioned in Chap. VII note 48, we know, during this period, of the Priest of Amphiaraus at Oropus in Boeotia, who, declared a *σύμμαχος* by the Senate, is described in the senatus consultum of 73 B.C. granting exemption from taxation to the land of the God as *ὁ διὰ τέλους ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μεμενηκώς*; see *I.G.* VII 413 = *Syll.*^{3} 747 = Bruns *Fontes*^{7}, no. 42, ll. 17 and 51. For the *amicitia* (see Chap. IV note 76) granted by the Senate to individuals see Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 410f. and Gallet *ibid.* pp. 277f.

and 389f. Our knowledge of the privileges conferred is derived chiefly from this decree for the three ship-captains and from an edict of Octavian issued in 35 or 34 B.C. granting similar rights to a certain Seleucus, a *ναύαρχος* from Rhosus on the coast of Syria close to the Cilician border, who, however, in addition to his status as *amicus* also received Roman citizenship; see P. Roussel in *Syria* XV (1934), p. 33f. (=*Ann. Ép.* 1934, 217, a summary only) and M. A. Levi in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 113f. and, for the privileges, C. E. Goodfellow *Roman Citizenship* (Lancaster, Penna. 1935), p. 42f. and F. de Visscher in *C.R.A.I.* 1938, p. 24f. Besides *πολιτεία*, Seleucus received *ἀνεισφορία τῶν ὑπαρχόν[των]* as enjoyed by the most highly favoured persons, and *[στρατείας λει]του[ργία]ς τε δημοσίας ἀπάσης πάρε[σις]*, as well as the right, in law-suits in which he was the defendant, to have the case tried either in his native-place or in a free city or before a Roman magistrate. These cases of the bestowal of extraordinary rights indicate the existence of an especially privileged class of men from the eastern provinces—some of whom, but by no means all, received Roman citizenship in the period of the Civil Wars—who were exempt from the burdens borne by the members of their communities; see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* Ital. Trans. Chap. II note 5 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 971f. and note 58. The existence of this class is shown also by the statement of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 8, 5) that among the 3000 ancient bronze tablets which Vespasian restored in the Capitolium after the great fire of 69 were senatus consulta and plebiscita *de societate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.* The not unnatural resentment of the fellow-citizens of these men at the privileged position which they possessed is shown by the action of the *βουλή* of Mitylene, which sent envoys to Julius Caesar, protesting *[μη]δένα δεῖν ἀτελῆ εἶ[ναι]*, and in reply received from him the assurance *οὐδενὶ συγχωρῶ οὐδὲ συγ[χωρήσω ἀτελεῖ παρ' ὑμῖν εἶναι]*; see *I.G.* XII 2, 35=*I.G.R.* IV 33 b, l. 27f. with a correction by Robert in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 426f., and below Chap. XVII note 43. In 7/6 B.C. an attempt to exercise a general control over the privileges of this class of persons was made by Augustus in one of his edicts found at Cyrene; see *S.E.G.* IX 8 III and, in addition to the references there cited, Goodfellow *ibid.* p. 42f. and F. de Visscher in *C.R.A.I.* 1939, p. 111f. This edict ordered that a provincial who had received Roman citizenship should nevertheless be under obligation to bear his share of the municipal burdens unless *ἀνεισφορία* had been conferred on him by an official act together with citizenship. Thus the provincial who became a Roman citizen continued to be a citizen of his native-place and, unless specifically exempted, was subject to the taxes and the other charges which it imposed; at the same time, he was liable to those taxes, such as the inheritance-tax, which were paid by all Roman citizens.

11. Strabo XIII p. 614. Xenocles, like Apollonius Molo, was one of the teachers of Cicero while in Asia (see above note 3).

12. For the resistance offered by Ephesus in 86 see above p. 224f. For the improbable view that its freedom was restored under Sulla see Chap. IV

note 67. For Pergamum see above p. 223 and (for its coins) Chap. IX note 34. For the restoration of the freedom of both Ephesus and Pergamum in 47/6 see Chap. XVII note 42.

13. See above pp. 223 and 225 and above note 7, and for gold coins of Tralles issued under Mithradates see Chap. IX note 34. If we may believe the statement of Cicero (*pro Flacco* 59) that *in ornandis studiosiorem Mithridatem quam in spoliandis Trallianis fuisse*, the city did not suffer greatly under the King, but we do not know how his generosity was expressed. We are also ignorant of Sulla's decision with regard to the city, but in any case it had the right shortly before 62 B.C. to arrange for the collection of its own taxes; see Cicero *pro Flacco* 91 and below note 53. The fate of Sardis, which also expelled Mithradates's garrison (above note 7), is unknown.

14. For Mithradates's stephanephorate at Miletus see Chap. IX note 49. It seems evident that Miletus and Clazomenae were not free in 78, when the senatus consultum for Asclepiades and the other two ship-captains was passed (see above note 10), for a distinction was made in the decree (l. 18f.) between the *πατρίδες* of these men and a *πόλις ἐλευθέρα ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μεμενηκυῖα*. The subject status of Miletus seems to be shown also by the city's contribution about 83/2 of ten warships *ex pecunia vectigali* (Cicero *II Verr.* 1 89, see below note 27), for this *vectigal* evidently refers to the money paid by the Milesians to Rome rather than to what was paid to them by their own sources of income. See also Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939 VIII p. 19f. For the status of Miletus as subject at this time see also Brandis in *R.E.* II 1541: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* pp. 118 and 124: Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 193, note 4: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E.* XV 1613. The opposite view was taken by L. Gallet *Rev. Hist. de Droit* XVI (1937), p. 389f., but without considering the fact that in 38 B.C. Miletus became *ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος* (see Chap. XVIII note 15). The statement in Cassius Dio XLI 25, 3 that Phocaea was declared free by Pompey (at some unknown time) suggests that it had been deprived of its freedom by Sulla, but the city may never have been free since the time when the Romans wished to destroy it for supporting Aristonicus (see above p. 155).

15. Plutarch *Sulla* 25, 2; the legionary soldier ordinarily received one fortieth of the amount hereby granted him. Broughton calculated that if Sulla had 40,000 soldiers in Asia (Appian *B.C.* 1 79), the amount of money received during a six months' billeting by officers and men (apart from food and clothing) would be about 120,000,000 drachmae (20,000 talents), see *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 517f.

16. Plutarch *Sulla* 25, 2; *Luc.* 4, 1; 20, 4: Appian *Mith.* 62 (a speech attributed to Sulla). According to Plutarch (*ll. cc.*), Sulla *ἐζημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις*, while, according to Appian, he imposed *πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους . . . αὐτίκα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην*. Unfortu-

nately, it is not clear whether the sum of 20,000 talents included both the five years' arrears of taxes (88-84 B.C.) and the costs of the war, or whether it applied to the latter only. It was supposed by Mommsen *R.G.*[7] II p. 302 = Eng. Trans. IV p. 53 and Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 209, followed by C. Lanzani *Mario e Silla* (Catania 1915), p. 257 and (with reserve) by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 17, that this was the amount of the indemnity alone. On the other hand, Hatzfeld *Trafiquants Italiens*, p. 203, note 2, Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 259, Frank in *Econ. Surv.* I p. 342, Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 518 and 562 and Momigliano in *Atti IV Congresso Naz. di Stud. Rom.* I (1938), p. 280 believed that both the arrears of the taxes and the indemnity were included. It has been estimated that the total annual income derived by Rome from the province of Asia at this time was somewhat under fifteen million denarii; see K. Böttcher *Die Einnahmen d. Röm. Republik im letzten Jahrh. i. Bestehens* (Weide 1915), p. 62 (14,400,000 den. = 2400 talents), accepted by Broughton, p. 562, Momigliano *l.c.* ("not much over 2000 talents") and Rostovtzeff, p. 958. Since, therefore, the five years' arrears of taxes would amount to not over 12,000 talents, it is probable that the 20,000 included the indemnity as well, although the sum of 8000 talents does not seem very large as compared with the 2000 talents which Mithradates had taken from the Chians alone (see above p. 223); it does seem large, however, in comparison with the 2000 talents demanded by Sulla from Mithradates at Dardanus (see above p. 229).

17. Cicero *pro Flacco* 32; *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 33: Appian *Mith.* 62f. According to Cassiodorus *Chron.* 670 (probably taken from Livy LXXXIII), in 84 B.C. *Asiam in quattuor et quadraginta regiones Sulla distribuit.* What is meant by these *regiones* is far from clear. They evidently bore no relation either to the *regio Apamena, regio Eumenetica* and *regio Milesia* of Pliny *N.H.* V 113 and XI 95, for *regio* is used here in a purely geographical sense without any administrative significance, or to the *ῥεγιὼν Φιλαδελφηνή*, a *βοηθὸς ἐπιτρόπων* of which appears in *I.G.R.* IV 1651 = *O.G.I.* 526 of the third century after Christ, for this refers to an imperial domain; see O. Hirschfeld in *Klio* II (1902), p. 302 and *V.B.* p. 125, note 3 and below Chap. XXIV note 6. They likewise bore no relation to the *civitates* among which Sulla *pro portione pecuniam discripsisset* (*pro Flacco* 32), since there were obviously more than forty-four *civitates* in Asia, and the suggestion to amend XLIV to CXLIV, which was made by Monceaux (*De Communi Asiae Prov.* [Paris 1885], p. 28f.), although accepted by Brandis in *R.E.* II 1544f. and seemingly in conformity with the 140 cities in Asia enumerated by Ptolemy (V 2), is far from convincing. Chapot, on the other hand, pointing out (*Prov. Procons.* p. 91f.) the impossibility of identifying Cassiodorus's *regiones* with either the *regiones* of Pliny or the *ῥεγεών* of the inscription or yet the *civitates* of Cicero, regarded the *regio* of Cassiodorus as a "circonscription financière supérieure," which included a number of cities but was smaller than a judiciary *conventus*. This, in fact, is the only satisfactory explanation of the term as Cassiodorus used it. On the other hand, the view of Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 209f.) that this division of Sulla's "remained the

basis of the financial organization of Asia," although widely accepted, *e.g.* by Chapot, by Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 260 and by Broughton (p. 518), is not supported by any evidence. In the lack of further information, therefore, it seems most reasonable to suppose, with Fröhlich in *R.E.* IV 1543, that these *regiones* were temporary divisions of the province established by Sulla solely for the purpose of facilitating the collection of the fine which he had imposed. The apportionment of this fine among the several cities led Mommsen to attribute to Sulla the abolition of the tax-farming system in Asia and the conversion of "the former contributions of the Asiatics into fixed taxes, which were assessed on the several districts according to the valuation-rolls drawn up for the purpose of gathering in the arrears"; see *R.G.*[7] II p. 346=Eng. Trans. IV p. 110f. This view, based on the passages cited above and on the statement of Cicero (*II Verr.* I 89, see below note 27) that on Murena's demand (about 82) the Milesians built ten ships for the Romans *ex pecunia vectigali*, has found wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, p. 357 and *Hellenist. World*, pp. 946 and 966: Ivanov *De Soc. Vectigalium publ. Pop. Rom.* p. 101f.: E. G. Hardy *Six Roman Laws* (Oxford 1911), pp. 87f. and 91f.: Frank in *C.P.* IX (1914), p. 192 and *Econ. Hist. of Rome*[2] p. 195: Carcopino *Républ. Rom. de 133 à 44 av. J.C.* (Paris 1935), p. 427. The weakness of this theory, on the other hand, was perceived by Marquardt, who observed (*R.St.V.* I[2] p. 338) that the change attributed to Sulla, if made at all, remained in force for only a short time, as well as by Ivanov, who, in order to reconcile it with the evidence of the *Senatus Consultum de Asclepiade* of 78 B.C. (see above note 10), in which reference is made (Latin, l. 6) to [*magistrat*]*us nostri queiquomque Asiam Euboeam locabunt vectigalve Asiae* [*Euboeae imponent*], was forced to the conclusion that without any definite system the taxes were farmed out or a fixed amount was imposed as circumstances demanded. Ivanov had recourse also to the compromise that while the *publicani* lost the right to collect the tithes from the communities, they retained the *scriptura* and the *portorium* as well as the revenues from the *ager publicus*, a view which was accepted with some reserve by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 946). Even Mommsen admitted (*R.G.*[7] III p. 102=Eng. Trans. IV p. 380f.) that with the revival of the censorship in 70 the old system was restored; as Frank observed, its existence in 70 is apparent from the reference in Cicero *II Verr.* III 12 to the *censoria locatio* in Asia, and its restoration might be regarded as a consequence of the election of Pompey and Crassus to the consulship of this year, which was accomplished with the aid of the Equestrian Order. This was also the view of Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 966), who, however, supposed that although the *publicani* regained their hold on the tithes, "the basis of Sulla's system, that is, the collection of the *decuma* by the cities, was retained." On the other hand, the lack of any real evidence for an abolition of the farming of the tithes in Asia by Sulla was shown by T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I p. 395f., whose conclusions were accepted by Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 260), by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 125) and, with reserve, by Broughton (p. 518f.). In fact, the passages in Cicero's *pro Flacco* and Appian relate only that Sulla apportioned his *fine* among the cities,

and the contribution of ships by the Milesians merely shows that in their case (as also in the cases of certain other cities) a part of their payment was commuted into ships. The only basis, accordingly, for Mommsen's theory (so also Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World,* Chap. VII note 17) is Cicero *ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 33, *nomen autem publicani aspernari non possunt* (*i.e.* the people of Asia) *qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerint quod iis aequaliter Sulla discripserat,* where it may be assumed that *vectigal,* as in Cicero *II Verr.* I 89, denotes the quota of the fine imposed by Sulla. This passage, however, as Rice Holmes showed (so also Strachan-Davidson in his edition of Appian *B.C.* I [Oxford 1902], p. 107), means only that "the people of Asia had not the organization necessary for raising the indemnity exacted by Sulla (which had nothing to do with ordinary taxation) without the assistance of professional tax-collectors"—a statement borne out by the indebtedness of the provincials in 71/70 to the *publicani* as well as to the money-lenders for the money which they had had to pay to Sulla; see Plutarch *Luc.* 20, 1 and 4 and above p. 252. The reference in the *Senatus Consultum de Asclepiade,* moreover, to the *locatio* and the *vectigal* in Asia and Euboea, far from meaning, as Ivanov supposed, that either system was used as circumstances demanded, or, as suggested by Hardy, referring to the leasing out of the public land to *publicani* and to the "regular taxation," is merely part of a general statement exempting the three ship-captains both from any taxes that might in the future be leased to *publicani* and from any fixed payment (as in the passages from Cicero already quoted) that might (also in the future) be imposed on their native cities.

18. Appian *B.C.* I 102. The statement that ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην ἀντόνομοί τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο is scarcely credible unless we suppose that it applied to those formerly free.

19. Plutarch *Luc.* 4, 1. None of the coins which he struck in Asia are known. Those which he issued in Greece (*ibid.* 2, 2) in 87/6 were silver tetradrachms, called in an inscription from Delphi πλάτη Λευκόλλεια; see Daux in *Rev. Num.* XXXVIII (1935), p. 1f. and E. J. P. Raven in *Num. Chron.* XVIII (1938), p. 155f. For Lucullus's quaestorship in Asia see also Cicero *Acad. Pr.* II 1. He appears as ἀντιταμίας (proquaestor) in a Rhodian inscription (*I.G.* XII 1, 48 = *I.G.R.* IV 1118 = *Syll.*[3] 745 = Dessau 8772) and in inscriptions from Synnada and Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 701 [= *M.A.M.A.* IV 52] and 1191), the former of which was dated in A.D. 150-200 by the editors of *M.A.M.A.* on the supposition that it was restored in this period. Lucullus appears as *proq.* also in an inscription at Delos (*C.I.L.* I[2] 714 = III 13690 = *Ins. Delos* 1620 = Dessau 865 = Durrbach *Choix,* no. 154).

20. For A. Terentius Varro see Münzer in *R.E.* V A 678f. He is called πρεσβευτὴς Ῥωμαίων in the inscription from Rhodes cited above (*I.G.* XII 1, 48 = *Syll.*[3] 745 = *I.G.R.* IV 1118 = Dessau 8772) and πρεσβευτής in an inscription from Euromus in Caria (L.W. 320 = *B.C.H.* XXII [1898], p. 374,

no. 14 = Dessau 8773) and in a dedication erected by the officers and crew of a Coan ship of war, (*I.G.* XII 8, 260 = *I.G.R.* I 843, see *Klio* XVIII [1923], p. 366f.), and he is evidently the [πρεσβευτὴς Ῥ]ωμαίων honoured at Delos by the *Italicei et Graecei quei Delei negotiantur* (*C.I.L.* I² 738 = *Ins. Delos* 1698 = Dessau 866 and Add. p. clxxiii = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 155. In the inscription of the Coans he is called ἀγ[ούμ]ε[ν]ος τοῦ στόλου παντός, and the suggestion that he was in command of part of Lucullus's fleet or (more probably) of the whole of it after Lucullus was assigned to the task of collecting the fine imposed upon the province was made by H. Willrich in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 657f. An attempt was made by Münzer to identify this Aulus Terentius Varro with the Marcus (?) Terentius Varro who was tried for extortion in 75 and 74, but the identification is based only on the fact that both men held commands in the province (see below note 42).

21. See *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxxix: Head *H.N.*² p. 576: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 556.

22. For Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 300, honouring Hiero, son of Asclepiades, ἀνανεωσάμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Σωτηρίω[ν] καὶ Ἡρακλείων πανήγυριν καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. In *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 412 H. Hepding suggested that this inscription refers to the war against Aristonicus, but the expression πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον as used in two decrees of Priene (see below note 23) refers to the war against Mithradates, and it seems most natural so to regard it here. For Miletus see an inscription of 63 or 62 B.C. found at Didyma, a clause of which reads: ἀποκατεστάθη . . . ᾗ τε πανήγ[ν]ρις καὶ ὁ τῶν Διδυμήων ἀγὼν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβηαν; see *Milet* I 3, pp. 274 and 394: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 427f.: Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XLV (1921), p. 58: Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939 VIII, pp. 16f. and 32. It was supposed by Rehm (*Milet ll. cc.*) that these festivals, the renewal of which is here commemorated, were suppressed by the Romans in 84 as a punishment for the city's defection to Mithradates: but, in view of the abandonment of the festival at Pergamum, it may be that the suspension at Miletus was also due to the lack of the necessary funds. On the other hand, the fact that Apollo does not appear as stephanephorus (see Chap. III note 24) between 82/1 and 15/14 B.C. (see *Milet* I 3, nos. 125 and 126) suggests that there was no lack of rich men to hold this costly office.

23. See *Ins. Priene* 113, ll. 41f. and 60; 114, ll. 18 and 25. These important factors in the public life of an Asianic city were restored by the generosity of A. Aemilius Sex. f. Zosimus, who was the first to hold the office of stephanephorus "after the war." See above p. 256.

24. See Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion* (Athens 1902) II p. 454f., no. 15 = *O.G.I.* 444 = *I.G.R.* IV 197 = *Herm.* LXI (1926) p. 132f. = *S.E.G.* IV 664. The cities were Ilium, Dardanus, Scepsis, Assus, Alexandria Troas, Abydus and Lampsacus. The supposition that the rate of 6 2/3 per cent was the original

interest-charge depends on the restoration of the clause stating that, after the expiration of the period of ten years' interest at 1 2/3 per cent, εἶναι τοὺς πεντεκαιδεκάτους τόκους καθὼ[ς . . . περ]ιέχει, where the missing word was restored as ὁ νόμος by Wilhelm (in Dörpfeld, *l.c.*); there is, however, no evidence of the existence before the reform of Lucullus (see above p. 252) of any law determining a maximum interest; see G. Billeter *Gesch. d. Zinsfusses im Griech.-Röm. Altertum* (Berlin 1898), p. 99. For loans made by temples see above Chap. V note 67. The interest-rate on the money given to the Temple at Delphi by Eumenes II and Attalus II in 160/59 (see Chap. I notes 70 and 82) was also 6 2/3 per cent, but at Delos from the fifth to the second century the regular charge was 10 per cent; see Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 364, 368 and 371. According to Billeter (p. 74f.), in the second and early first centuries the usual rate on secure investments was 7 or 8 per cent but the inscription from Ephesus cited by him, *Syll.*[3] 364, is now known to date from the early third century, and the accuracy of his conclusion was questioned by Larsen (p. 372). At Olymus in Caria, however, about 100 B.C., cash-loans were expected to yield about 8 per cent, while income from the lease of land yielded about 4 per cent; see Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 560f. The rate of 12 per cent, accordingly, which was established in 71 B.C. in Asia by Lucullus (see below note 48) and in 51 in Cilicia by Cicero and in this year was also made legal in Rome (see above p. 391 and Chap. XVI note 44), is probably, as Larsen observed (p. 373), to be regarded as normal for loans of only moderately good security. With regard to the loans recorded in the present inscription, it was suggested by Mommsen (in Dörpfeld, p. 456) that the amounts owed by the various cities were not actual loans but merely fictitious capital sums on which each city had bound itself to pay an interest-charge as its contribution to the festival of the Goddess. This interpretation was rejected by Dittenberger, who, followed by Preuner (*Herm.* LXI p. 116f.), connected the loans with the fine imposed by Sulla. But as it is improbable that the cities of the Troad, which had not sided with Mithradates and so presumably retained their freedom (see above p. 233f.), were compelled to pay this fine, it may readily be supposed (so Broughton, p. 558) that the sums owed by the cities were contributions to the support of the festival of Athena based on loans by the Goddess of capital on which a definite rate of interest was paid. In spite of the reduction obtained, however, Lampsacus was forced to borrow from Roman money-lenders; see Cicero *II Verr.* I 74. For a similar remission of arrears of contributions granted by the Temple of Athena see *I.G.R.* IV 193 and Broughton *l.c.*

25. *I.G.R.* IV 196 = *O.G.I.* 443; the probable connexion of this inscription with a pirate-raid was suggested by Lolling in *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 30, note 1 and accepted by H. A. Ormerod *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924), p. 206, note 4 and by Preuner in *Herm.* LXI p. 117.

26. In the end of January, 81; see *Acta Triumphorum, C.I.L.* I[2] p. 178; see also Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 16: Appian *B.C.* I 101: Valerius Maximus II 8, 7:

Plutarch *Sulla* 34. For the "era of Sulla," beginning on 23 Sept., 85 B.C., see W. Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 638 and *Grundriss d. ant. Zeitrechnung* (Munich 1928), p. 76. For the clause in the *Lex Cornelia de Provinciis ordinandis* which restricted the presentation of resolutions by envoys see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* III 10, 6 (cf. III 8, 2f.). The law may, however, have contained a clause permitting a provincial community to erect a monument, or even a temple, in honour of a governor; see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 26. For the clause which specified the time for holding elections of magistrates see *O.G.I.* 458, l. 83 (see below Chap. XX note 39). A fragment from Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1188), *γράψασα κατὰ τὸν Κορνήλιον νόμον διάταξιν*, also indicates that the law dealt in some way with the internal administration of the city; see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* V p. 524, note 5. For the provisions of the law that the two consuls and the eight praetors should not be sent out to govern provinces until after the expiration of their terms of office in Rome and that the provincial governor must remain in his province for a year (or until the arrival of his successor) but must leave within thirty days of his successor's arrival, keeping his *imperium* until he entered Rome, see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* I 9, 25; III 6, 3 and 6: Lange *Röm. Altertümer* III^{2} p. 164f.: Mommsen *R.St.R.* II^{3} p. 200: Fröhlich in *R.E.* IV 1560.

27. Cicero *II Verr.* I 89f., where we are told that at Murena's order the Milesians constructed ten ships *ex pecunia vectigali*, as did also *ceterae civitates* of Asia *pro sua quaeque parte*, and that this fleet was built for use "against the pirates." It was supposed by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 949) that Miletus (as a subject city, see above note 14) and also the other cities paid this *pecunia vectigalis* in addition to their shares of the fine levied by Sulla (see above note 17). This view, however, was based only on the contribution of ships made by the cities for Sulla's fleet under Lucullus (see above p. 226) and on the fact that in 62 B.C. Flaccus, or so it was alleged, collected money from the cities of Asia for ships ostensibly to be used against the pirates (see Cicero *pro Flacco* 27f. and Chap. XVI note 3). There is, however, no analogy between the ships obtained by Lucullus from cities ready to aid Rome in the war against Mithradates and those demanded by Murena after Sulla had imposed a fine on cities which had supported the King. Moreover, Murena's order to build ships could have applied to the coast cities only, and a requisition of this sort added to the fine imposed by Sulla would have caused these to be doubly penalized, a supposition which, although not impossible, seems improbable. There is also no analogy between Murena's demand for ships and Flaccus's collection of money from all the cities of Asia, levied, evidently in addition to the usual taxes, in accordance with a senatorial decree which, if we may believe Cicero, authorized the procedure. It is generally assumed that the ships thus demanded were added to the fleet which after Lucullus's withdrawal for land-service was commanded by Terentius Varro (see above note 20), and, as there is no reason to suppose that Murena commanded them himself and we know of no naval commander at this time except Varro, this assumption is highly probable. The suggestion was made by M. Segre in *Clara Rhodos*

VIII (1936), p. 240f. that a squadron commanded by a Rhodian *ἄρχων ἀφράκτων* and [Μιλησί]*ων οἱ στρατευσάμενοι ἐν τῇ ἀφράκτῳ*, both known from inscriptions found on Cos, as well as *Ἁλικαρνασσέων οἱ στρατευσάμενοι ἐν τῇ τετρήρει* (L.W. 504), belonged to this fleet (as contributions from the *ceterae civitates*), but, as the inscriptions cannot be dated, this cannot be definitely determined.

28. Strabo XIII p. 631. For Bubon, Balbura and Oenoanda see also Pliny *N.H.* V 101 and below Chap. XXII notes 1 and 21. For the situation of Cibyra (with plan) see Spratt and Forbes *Travels in Lycia, etc.* (London 1847), I p. 256f. For the route from Laodiceia *via* Themisonium and Isinda to Perge in Pamphylia see Chap. XI note 15. It passed through Eriza, an important centre and garrison-post under the Seleucids and the Pergamenes (see Chap. I note 56), and near the modern Tefenni, east of Cibyra. Thus the main route probably did not pass through the city of Cibyra but was easily reached from it.

29. For the foundation-legends see *I.G.R.* III 500 1 and *I.G.* XIV 829 = *I.G.R.* I 418 = *O.G.I.* 497. See also Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* *Τάβαι* and Chap. V note 39. Any connexion with Greece is rendered very improbable by the fact that, at least in the first century after Christ, the tribes of the city bore the names of individuals, perhaps *φυλάρχαι* or persons of local importance; see *Reisen* II nos. 242 a (= *I.G.R.* IV 915 a)—248.

30. For Moagetes, tyrant of Cibyra in 189 B.C., see Polybius XXI 34, 1 = Livy XXXVIII 14, 3 and Chap. XII note 4. A ruler named Moagetes is mentioned in a decree found at Araxa in Lycia (see Chap. XXII note 20) by Mr. G. E. Bean and presently to be published by him, a photograph of which has been kindly sent to me by Professor J. A. O. Larsen. Mr. Bean has courteously given me permission to make use of it. This Moagetes, together with the people of Bubon in Cabalis (see Chap. XXII note 21), attacked the territory of Araxa. Later, an envoy was sent to him by the Lycian Federation to protest. This may possibly have been the man whose name appears as Molcestes (emended to Moagetes) as the tyrant of Bubon and the neighbouring region in the time of Attalus II; see Chap. I note 90. Since the envoy sent to him by the Lycians subsequently represented Araxa at the first celebration of a pentaeteric festival of Roma held by the Federation (see Appendix III), the inscription may probably be dated after 167 B.C., when Lycia was freed from Rhodian rule. For the treaty between Rome and Cibyra see *O.G.I.* 762 and Chap. IV note 89. It was dated soon after 188 B.C. by Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 61, note 3, followed by Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I pp. 44f. and 454f., and between 189 and 167 by Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 762, note 1. The latter year is evidently a *terminus ante quem*, since at this time (not in 187/6 as stated, through an oversight, by Täubler, p. 455) Cibyra refused to harbour Polyaratus, a Rhodian agent of Perseus, whose surrender had been demanded by the Romans; see Polybius XXX 9, 13f. It may, however, date from about 167 and have arisen from Rome's policy of

weakening the power of the Rhodians, against whom in this year Cibyra aided Caunus in an unsuccessful attempt to revolt; see Polybius xxx 5, 14 = Livy xlv 25, 13 and Chap. IV note 65. Since the treaty contains no mention of a "dynast" but only of ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Κιβυρατῶν Dittenberger (*l.c.*) supposed that the "tyranny" had already come to an end and that Strabo's statement (xiii p. 631) that Murena overthrew it is incorrect. Dittenberger found support for this view in the fact that in the account of the aid given to Caunus there is no mention of any ruler. As was observed, however, by Täubler *ibid.* and Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* clxvi (1910) 3, p. 6f., Strabo's statement ἐτυραννεῖτο δ'ἀεί is definite and scarcely to be ignored, and it need not be supposed that the "tyrant" would appear in a treaty which officially was made by Rome with the δῆμος.

31. So Ormerod in *J.R.S.* xii (1922), p. 36f., repeated in *Piracy*, pp. 212 and 217f. and (in part) in *C.A.H.* ix p. 352. This explanation seems to have been accepted, at least partially, by Münzer in *R.E.* xiii 445. It is, however, unconvincing, for it is founded solely on Murena's requisitioning of ships (see above note 27). Not only have we no reason for supposing that the "disturbances" assumed by Ormerod really existed in Cibyratis, but the distance between it and the Lycian coast is too great to have permitted its inhabitants to render aid to the brigands who had established themselves there (see Chap. XII note 19). Nor was it chiefly these who were troubling the coast of the province of Asia, but rather the pirates of Cilicia Aspera, much farther east. Moreover, Murena's assignment of the southern portion of Cibyratis to the Lycian Federation would not have contributed to the weakening of the brigands on the coast.

32. Pliny *N.H.* v 105; see Chap. VII note 42. Ramsay (*C.B.* i p. 265), in his belief that the judiciary *conventus* were established by Sulla, held that Cibyra was annexed to Asia by Sulla in 84, and that Murena is named by Strabo as the annexer, not because he was in supreme command at the time, but because he was acting "on the spot" as Sulla's legate. There is no reason, however, for supposing that the seizure of the district took place during Sulla's short stay in Asia, and it was pointed out by Mommsen that the various *conventus* were formed at a much earlier date; see Chap. VII note 41.

33. See Appendix iv. Their presence in Cibyra at an early date is demonstrated by the fact that all of the ten persons honoured by ὁ δῆμος and οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι still bore Greek names. If, as A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Cities*, p. 76, cf. *Greek City*, p. 55), the land belonging to the tyrants became Roman public land, these men may have moved into Cibyratis soon after the annexation.

34. For this war (called by Appian the "Second Mithradatic War") see Appian *Mith.* 64-66: Livy *Per.* lxxxvi: Memnon 36. See also Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 302f.: Münzer in *R.E.* xiii 445f.: Geyer in *R.E.* xv 2178f.: Ormerod in *C.A.H.* ix p. 353f.

35. According to Orosius VI 2, 12, Archelaus fled to Sulla, presumably while he was still in Asia, but this is evidently an error.

36. He may have obtained some troops from Deiotarus, tetrarch of the Galatians (see Chap. XII note 33), whom he later eulogized before the Senate; see Cicero *Phil.* XI 33. According to Memnon 36, 2, both Murena and Mithradates applied to Heracleia Pontica for aid, but the prudent city-fathers refused to support either side. If this is not an invention on the part of the patriotic historian, arising out of a desire to magnify his native city, it probably refers to a later stage of this war.

37. Ἐκίνεια as given in the text of Memnon 36, 1, but amended to Δικίνεια by Th. Reinach in *R.E.G.* I (1888), p. 333f. According to Memnon, it was ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῆς Μιθριδάτου βασιλείας. Münzer (*R.E.* XIII 446) and Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2178) supposed that it was founded by Murena in Pontus (near Comana, according to Geyer), but this does not follow from Memnon's statement, and it is hard to see how Murena could have founded a city within Mithradates's kingdom. Reinach placed it in Cappadocia, but inferred that, since it is not mentioned elsewhere, it was destroyed by Mithradates's forces when they overran Cappadocia. It is perhaps more probable that the Cappadocians, having no reason to continue to honour Murena, changed the name of the place when he left the country.

38. Cicero *pro Mur.* 12; he bears this title in the unusual, transliterated, form Ἰμπεράτωρ in the inscription from Rhodes, previously cited, *I.G.* XII 1, 48 = *Syll.*³ 745 = *I.G.R.* IV 1118 = Dessau 8772 (see above notes 19 and 20) and in a dedication at Messene (*I.G.* V 1, 1454).

39. It was supposed by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.*, p. 303) and Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2179) that this river was the Halys; but, as geographical details are lacking in Appian's narrative, no certain identification is possible.

40. To Ariobarzanes himself, according to Appian *Mith.* 66, but, as Reinach observed (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 63f.), the King was much too old for such a match, and the princess was evidently betrothed to his son, the later Ariobarzanes II, born about 90 B.C. and so of a suitable age for the girl. If she was really subsequently married to the prince, she was presumably the Athenais who in 51 B.C. formed a conspiracy against her son Ariobarzanes III (see above p. 395).

41. It has been generally supposed (*e.g.* by Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 380 and Münzer in *R.E.* XV 1966) that Mitylene was captured by Thermus, propraetor of Asia in 81/80 (Waddington Fastes, p. 43); for its fall is recorded in Livy *Per.* LXXXIX, which contained the events of that year, and we are told that the *corona civica* was conferred on Caesar by Thermus *in expugnatione Mitylenarum* (Suetonius *Caes.* 2). But, according to Plutarch (*Luc.* 4, 3), Lucullus captured ἀνδραπόδων χιλιάδας ἓξ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην

ἀναρίθμητον λείαν, and with all allowance for Plutarch's tendency to eulogize him, it is difficult to see how he could have done this by a mere attack on a throng of townspeople. Lucullus, moreover, remained in Asia until well into the year 80, for he was aedile in 79 (Pliny *N.H.* VIII 19) and he had been elected to the office while still absent from Italy (Cicero *Acad. Pr.* II 1). Furthermore, Suetonius does not say that Mitylene was captured by Thermus but merely that he bestowed the *corona civica* on Caesar, which, as propraetor, he would naturally have done.

42. Unfortunately, the full name of Varro is doubtful because of the inaccuracy of the scholia which are our only sources of information. The trial itself, on the other hand, and the acquittal of the defendant through bribery with the use of coloured voting-tablets given to the jury by Hortensius were notorious and are frequently alluded to by Cicero; see *Div. in Caec.* 24; *in Verr.* 17 and 40; *pro Cluent.* 130. For the name of the defendant we have to depend entirely on Ps.-Asconius pp. 193f. and 218 Stangl, *Schol. Gronov. B* p. 349 Stangl and Ps.-Acro *Comm. to Horace Sat.* II 1, 49. In the first of these passages the reading of the chief manuscripts, *& Terentium Varronem*, has been restored by Stangl to *M. Terentium Varronem* (see also Stangl, Vol. I p. 33f.); in the others his name is given as Terentius Varro or simply Varro; the praenomen, therefore, must remain in doubt. The date of his trial, however, can be determined with some degree of certainty. According to Ps.-Asconius p. 193, Varro, *reus ex Asia*, was accused twice, first *apud L. Furium praetorem de pecuniis repetundis*, then *apud P. Lentulum Suram* (later the fellow-conspirator of Catiline). The praetorship of the latter was placed in 75 B.C. by Münzer (*R.E.* IV 1400 and IV A 963) on the ground that he was the *Sura proconsul* mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* VII 55) as bearing a close resemblance to a Sicilian fisherman and that he must therefore have been governor of the island; as Verres was governor of Sicily in 73-71, Münzer concluded that Lentulus held this office in 74. In this reasoning, however, Münzer has overlooked the fact that the propraetor of Sicily in 74/3 was C. Licinius Sacerdos, Verres's predecessor (see Münzer in *R.E.* XIII 458f.); consequently Lentulus was not propraetor in this year. The identification, moreover, with the Sura of Pliny's anecdote is too uncertain to permit of the assumption that he was propraetor of Sicily at all. Furthermore, the trial at which Varro was acquitted was held not earlier than 74 according to the express testimony of Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 130), who says that it took place a few months *after* the infamous *Iudicium Iunianum*, held in 74, apparently before the elections for the following year (*ibid.* §79). Since Lentulus was Consul in 71, he would normally have held the praetorship in 74, and hence it seems evident that this was the year of Varro's trial before him. Furius, therefore, if the Scholiast is correct in the statement that he was praetor of the court dealing with cases of *repetundae*, was evidently praetor in 75. Accordingly, it would seem that Varro was accused in this year, sometime after his return from Asia, but his case postponed until 74 (perhaps through some such trick as was attempted in the trial of Verres in 70), in the well-grounded hope

that Lentulus would be willing to connive at corruption. If this chronology is correct, the extortion practiced by Varro in Asia may be dated in 77/6, and as the name of the governor in this year is unknown, it is possible to suppose that the office was held by him. Münzer, on the other hand, in *R.E.* v A 679, following Mommsen in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1892, p. 848 and commentary to *C.I.L.* III 7240, identified this Varro with the Aulus Terentius Varro *πρεσβευτής* in Asia under Murena (see above note 20) and supposed that he was tried for extortion practiced in that capacity. Although there is no reason for this identification except the fact that both men held posts in Asia, in the uncertainty as to the praenomen of the defendant in the notorious trial, it is, indeed, possible that he was the *legatus* of Murena. On the other hand, it is improbable that this man remained in Asia as legate after Murena's recall in 81, and it is difficult to believe that the accusation for extortion was deferred for six years after his departure from the province. It seems more probable, therefore, that Varro, whether the former legate Aulus or an otherwise unknown Marcus, was praetor in 78 and sent to Asia in the following year as propraetor of the province, and that his alleged extortion was practiced during his tenure of this office.

43. See L.W. 409, in which he is called M. Junius D. f. Silanus. He was identified by Münzer in *R.E.* x 1095 with the *Μάρκον Σιλανὸν Μυρέναν ταμίαν* of *Ins. Priene* 121, l. 23. In this identification Münzer, accepting the correction of the inscription proposed by Fredrich, who read *Μυρένα⟨ν⟩*, supposed him to have been the quaestor of Murena in 84-81. This correction, however, seems for several reasons to be inadmissible. Since the year of Silanus's governorship is fixed by Pliny (*N.H.* II 100) as 76/5, he must have been praetor in 77, and the interval between his quaestorship and praetorship would thus be too short; moreover, of the many embassies undertaken by the citizen honoured in *Ins. Priene* 121, the only one which may be dated is that sent to the later King Seleucus VI before his accession in 96 B.C., and it is hardly likely that these embassies covered a period extending down as late as 84; furthermore, the post of quaestor (strictly proquaestor) under Murena was held by Lucullus (see above note 19), who did not return to Rome until 80; finally, although the Romans might well speak of Silanus as *quaestor Murenae*, it seems improbable that the citizens of Priene in a formal decree would so refer to him. It would seem, therefore, more reasonable to accept the reading on the stone as M. Silanus Murena and suppose that he is identical with M. Junius D. f. Silanus, the propraetor of 76/5. His quaestorship, accordingly, must have been prior to the First Mithradatic War.

44. For this incident see Suetonius *Jul.* 4: Velleius Paterculus II 41, 3f.: Plutarch *Caes.* 1, 4f. (who attributed it to an earlier year): Valerius Maximus VI 9, 15. According to Suetonius, Caesar's voyage took place *hibernis iam mensibus, i.e.* in the winter of 75/4. The governorship of Juncus was placed in 75/4 B.C. by Münzer in *R.E.* x 954. Münzer identified him tentatively with the son of the . . . o]*ν Ἰούνιον Μαάρκου υἱόν* of *I.G.R.* IV 408 who was hon-

oured for his ἀρετή and his son's εἰς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοια. If this identification be correct, Juncus may be credited at least with some favour to Pergamum.

45. According to an inscription from Gytheium in Laconia (*I.G.* v 1, 1146=*Syll.*[3] 748), the date of which was shown by Wilhelm in *A.M.* xxvi (1901), p. 419=*Beiträge*, p. 112 to be about 71 B.C., two Italians lent the city the sum of 4200 drachmae at the rate of 48 per cent, and were praised as benefactors because they later reduced it to 24 per cent. The original rate, however, although later demanded by Brutus from Salamis in Cyprus (see Chap. XVI note 26), was exceptional and due to the fact that it was impossible for the people of Gytheium, exhausted by previous levies and contributions, to raise in any other way the money demanded by Antonius (see above p. 293) in his campaign against the pirates; see Larsen in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 373 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 952.

46. Plutarch *Luc.* 20, 4. This amount was regarded as much too large by Reinach, who proposed (*Mith. Eup.* p. 314, note 2) the reading δ' (=τέτταρας) μυριάδας in place of the δώδεκα μυριάδας of the manuscripts. There is, however, no warrant for the change, and the text was accepted by Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 394, by Frank in *Econ. Surv.* I p. 343, and (with some reserve) by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 953. The amount at compound interest, if none of the original sum had been repaid, would indicate an interest-rate of between 16 and 17 per cent, but when allowance is made for the payments which had been made, it was much higher.

47. For Lucullus's proconsulship of Asia see Cicero *pro Flacco* 85: Velleius Paterculus II 33, 1: Memnon 37, 1. According to Velleius, Lucullus *ante septem annos* (*i.e.* before the passage of the Lex Manilia in 66 B.C.) *ex consulatu sortitus Asiam*, and this agrees with the evidence furnished by Memnon, who recorded that (at the expiration of their joint consulship in 74) the Senate sent Cotta to Bithynia and Lucullus to Asia. The beginning of Lucullus's term of office in Asia, accordingly, was dated in 74, when he became proconsul of Cilicia with the command of the war against Mithradates (see Chap. XII note 31), by Waddington *Fastes*, p. 49f., followed by Mommsen *R.G.*[7] III p. 56 (=Eng. Trans. IV p. 324), T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I p. 179, note 1 and Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXXIX (1948), p. 67. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the command of the war against Mithradates was connected with the proconsulship of Asia, and Lucullus, on his arrival in the province early in 73, seems to have had only military authority (see above p. 324). His financial reforms in Asia, moreover, were placed by Plutarch (*Luc.* 20) after the capture of Amisus in 71 (see Chap. XIV note 34). It is probable, therefore, that Velleius and Memnon confused the command of the war in Asia with the proconsulship of the province of Asia, and that the beginning of Lucullus's term in the latter is to be dated in 71; see L. Lange *Röm. Alt.* III[2] pp. 183 and 206: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 141, note 6: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2181. He held it until the beginning of 68, when, according to Cassius Dio XXXVI 2, 1f., the Romans ἐς τοὺς στρα-

τηγοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπανήγαγον, *i.e.* returned to the system of annually appointed propraetors; see above p. 346. The first of these was probably P. Cornelius Dolabella, praetor in 69 (Cicero *pro Caec.* 23), and subsequently propraetor of Asia; see Valerius Maximus VIII 1, *Amb.* 2 = Gellius XII 7 (where he is incorrectly called Gnaeus) = Ammianus Marcellinus XXIX 2, 19: *I.G.R.* IV 422 = *O.G.I.* 451 (where he appears as ἀνθύπατος). His governorship is presumably to be dated in 68/7 B.C. His successor was perhaps L. Manlius Torquatus, described as πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος in an inscription from Miletus (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, *Anh.* p. 20), who was placed in 67/6 by Münzer in *R.E.* XIV 1200f. and Broughton *ibid.* p. 68f. The question arises as to the dates of the governorships of Titus Aufidius and Publius Varinius mentioned as propraetors of Asia in Cicero *pro Flacco* 45 (the former also in Valerius Maximus VI 9, 7). Their terms were placed by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 52) in 69/8 and 68/7. Varinius, however, is presumably to be identified with the P. Varinius, praetor in 73, who was defeated by Spartacus and the gladiators; see Sallust *Hist.* III 96 and 98 Maur.: Livy *Per.* XCV (where he is called Varenus): Frontinus *Strat.* I 5, 22: Florus II 8, 5 (Varenus): Appian *B.C.* I 116 (Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος): Plutarch *Crass.* 9, 6 (Βαρῖνος): Münzer in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 387f., who showed that the cognomen given to Varinius by Appian belonged in reality to his fellow-praetor C. Claudius. While the fact that Varinius was praetor in 73 suggests that he was propraetor of Asia in 72/1 (and Aufidius, accordingly, in 73/2) and while it is difficult to explain why his term of office was postponed for several years, it is perhaps more probable, as Broughton supposed (*ibid.* p. 69f.), that Varinius held the office in 65/4 and Aufidius in 66/5.

48. Plutarch *Luc.* 20, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 83. As Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 954 and note 28), following Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 352) observed, these two narratives contain accounts of different measures, that of Plutarch consisting of those taken for the relief of the debtors, while that of Appian describes the means adopted for raising the necessary amount of money. Rostovtzeff pointed out that the latter had been used by the Hellenistic rulers. For the rate of twelve per cent see above note 24.

49. For this incident see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* I 17, 9 (*ut induceretur locatio postulaverunt*); 18, 3 and 7; 19, 6; II 1, 8; *pro Plancio* 34f.: *Scholia Bob.* pp. 157 and 159 Stangl: Suetonius *Jul.* 20, 3: Appian *B.C.* II 13: Cassius Dio XXXVIII 7, 4. The view of R. Laurent-Vibert in *Mél. d'Arch. et d' Hist.* XXVIII (1908), p. 176f. that the request for the cancellation of the contract could not have been made unless the various companies operating in the East had combined, since competing companies, had there been any, would have repeated their original bids, was rejected by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 53).

50. Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* II 16, 4; this interpretation of the somewhat obscure expression *portorium circumvectionis* was given by Cagnat in *Les*

Impôts indirects, p. 152 and adopted by Tyrrell and Purser in their note on the passage.

51. For the names of Italians resident in the province of Asia (including the islands) in the first century see J. Hatzfeld *Les Trafiquants Italiens*, p. 90f. and Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 549f.

52. Cicero *pro Flacco* 51 and 70f. The charges brought against Decianus, however, who was aiding in the prosecution of Flaccus must be taken *cum grano salis*, inasmuch as Cicero was attempting to discredit him in the eyes of the jury (see above p. 380).

53. Cicero *pro Flacco* 90f. In the belief that the *fructus Trallianorum* of this passage referred to the tithes collected from the territory of the city, Marquardt supposed (*R.St.V.* I^2, p. 339, note 5) that Falcidius was an agent of the company which farmed the *decumae* of Asia. The passage was used by him to show that the tithes were leased out in Asia itself and not in Rome and also that the contracts were made with separate communities. On the other hand, Ivanov (*de Soc. Vectigalium publicorum Pop. Rom.* p. 103, note 590) interpreted it as indicating that in this year the tithes were *not* collected by *publicani* but the harvests sold by the communities themselves, while Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 46) suggested that these *fructus* may have been "a supplementary *tributum* perhaps connected with the naval contributions exacted by Flaccus." All these conclusions, however, are unsafe, for the passage tells us nothing more than that Falcidius bought up the *fructus* of Tralles; the most reasonable explanation, probably, is that offered by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LVII (1936), p. 175f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 541, namely, that the *fructus* were the local revenues of the city, the collection of which was farmed out to Falcidius.

54. See Hatzfeld, p. 219f. Romans are included among το[ὶ] *ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντε*[ς] *ἐν* Ἀλεντι *καὶ* Πέλῃ on Cos in the time of Augustus (Paton-Hicks, no. 344 = *I.G.R.* IV 1087, see Herzog *K.F.* p. 165).

55. *E.g.* L. Marius M. f. Aem. of Caieta, honoured by Erythrae, Smyrna, Colophon, Ephesus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, Cyme, Clazomenae, Teos, Lebedus, Myrina (*C.I.L.* III 7112 = *I.G.R.* IV 1545, corrected in *R.E.G.* XXIX [1916], p. 171f.); Numerius Terentius Primus, honoured by Thyateira, Mostene and five other cities (*C.I.G.* 3475 = *C.I.L.* III 402 = 14192[13] = *I.G.R.* IV 1253); L. Vaccius L. f. Labeo, honoured by Cyme (*C.I.G.* 3524 = *I.G.R.* IV 1302); L. Nassius, honoured by Chios (*I.G.R.* IV 1703 = *J.O.A.I.* XXXV [1943], *Beibl.* 123f., an improved copy); P. Modiarius P. f. Taurus, honoured by Erythrae (L.W. 1545); A. Ravius A. f., honoured by Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 432); L. Agrius L. f. Publeianus Bassus, honoured by Elaea (*C.I.G.* 3531 = *I.G.R.* IV 271), who is perhaps the L. Agrius L. f. Publeianus honoured by the *Italici* at Ephesus (see *Ephesos* II no. 58 = *C.I.L.* III 14195[89]) and perhaps the L. Agrius, Eques Romanus, mentioned in Cicero *pro Flacco*

31; N. Gerillanus Flamma, honoured by Ephesus (*I.B.M.* 546); Numerius Cluvius M'. f. and P. Curtius Propinquus, honoured by Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 139 and 141).

56. See *Ins. Priene* 112, l. 1 (C. Cestius Heliodorus); 113, ll. 10 and 61 (Publius . . . and A. Aemilius Zosimus); 114, l. 1 (P. Laberius). All three decrees are in honour of Zosimus, on whom see above note 23.

57. See Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 427f. and above note 22. In addition to the renewal of the Didymeia and the Olympia, Robert pointed out that the cult of Apollo Erethymius at Ialysus was revived in 63, as is shown by the fact that the list of its priests begins in this year (*I.G.* XII 1, 730=*Syll.*[3] 724, see Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 804). For the improvement (described in general terms) see also Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 956, where it is attributed in part to the capital brought to Asia by the Roman business-men.

58. It was shown by Robert in *R. Phil.* LVI (1930), p. 33f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 423f., followed by Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2119f. (see Chap. XXVI note 33), that the ἀνανέωσις from which Olympiads at Tralles are reckoned in a number of inscriptions of the second century after Christ is to be placed about 62 B.C.

59. See *Ephesos* II p. 151f., no. 30 and p. 199f., where the agonothetes are dated tentatively in 65-32 B.C.

60. Strabo XIV p. 649, where it is said that Pythodorus was originally a native of Nysa. He was presumably the Pythodorus mentioned in Cicero *pro Flacco* 52 as a well-known *nobilis* of Tralles. For Chaeremon, son of Pythodorus, of Nysa and his sons, Pythodorus and Pythion, see Chap. IX note 28. It was suggested by Mommsen in *A.M.* XVI (1891), p. 105f., followed by Fiehn in *R.E. Suppl.* V 57f., that Pythodorus of Tralles was Chaeremon's grandson; it is perhaps more probable, however, that he was Chaeremon's son, who, at the time of the proscription of his father in 88, was sent to Rhodes for safety, for, as a φίλος of Pompey, he must have been a mature man before 63 and so may well have been fifteen years old in 88. For Pythodorus's daughter Pythodoris see Chap. XX notes 32 and 52. An inscription from Smyrna (*O.G.I.* 377=*I.G.R.* IV 1407), in which Pythodoris's son Zeno, later King of Armenia (see Chap. XXI note 20), is called θυγατριδοῦς τῆς εὐεργέτιδος Ἀντωνίας, led Mommsen to believe that Pythodorus married a daughter of Mark Antony, presumably the daughter born of Antonia, his second wife (not earlier than 54), and betrothed in 44 to a son of Lepidus the Triumvir (Cassius Dio XLIV 53, 6) but apparently never married to him (Appian *B.C.* V 93); see *Eph. Ep.* I p. 270f.=*Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 264f. This view found wide acceptance, but, apart from the very great difference in age between Pythodorus and the girl, it is exceedingly doubtful; see Dessau in *Eph. Ep.* IX p. 691f. and *G.R.K.* II p. 621, note 1, who

observed that it is very strange that a marriage between Pythodorus and a daughter of Antony should have remained unnoticed either by Strabo or by Tacitus (*Ann.* II 56, where Zeno's coronation as King of Armenia is recorded), and that the title εὐεργέτις, on which alone Mommsen based his theory that this Antonia was a daughter of Antony, was by no means confined to those of high rank but was held also by private persons. The argument advanced by Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 112, note 5 against Dessau's observation, namely, that the name of Pythodoris's elder son M. Antonius Polemo, "the future priest-king of Olba," proves that Pythodoris was Antony's granddaughter is not valid, since it is far from certain that this man was the son of Pythodoris (see Chap. XXIII note 26).

61. Strabo XIV p. 659. His son Ouliades and grandson Menander appear in *C.I.G.* 2698 (the former also perhaps in *C.I.G.* 2693 = L.W. 399, combined with L.W. 398 by Robert in *R. Phil.* LIII [1927], p. 126f., no. 12), where Menander is described as εὐεργέτης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐξ εὐεργετῶν γεγονώς. For gifts of money by L. Nassius see above note 55.

62. See Robert in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 32f., citing *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 169f., nos. 10 a, 10 b and 11 and *I.G.* XII 8, 16 (found on Lemnos, but actually from Chios), which contain mention of πορθμεῖς (or πορθμεύοντες εἰς Ἐρύθρας), οἱ ναύκληροι κ[αὶ οἱ] ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐργ[ασταί], a ναύαρχος honoured by οἱ ἐργασταί, and ξενοφύλακες (in charge of aliens); see also Ziebarth in *Klio* XXVI (1933), p. 246.

63. For this series of cistophori see *C.I.L.* I² p. 762f. and Chap. XVI notes 15, 16 and 76. They were issued at Ephesus, Pergamum, Tralles, Laodiceia and Apameia and bear the dates reckoned, as in the preceding series (see Chap. I note 81), according to the era of the province (134/3 B.C.), and the names of the governors (who, although propraetors, generally have the title proconsul) from 59/8 to 49 B.C. In addition to the cistophori issued by the five cities enumerated above, there is a unique specimen regarded as minted at Phocaea; see W. Caland in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XIII (1885), p. 113f. Both the reading ΦΩ and the restoration as Φω(καέων), however, are uncertain, and the governor *Lepidus pro pr.* is otherwise unknown.

64. Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 56 (51 B.C.). For the banker, Cluvius of Puteoli, see above p. 254. The Heracleia in question is probably Heracleia ad Latmum, but it may be Heracleia Salbace in eastern Caria. The *ecdici* who, Cicero hoped, would be sent by Mylasa and Alabanda to Rome were evidently similar to the ἔγδικοι sent by Magnesia and Priene to lay their respective claims before a commission from Mylasa which was to arbitrate in a dispute over territory; see *Ins. Magn.* 93 = *Syll.*³ 679 and, for the office, Chap. XXVII note 49.

CHAPTER XI

1. The eastern boundary of Pamphylia was placed by Ps.-Scylax (101) and Strabo (xiv p. 667) at Coracesium (Alaiye), a strongly fortified town on a precipitous headland; see F. Beaufort *Karamania*[2] (London 1818), p. 172f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) VI p. 136: Paribeni and Romanelli in *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 136. On the other hand, according to Pliny (*N.H.* v 93), Ptolemy (v 5, 3) and the *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* (213, *G.G.M.* I p. 488), the boundary was the river Melas (Manavgat Çay), farther west. It was shown by K. J. Neumann in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol.* CXXVII (1883), p. 528f. that the original and natural boundary was at Coracesium and that the view that it was formed by the Melas arose from the supposition that the territory of Cibyra Parva near the coast between Coracesium and the Melas was politically part of Cilicia. The westernmost town of Pamphylia, according to Strabo (*l.c.*), Pliny (*N.H.* v 96) and Ptolemy (v 5, 2), was Olbia (placed in Lycia in Ps.-Scylax 100), the site of which, as yet undetermined, was probably not far west of Attaleia; see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2404f. For another view, which included the city of Phaselis (see Chap. XXII note 3) in Pamphylia, see *R.E.* XIX 1882. For the area of the Pamphylian plain see Lanckoroński I p. xi.

2. The Cestrus and the Eurymedon are, respectively, the Aksu Çay and the Köprü Irmak. For the Catarrhactes see Strabo XIV p. 667: Ps.-Scylax 100: *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 221: Mela I 79: Pliny *N.H.* v 96: Ptolemy v 5, 2. According to Strabo, it flowed into the gulf west of Attaleia, while Ptolemy listed it on the east. It has been most plausibly identified with the Düden Su, which has mouths on both sides of the limestone terrace on which the city stands; see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 11 and Ruge in *R.E.* X 2485. For the fertility of Pamphylia see *Expositio totius Mundi* 45 (Riese *Geographi Lat. Min.* p. 116), where it is described as *regio optima et sibi sufficiens, oleum autem multum faciens et alias regiones implens.* For the olives of the hill-country north of Aspendus and Selge see Strabo XII p. 570. For the productiveness in modern times see Lanckoroński I p. x and Cuinet *Turquie* I p. 855f. For the forests see Strabo XII p. 570: Pliny *N.H.* XVI 32: Cuinet *l.c.*; and for the modern export of lumber from Antalya see G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 123. For the storax see Strabo *l.c.* (Selge): Pliny *N.H.* XII 125 (Side and Pisidia): Dioscurides I 66, 1. For the iris (orris-root ointment) see Pliny *N.H.* XXI 41f.: Strabo XII p. 571 (Selge): Dioscurides I 56, 3 (Perge). For teucrium and hyssop see Pliny XXV 46 and 136. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 614f.

3. For the myths relating that after the fall of Troy Greek emigrants under the leadership of Calchas and Amphilochus or of Mopsus settled in Pamphylia and Cilicia see Herodotus VII 91: Strabo XII p. 570; XIV pp. 643, 668 and 675f., quoting, in addition to Herodotus, Hesiod, Callinus and Sophocles: Theopompus frg. 111 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 295f.) = frg. 103,

15 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 559): Pausanias VII 3, 7: Quintus Smyrnaeus XIV 365f.: Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 852f. (*G.G.M.* II p. 366): Pliny *N.H.* V 96 (where it is said that Pamphylia was originally called Mopsopia). See also Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.*[2] II 1, p. 548f.: Beloch *G.G.*[2] I 1, p. 137f. and I 2, p. 107f.: J. Keil in *Mitt. d. Vereins Klass. Philologen in Wien* III (1926), p. 9f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 124. These migrations were dated in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries by Meyer. For inscriptions and coins showing dialectal peculiarities see *S.G.D.I.* 1259-1264 (1261 = Lanckoroński I no. 64) and Lanckoroński I no. 65f. (Aspendus); *S.G.D.I.* 1265 (Perge); *S.G.D.I.* 1266 and 1267 (=Lanckoroński I no. 54) and Lanckoroński I nos. 55-56 (Sillyum). *S.G.D.I.* 1267 is in large part unintelligible. For the Pamphylian dialect see P. Kretschmer in *Ztschr. f. Vergl. Sprach-forsch.* XXXIII (1895), p. 258f. and in Gercke-Norden *Einleitung*[3] I 6, p. 83f.: A. Meillet in *R.E.G.* XXI (1908), p. 413f.: A. Thumb *Handb. d. Griech. Dialekte*[2] (Heidelberg 1909), p. 297f.: F. Bechtel *Griech. Dial.* II (Berlin 1923), p. 796f. It is generally regarded as "Achaean," akin to the dialect of Arcadia and Cyprus, representing the language of the Peloponnese before the great migration of the Greeks from the north. Certain Dorian elements were perhaps due to Rhodian colonization in the seventh or sixth century.

4. For Attaleia (Antalya) see Strabo XIV p. 667: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*: Lanckoroński I p. 7f.: Radet in *R.A.* XVI (1890), p. 205f. For Attalus II in Pamphylia see Chap. I note 79. It was supposed by Petersen and von Luschan in *Reisen* II p. 178 that Attalus founded Attaleia during his participation in the march of Manlius; but there is no evidence that the latter entered the Pamphylian plain (see Chap. XII note 4), and it is improbable that Attalus would have named a city after himself during the reign of Eumenes. On the possibility of an older settlement on the site see Lanckoroński I p. 14 and Ruge in *R.E.* II 2156; both rejected the previous theory of G. Hirschfeld (*M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1874, p. 713) that it bore the name Corycus, which was a πολίχνιον colonized by Attalus, according to Strabo (*l.c.*), but in Lycia, near Olympus; see Strabo p. 666 and Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1451 and Chap. XII note 19. For inscriptions from Attaleia published in *Türk Tarih* XI (1947), p. 88f. see Robert in *R.E.G.* LXI (1948), p. 198f.

5. For Side (Eski Antalya or Selimiye) see Ps.-Scylax 101: Strabo XIV p. 667: Beaufort *Karamania*,[2] p. 147f.: Lanckoroński I p. 125f.: Radet *ibid.* p. 214f.: H. Rott *Kleinas. Denkmäler* (Leipzig 1908), p. 61f.: Paribeni and Romanelli *ibid.* p. 120f.: Ruge in *R.E.* II A 2208f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 124f. For its harbour see Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 69f. For its claim to be a colony of Cyme see Ps.-Scylax and Strabo (*ll. cc.*) and Arrian *Anab.* I 26, 4; the colonization was placed in the seventh century by Keil (*ibid.* p. 12, note 26). For its coins, dating from the early fifth century onwards, see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. lxxxi f. and 143f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 333f. According to Arrian (*l.c.*), the colonists had forgotten their Greek and adopted a "barbarian speech." For the city's relations with Antiochus III in 218 B.C. see Chap. XII note 1, and for the ships furnished to

Antiochus in 192 and 190 see Livy xxxv 48, 6 and xxxvii 23, 3. Later, perhaps, Side had an alliance with Rhodes; see Polybius frg. 193 B.-W. In the first half of the second century it seems to have continued its good relations with the Seleucids, for the anchor which was the characteristic emblem of the dynasty (see Chap. IV note 6) appears as a countermark on the tetradrachms issued during this period by Side as well as by Aspendus and Phaselis in Lycia, indicating, presumably, that these coins were legal tender in the Seleucid Empire; see Regling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* xxxviii (1928), pp. 99 and 125f. and Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 212. The existence of such a monetary convention was doubted by Rostovtzeff in *Hellenist. World*, p. 1480f., note 71 (where through an error Selge appears instead of Side), but, in view of his suggestion that the cities in western Asia Minor issued tetradrachms for general use (see above Chap. IV note 86), this doubt is perhaps unjustified.

6. For Aspendus see Ps.-Scylax 101: Strabo xiv p. 667: Arrian *Anab.* i 27, 1f.: Mela i 78: Lanckoroński i p. 85f.: Radet *ibid.* p. 213f.: Rott *ibid.* p. 57f.: Paribeni and Romanelli *ibid.* p. 116. The statement of Ps.-Scylax and Strabo that the Eurymedon was navigable is borne out by Plutarch *Cim.* 12, 5 and Thucydides viii 81, 3 and 87, 1f., where it is related that the fleet of Cimon in 466 B.C. and that of Tissaphernes in 411 lay in the river. For the coins of Aspendus see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. lxxii f. and 93f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 309f. For the form of its name see *S.G.D.I.* 1259. The tradition of a foundation by Argives was connected by Keil (*ibid.* p. 11f.) with the early migration from Greece (see above note 3). In the fourth century it supplied horses as tribute to the Persians and paid a fine to Alexander; see Arrian *Anab.* i 26-27. For the relations of the city with the Seleucids as shown by the anchor on its tetradrachms see above note 5 and Regling *ibid.* p. 111f.

7. For Perge (Murtana) see Ps.-Scylax 100: Strabo xiv p. 667: Mela i 79: Lanckoroński i p. 33f.: Radet *ibid.* p. 208: Rott, p. 46f.: Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 48f.: Ruge in *R.E.* xix 694f. Its accessibility from the sea, noted by Strabo and Mela, is confirmed by *Acta Apost.* xiii 13f., where it is related that Paul and Barnabas came by ship to Perge from Cyprus, evidently sailing up the Cestrus. For the roads leading northward through Milyas and Pisidia see below notes 15 and 16. For Artemis (called *φάνασσα Πρεία*, *i.e.* *Περγαία*, on coins of the second century before Christ) see *S.G.D.I.* 1265: *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. lxxviii f. and 119f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 326f.: E. S. G. Robinson in *J.H.S.* xxxiv (1914), p. 43f.: *I.G.R.* iii 790, 796 and 797 (in which she is called *προε[σ]τῶσα τῆς πόλεως*): *S.E.G.* ii 708; vi 672, 673 and 728 (an inventory): Ps.-Scylax *l.c.*: Strabo *l.c.*: Mela *l.c.*: Callimachus *Hymn.* iii 187: Cicero *II Verr.* i 54. She was worshipped also at Halicarnassus (*Syll.*[8] 1015), at Rhodes (*I.G.* xii 1, 66) and perhaps at Thera (*I.G.* xii 3, 494). Dedications to her have been found at Lindus on Rhodes (*I.G.* xii 1, 784), at Thera (*I.G.* xii 3, *Suppl.* 1350) and at Naucratis (*S.G.D.I.* 5772, see Robert in *R.E.G.* xlvii [1934], p. 27f., note 5). For her cult see also B. Pace in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 297f. and *Ann. Scuol. Atene*

VI-VII (1923-24), p. 402f., Ruge *ibid.* 699f. and Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 64f. For Alexander's occupation see Arrian *Anab.* I 26, 1 and 27, 5. For Achaeus see Polybius V 72, 9. For the surrender in 188 B.C. see Polybius XXI 42 (44), 1f. = Livy XXXVIII 37, 9f.

8. For Sillyum (Asar Köy) see Ps.-Scylax 101: Strabo XIV p. 667 (where the name has been restored): Lanckoroński I p. 65f.: Radet *ibid.* p. 212f.: Rott, p. 56: Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 72f.: Ruge in *R.E.* III A 100f. For its resistance to Alexander see Arrian *Anab.* I 26, 5. For its coins, from the third century onward, on the earliest of which its name appears as Σελύβινς, see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. lxxxv and 165: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 349f.: *S.G.D.I.* 1266: Robinson in *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), p. 45, no. 127. For its peculiar dialect see *S.G.D.I.* 1267 (above note 3).

9. *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 116f., no. 83 with corrections by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX (1915), VI p. 61, enacted ἐπὶ δημιουργοῦ Apollonius; for the date see Chap. XII note 1. For δημιουργοί at Aspendus see also Lanckoroński I no. 98 (of the early Roman period) with mention of 20 or 21 πρυτανεῖται. For the *demiourgos* at Cnidus, Samos and other islands see Chap. III note 20, and in cities of Cilicia see below notes 31, 32, 33 and 35. The Δήμαρχος mentioned in a fragment from Aspendus (L.W. 1384) was probably a man of this name, for no official bearing this title is known in the cities of Pamphylia; see Lanckoroński I p. 184, note 1. For decrees of Perge see *Mon. Ant. ibid.* p. 60f., no. 48 = Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 54f. and *S.E.G.* VI 724-25. Another decree of the "Council and People," mentioning [ἀγ]ορανόμοι (*I.B.M.* 1044), probably of the first century, which seems to have been found at Attaleia, was assigned to Perge by Robert in *R. Phil.* LV (1929), p. 131. For the Νέοι in the cities of Asia Minor see Chap. III note 37. For a decree of the *demos* of Perge, also probably of the first century, in honour of a *dikastes* sent by Melos see *I.G.* XII 3, 1073 = *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 331, no. 1, and for the importation of a *dikastes* see Chap. IV note 81. The *demiourgos* is found at Perge in inscriptions of the imperial period (*I.G.R.* III 794 and 796). He appears also in inscriptions, all probably of the imperial period, at Side and Sillyum; see *C.I.G.* 4347 (a fragment): *J.H.S.* XXVIII (1908), p. 190f., nos. 20 and 21: *I.G.R.* III 801 and 802. A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Greek City*, p. 47) that the creation of this official in these cities may have been due to the influence of Aspendus. For the decree of Seleuceia see *Mon. Ant. ibid.* no. 48 = Wilhelm *l.c.* and for the situation of the place see Heberdey-Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) VI, p. 134: Rott, p. 66: Ruge in *R.E.* II A 1205. The only known tribes are the φυλὴ Ἑρμοῦ at Perge (Lanckoroński I no. 42 of undetermined date), the [φυλὴ] Μεγαλοπυλειτῶν at Side (*I.G.R.* III 811) and the φυλὴ ι′ Μεαλειτίδων at Sillyum (*I.G.R.* III 801).

10. See Lanckoroński I pp. 51 (Perge), 70f. (Sillyum), 91f. (Aspendus), 147f. (Side). The seating-capacity of the theatres of Perge and Side is estimated at 12,000-13,000, that of Aspendus at 7500; the first two almost equal

in capacity the famous theatre of Marcellus at Rome, which is estimated at 13,500.

11. For Termessus (Göllük) see Strabo XIII p. 630f.: Arrian *Anab.* I 27, 5f. (where it is called Telmessus): Lanckoroński II p. 21f.: Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX (1929) III, in *R.E.* V A 732f. and in *T.A.M.* III 1, p. 1. It is incorrectly described by Strabo as ἡ μάλιστα καὶ ἔγγιστα ὑπερκειμένη τῆς Κιβύρας; a little later (p. 631), however, he speaks correctly of Milyas as extending ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Τερμησσὸν στενῶν (Yenice Boğaz, see Chap. I note 56 and below note 12), and, as Waddington observed in a note on L.W. 1232, he seems in his description to have confused Termessus and its colony of Termessus-near-Oenoanda in Cabalis, south of Cibyra (see Chap. XXII note 22). For Mt. Solymus see Strabo *l.c.* The name τὰ Σόλυμα was given by him in XIV p. 666 to the mountain (Tahtalı Dağ) behind Phaselis on the coast of Lycia. It was maintained by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 9) that the two mountains must be carefully distinguished, but Ruge showed that the application of the name to the Tahtalı Dağ is incorrect, and that there was only one mountain called Solymus, *i.e.* the Güldere Dağ above Termessus; see *R.E.* III A 988f. Zeus Solymeus is frequently mentioned in inscriptions from the second century before Christ onward (see *R.E.* V A 756), and his head appears on coins, beginning with the first century; see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 268f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 409f., nos. 1 and 4. For his temple see Lanckoroński II p. 48f. and *R.E.* V A 742f.

12. For the history of Termessus see Heberdey in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXVIII (1931), p. 18f. and *R.E.* V A 747f. For Alexander see Arrian *Anab.* I 27, 5f. In 319 B.C. Antigonus appeared before Termessus and demanded the surrender of Alcetas, who had taken refuge in the city; Alcetas committed suicide, and his death was followed by strife between his partisans and those of Antigonus; see Diodorus XVIII 45, 3f. For Manlius see Polybius XXI 35 = Livy XXXVIII 15, 4f. and Chap. XII note 4. For the fortifications at the gorge of Yenice Boğaz (see below note 15) see *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 79f. and Heberdey *Denkschr. ibid.* p. 9f. and *R.E.* V A 740 and, for the probable date, *Anz. ibid.* p. 19f. See also Arrian *Anab.* I 27, 6f. For the treaty with Adada (see Chap. XIX note 24) see *T.A.M.* III 1, 2 = *B.C.H.* XXIII (1899), p. 286f. = *Rev. Épigr.* I (1913), p. 351 (with corrections by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXVI [1910], III p. 3f.) and Chap. III note 45. Wilhelm suggested that the treaty may have been made at the time of the campaign of Attalus II against Selge (see Chap. XII note 6), but in view both of the enmity of Termessus for Selge and of Attalus's good relations with Termessus (see below) it is more probable that any fear of Pergamene invasion was at an earlier time, perhaps under Eumenes II. For a suggestion that a tyranny was attempted at Termessus, based on Diodorus frg. 22 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. xviii), see Lanckoroński II p. 17, admitted as a possibility by Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 5. For the πρόβουλοι in the imperial period see Chap. XXVII note 32. The city-tribes known in this period—Ἰδαλωγβασιος,

Μαραμοτου, Μερλαστου, Ὀρβλητος, Πελασγί(ου) (?) (see *T.A.M.* III 1, 38; 39; 57; 121; 864 and Heberdey *R.E.* V A 761)—may also date from Hellenistic times. For the portico of Attalus see Lanckoroński II p. 36f. and *T.A.M.* III 1, 4 and 9. The *leges, ious* and *consuetudo* which existed between the Romans and the Termessians in 91 B.C. were renewed in the *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* of about 70 B.C.; see *C.I.L.* I² 589, col. II, l. 18f. and Chap. XII note 34.

13. For Selge (Serik) see Strabo XII p. 570f.: G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 134f.: Lanckoroński II p. 173f.: Ruge in *R.E.* II A 1257. For the assertion that it was a Lacedaemonian settlement see Polybius V 76, 11: Strabo *l.c.*: Dionysius Periegetes 860 (*G.G.M.* II p. 157): Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* For the doubtful character of this claim see Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.*² II 1, p. 548f., note 2 and Beloch *G.G.*² I 2, p. 109. For the coins see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 256f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 400f. For the dialectal forms Ἐστλέγιυς, etc. see Head *H.N.*² p. 711 and Kretschmer in Gercke-Norden *Einleitung*³ I 6, p. 83. For the products see above note 2. For the oil called Selgiticum see Pliny *N.H.* XV 31 and XXIII 95. For Alexander see Strabo *l.c.* and Arrian *Anab.* I 28, 1. For Achaeus see Polybius V 72f. For Eumenes II and Attalus II see Chap. XII note 6. For the relations with Rome see Strabo *l.c.*

14. For the difficulty of the road along the western coast of the Gulf of Antalya north of Phaselis see Strabo XIV p. 666 and Arrian *Anab.* I 26, 1f. These descriptions were confirmed by Beaufort *Karamania*², p. 116f., *Reisen* II p. 46, note 2 and Ormerod in *J.R.S.* XII (1922), p. 41, note 2, who reported an "embankment of large blocks" on the cliffs rising above the sea. Another route leading from Pamphylia to this coast was described by Ormerod (*l.c.*). It ascends the valley of the Çandır Çay and after crossing the watershed descends abruptly on the northern side of the Tahtalı Dağ to the coast a short distance north of Phaselis. It is characterized in Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor* (p. 124) as "long and difficult." This is evidently the route by which Alexander sent a detachment of troops to Perge, while he himself marched along the coast (Arrian *l.c.*). While, according to Ormerod, it would "present few difficulties to marauding mountaineers," it cannot be regarded as having any commercial importance. A milestone of Diocletian found two hours west of Antalya was perhaps on this road; see *B.S.A.* XVII (1910-11), p. 223, note 3 and p. 243f., no. 27. For the difficulties of the road from Coracesium eastward see below note 24.

15. For the importance of this route leading from Laodiceia through northeastern Cibyratis to Pamphylia see above p. 241, and for its use by Manlius Vulso in 189 see Chap. XII note 4. It appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 1-2, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 716f.) with the stations Themisonium, Cormasa and Perge. For milestones of Severus and Diocletian from the section of the road between Laodiceia and Cibyra, near Tefenni and near Cibyra, see *I.G.R.* IV 884 (no. I), 925 (no. ? from Cibyra),

924 (no. XX from Cibyra), and 926 (no. II from Cibyra). The site of Themisonium, probably in the plain of Kara Hüyük (see Chap. XII note 4), has not been definitely determined; see Robert *Villes*, p. 112f., note 4 and p. 116, note 6. That of Cormasa is even more uncertain. The distances from Themisonium (34 miles) and from Perge (15 miles) recorded on the *Tabula* are of no use in determining the site, for obviously some stations have been omitted; see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 255. The statement in Polybius XXI 36, 1 = Livy XXXVIII 15, 7 that Cormasa was captured by Manlius on his return-march from Pamphylia likewise affords no clue, since the course of this march is uncertain. Cormasa was placed by Ramsay, on the supposition (*l.c.*) that it has been "transferred" from the road from Apameia to Perge, at Karacaveran, south of Lake Burdur (see *C.B.* I p. 327), and in the neighbourhood of Lake Kestel by R. Keipert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10), followed by Ruge (*R.E.* XI 1417). Both sites are far distant not only from each other but also from the route from Themisonium to Perge, and even the site on the lower Istanos Çay proposed by Radet in *R.A.* XXII (1893), p. 198 is not directly on the line of this road. It is questionable whether, without any evidence, the authority of the *Tabula* for the position of Cormasa may be so completely disregarded. It seems highly probable, therefore, that this road corresponded to the modern route leading from the plain of Kara Hüyük eastward to Tefenni, one of the chief centres of the Ormeleis (see *R.E.* XVIII 1104), and thence southeastward past the headwaters of the Lysis and over a pass, 5200 ft. in height, to Istanos (near the ancient Isinda), crossing the Taurus from here (see Strabo XIII p. 631 and XIV p. 666) and reaching the Pamphylian plain through the fortified gorge of Yenice Boğaz (see above note 12), whence a branch-road led up the narrow valley to Termessus; see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 120f. and Woodward and Ormerod in *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 77f. A milestone with inscriptions of Diocletian and Constantine and his sons erected by the city of Termessus was found on the right bank of the Istanos Çay near the crossing of the Taurus; see *T.A.M.* III 1, 942-4 and Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX (1929) III, p. 11. The *Tabula* shows that from Perge the road continued eastward through Sillyum, Aspendus and Side and thence along the coast of Cilicia (see below note 24). Remains of a Roman bridge over the Eurymedon south of Aspendus were reported by G. Hirschfeld in *M.B.Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 124 and Paribeni and Romanelli in *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 105f. For milestones from this section of the road see *C.I.L.* III 12626 (A.D. 165, found east of Perge) and *Mon. Ant. ibid.* p. 74, no. 57 (under Valentinian and Valens, on the bank of the Cestrus, erected by the city of Sillyum). A milestone found near Attaleia records the rebuilding of the roads in Pamphylia by the imperial procurator in A.D. 50; see *C.I.L.* III 6737 = *I.G.R.* III 768 = Dessau 215 and *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 127, no. 23.

16. For the road leading northward from the Pamphylian plain to Sagalassus and Isparta see Murray's *Handbook*, pp. 150 and 152f.: Lanckoroński II p. 123f.: *P.A.S.* III p. 326 (between Cremna and Sagalassus): Rott, p. 14:

Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 241f.: Pace in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-24), p. 390f., who pointed out that four Seljuk khans between Pamphylia and Isparta show that this was an important thoroughfare in the Middle Ages. The defile of Çubuk Boğaz, with the remains of fortifications and of the ancient road leading through the mountains into the little plain on the edge of which lies Baden Agaç (near Ariassus, see Chap. XIX note 25), was identified with the pass called Κλίμαξ, which the Selgians held in 218 B.C. against Garsyeris, general of Achaeus (Polybius v 72, 4, see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 325), by Rott, p. 25f., followed by Ruge in *R.E.* XI 846. It is possible, however, that a pass a little farther east (Döşeme Boğaz), where there are remains of fortifications (Lanckoroński, *l.c.*) may be the Κλίμαξ. The site of Cretopolis, where Garsyeris encamped, placed at Incir Han on the eastern side of Lake Kestel by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10), is still uncertain (see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1824). From Isparta the road to Apameia led around the northeastern end of Lake Burdur by way of the modern Keçiborlu; see Murray, p. 149f. For a milestone of Constantine northwest of Isparta see *C.I.L.* III 6973. This seems to have been the route of Alexander when, after capturing Sagalassus (see below note 17), he marched on past Lake Ascanias (Burdur) to Celaenae; see Arrian *Anab.* I 29, 1: G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 311: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 298. For the route of Manlius see Chap. XII note 4. The road from Isparta to Antioch-near-Pisidia led around the southern end of Lake Eğridir (where, perhaps, lay Prostanna, see Chap. XIX note 23) and along the eastern shore of the lake, on which also there is a Seljuk khan (Pace, p. 392f.), and thence northeastward, presumably by way of the valley of the Ak Çay to Antioch. This road, rather than the more easterly and more difficult route through Adada to Lake Beyşehir advocated by Ramsay *Church in the Roman Empire* (London 1893), p. 19, was probably the course of St. Paul's first missionary journey from Perge to Antioch and back to Attaleia as described in *Acta Apost.* XIII 14 and XIV 24f.; see J. Bérard in *R.A.* V (1935), p. 64f. and T. R. S. Broughton in *Quantulacumque, Studies pres. to K. Lake* (London 1937), p. 131f.

17. For Sagalassus (Ağlasun) see Strabo XII p. 569f.: Arundell *Discoveries* II p. 33f.: G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 307f.: Lanckoroński II p. 127f.: Rott, p. 14f.: Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 255f.: Ruge in *R.E.* I A 1732f. The city's territory, described by Strabo as "facing Milyas" (see also XIII p. 631), was characterized by Livy (XXXVIII 15, 9) as *uber fertilisque omni genere frugum*. In the first century after Christ it extended as far west as Düver near the southwestern corner of Lake Burdur; see *I.G.R.* III 335 = *O.G.I.* 538 and Chap. XIX note 44. This region was owned by the city in the second century after Christ and also about A.D. 300, for dedications to Marcus Aurelius and Verus and to Diocletian and his colleagues, erected by the *polis* of Sagalassus (*I.G.R.* III 332 and 336), have been found, respectively, at Yazı Köy at the southwestern end of the lake and at Düver. The claim of Sagalassus to a Lacedaemonian origin, perhaps expressed by coins of the second and third centuries after Christ bearing the

legend Λακεδαίμων and a warrior (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 242f., nos. 13 and 25), is, like that of Selge (see above note 13), undoubtedly fictitious. For Alexander see Strabo *l.c.* and Arrian *Anab.* I 28, 2f.

18. The road from Side to Iconium appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 2, K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 731); the name of an intermediate station, 80 miles from Side, where a road diverged to Antioch-near-Pisidia, has been lost. It is probably the route of which sections were described by G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1875, p. 129f. and 1879, p. 299f. and by Jüthner, Knoll, Patsch and Swoboda in *Vorläuf. Bericht über eine Arch. Exp. n. Kleinasien* (Prague 1903), p. 29f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 47. The settlements at Gödene and Ormana in the mountains north of Side have been identified, respectively, with the ancient Cotenna and Erymna, the former of which, according to Strabo XII p. 570, was on the border between the territories of Selge and the Homonadeis; see Hirschfeld 1875, p. 142f. and *Denkmäler aus Lyk.* p. 48f. and no. 105. Etenna, known from silver coins issued from the third century before Christ onward (see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 368) and mentioned in Polybius V 73, 3 as north of Side, was perhaps in this neighbourhood; but it was hardly the same place as Cotenna, as assumed by Hirschfeld (*ibid.* p. 143) and A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 126); see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 418f. (who, however, regarded the two communities as developed "out of a single tribe") and Ruge in *R.E.* VI 706f. Another route across the mountains, running parallel to this one but somewhat farther east, was traversed both by von Richter and by Schönborn (see Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX p. 610f.) and also by Ormerod (*J.R.S.* XII [1922], p. 52f.), who suggested that it was possibly the line of march of Servilius Isauricus; see Chap. XII note 23. Since ancient ruins exist along this route also, especially at Kâğres, north of the watershed, it may be that this coincides, at least in part, with the course of an ancient road. One of these routes is evidently that mentioned briefly by Ramsay (*B.S.A.* IX [1902-03], p. 262), who referred to it as a "mere track over rough mountains," which probably was never practicable for wheeled traffic. For a third route from the coast near Side to Isauria see Chap. XII note 23.

19. For the coast between Coracesium and Cape Anamur see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 136f. and Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 140f.; for the section between Celenderis and Seleuceia see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 93f.; for the whole coast as far as Seleuceia see Beaufort *Karamania*[2], p. 162f.: F. X. Schaffer in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI (1903), p. 72f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 8f. For a general account of the interior of Cilicia Aspera see Schaffer, pp. 46f. and 62f. For the northern and central parts of the district see Sterrett in *P.A.S.* III pp. 13f., 50f., 79f., 95f.; for the centre see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 117f. and the account of Schönborn's journey as given in Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX p. 364f.; for the eastern section, especially the canyons of the Calycadnus (Gök Su) and the Lamus (Lamas Su), see *P.A.S.* III p. 3f.: J. T. Bent in *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* XII (1890), p. 445f. and *J.H.S.* XII (1891), p. 206f.: D. G. Hogarth in *Roy.*

Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers III (1893), p. 645f.: E. Herzfeld in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 29f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *M.A.M.A.* III p. 90f. The gorge of the Alata Çay, a little farther east, was described by de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* V (1911), p. 297. The altitudes taken by Schaffer (p. 47) at several points on the plateau from Sarı Aydın at the northeast to Irnabul in the centre show that it ranges between 1000 and 1500 metres in height, while the towns in the canyons are very much lower, *e.g.* Mut (Claudiopolis) with an altitude of 350 metres. The passes over the Taurus north of the plateau are 1800-1900 metres high. For the source of the Gök Su see *P.A.S.* III p. 96. The southern branch of the river is frequently called Göksu Çay (more correctly, Ermenek Göksu Çay), an identity of name which has caused some confusion. This has been further increased by Schaffer, who referred (pp. 17 and 71) to the southern branch as the Gök Su and the northern (main) stream as Bucakçi Çay. For a description of another tributary, the Kurt (or Mağara) Çay, see *P.A.S.* III p. 7f. and Herzfeld, p. 33 (Sarıkavak, where the canyon is said to have a depth of 800 metres). For the formation of the canyons see *M.A.M.A.* III p. 1. For the "caves" near Corycus see Strabo XIV p. 670f.: Mela I 72f.: Bent in *Proc.* XII p. 447f. and *J.H.S.* XII p. 212f.: Schaffer, p. 63f.: *M.A.M.A.* III p 214f. A similar depression was found by Bent back of Elaeussa; see *J.H.S.* XII p. 209. Typhon is represented in *Iliad* II 783 as living εἰν Ἀρίμοις, which has never been identified, but, according to Pindar *Pyth.* I 17 and Aeschylus *Prom.* 351f., he lived in a Cilician cave. A late version of the myth localized him in Corycus: see Apollodorus I 39f.: Strabo XIII p. 627: Curtius Rufus III 10: Mela I 76: Solinus 38, 8. For his possible connexion with Mt. Argaeus in Cappadocia see Chap. IX note 3.

20. For the forests see Strabo XIV p. 669: Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 2, 6 and IV 5, 5. For those in the interior see Leake *Journal*, p. 104f. According to Bent (*Proc.* XII p. 455), the firs from the mountains in eastern Cilicia Aspera are still "much prized for ship-masts." Shaffer reported (p. 51f.) that while the country nearer the coast had been denuded, there were still great forests of fir and cedar in the interior. According to G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 123, the modern yearly output of the district (Vilâyet of Içel) averages 26,160 cubic yards. For the kermes see Pliny *N.H.* XVI 32 and Dioscurides IV 48. For the storax, teucrium, hyssop, orris-root ointment and liquorice see Pliny *N.H.* XII 125; XXI 42; XXII 24; XXV 46 and 136: Dioscurides I 66, 1. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 614. Bent reported that liquorice was still growing on the eastern mountains (*Proc.* XII p. 453 and *J.H.S.* XII p. 208). For the saffron see Strabo XIV p. 671: Curtius Rufus III 10: Sallust *Hist.* II 81 Maur. (but see Chap. XII note 19): Pliny *N.H.* XXI 31: Horace *Sat.* II 4, 68: Martial III 65, 2 and IX 38, 5: Dioscurides I 26, 1: Columella III 8; IX 4, 4: Isidorus *Origg.* XIV 3, 45. Bent (*Proc.* XII p. 448 and *J.H.S.* XII p. 213) found it growing on the neighbouring mountains. For the goat-hair fabric called *cilicium* see Varro *R.R.* II 11, 12: Cicero *II Verr.* I 95 and Pseudo-Asconius p. 245 Stangl: Pliny *N.H.* VIII 203: *Etymol. Magn.* p. 513, line 42f. See H. Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* I² p. 204. It was used for

tents by the Arabs; see Pliny *N.H.* VI 143: Solinus 33, 3: Isidorus *Origg.* XIX 26, 10. Tents of this material are used by the Yuruks who live in the district in modern times; see Bent in *Proc.* XII p. 454.

21. According to the list of Ps.-Scylax (101-2), the places in existence in the fourth century were (from west to east): Coracesium, Selinus, Charadrus πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Anemurium ἄκρα καὶ πόλις, Nagidus πόλις, Poseideium, Salus, Myus, Celenderis πόλις, λιμὴν Ἀφροδίσιος (Aphrodisias), Holmi πόλις Ἑλληνίς, Sarpedon πόλις ἔρημος. In addition, we learn from Strabo (XIV p. 669f.) of Arsinoe πόλις, Hamaxia, Arsinoe πρόσορμον ἔχουσα, τόπος Melania. The first of these names in Strabo has usually been corrected to Syedra, known from Lucan *Phars.* VIII 259: Florus II 13, 51: Ptolemy V 5, 3; see Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 1017. It was pointed out, however, by A. H. M. Jones in *Cities*, p. 200 and note 11 and by Robert in *Études épigr. et philol.* p. 255 that this is probably the Ἀρσινόη [ἡ] ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας which appears in an inscription painted on a funerary urn from Alexandria (E. Breccia *Iscriz. Gr. e Lat.* no. 191). Either city of the name may be the Arsinoe mentioned in *Pap. Cairo Zenon* no. 59052 (257 B.C.). For Celenderis (Gilindire) see Strabo XIV p. 670: Mela I 77: Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I pp. 307 and 500: Heberdey and Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 94f.: Bilabel in *Philol. Suppl.* XIV 1 (1920), p. 155f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XI 138. For the coins see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. xlvii f. and 52f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 453f. Celenderis was one of the cities which about 81 B.C. recognized the inviolability of the Temple of Hecate at Lagina; see *O.G.I.* 441, l. 219 and Chap. V note 35. For Nagidus see Strabo and Mela (*ll. cc.*): Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 157f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1582f. For the foundation-legend see Hecataeus quoted in Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* For the coins see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 109f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 476f. For Holmi see Strabo *l.c.*: Pliny *N.H.* V 92: *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 180: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 100: Ruge in *R.E.* VIII 2137. Its exact site is unknown. For its coins see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 85 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 448. For the sanctuary of Apollo Sarpedonius see Zosimus I 57, 2 and Basil of Seleuceia p. 566f. Migne. For Seleuceia (Silifke) see Strabo *l.c.*: Pliny *N.H.* V 93: Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 8, 2: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* (where Alexander Polyhistor is cited as authority for the statement that Seleucus I was the founder): Beaufort *Karamania*[2], p. 223f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 100f.: Schaffer *ibid.* p. 66: Herzfeld, p. 30: Ruge in *R.E.* II A 1203f.: *M.A.M.A.* III p. 3f. The statement of Pliny that there was an earlier settlement called Hermia (Hyria, Stephanus) on the site is perhaps borne out by the discovery of potsherds of a date prior to the Hellenistic period; see E. Gjerstad in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 157. For the coins from the second century before Christ onward, inscribed Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Καλυκάδνῳ see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 128f. For the honours conferred about 175-170 B.C. on Eudemus, a citizen of Seleuceia, who was perhaps influential at the court of Antiochus IV, by Argos, Rhodes, the *koinon* of the Boeotians, Byzantium, Chalcedon, Cyzicus and Lampsacus see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 108f.

(=*Syll.*[3] 644-5) and *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 17f. The Peripatetic philosophers Athenaeus and Xenarchus are mentioned by Strabo (*l.c.*) as contemporaries. A "Stoic philosopher," Meleager, is honoured in Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 102, no. 180. For Corycus (Korğos) see Strabo XIV p. 670: Pliny *N.H.* V 92: Duchesne in *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 230f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 67f.: Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 99f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1452: S. Guyer in *M.A.M.A.* II p. 90f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *M.A.M.A.* III p. 118f. For the *Corycus Mons* see Pliny *N.H.* XIII 67; XXI 31; XXXI 54. The harbour afforded shelter for the fleet of L. Marcius Figulus, who barricaded himself in it in 43 B.C.; see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XII 13, 3 and Appian *B.C.* IV 60. For Corycus as Ἑρμείαο πόλις see Oppian *Halieut.* III 208 and for the temple of Hermes a few miles inland see *J.H.S.* XII p. 210 and p. 232, no. 13 and Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 66. For a cave-temple of Hermes in the neighbourhood see *J.H.S.* XII p. 211 and p. 237, no. 20. For Hermes on the coins of Corycus of the first century before Christ and of the imperial period see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lxvii and 66f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 463. For the "caves" see above note 19. For the sanctuary of Zeus see *J.H.S.* XII p. 216 and p. 242, no. 26, and for a list of its priests from the third century before Christ onward see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 71f. For Elaeussa (now joined to the mainland) see Strabo XII p. 537 and XIV p. 671: Beaufort, p. 250f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 61f.: Ruge in *R.E.* V 2228f.: Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 96f.: *M.A.M.A.* III p. 220f. Elaeussa is called ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτόνομος on a tetradrachm of the late second or early first century; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4703 and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. lxviii f. It was perhaps sacred to Zeus, whose head appears on coins of the first century before Christ; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 234f. The large peripteral temple on the mainland (*M.A.M.A.* III p. 221f.) may have been dedicated to him. For King Archelaus see Chap. XX note 24.

22. For the castles along the course of the Lamus see Bent in *Proc.* XII p. 452f. and *J.H.S.* XII p. 217f. For those northeast of Seleuceia see *M.A.M.A.* III p. 31f.

23. Strabo XIV p. 672. For Olba (Ura) and Diocaesareia (Uzunca Burç) see Bent in *Proc.* XII p. 458f. and *J.H.S.* XII p. 220f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 84f.: F. X. Schaffer in *J.O.A.I.* V (1902), p. 106f. and *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI (1903), p. 66f.: Herzfeld in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 32 and *Arch. Jahrb.* XXIV (1909), *Arch. Anz.* p. 434f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVIII *Beibl.* 33f. and especially in *M.A.M.A.* III p. 44f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2399f. See also Frazer *Adonis* (Paris 1921), p. 110f. and, for the cult of Zeus, Keil in *Mitt. d. Vereins Klass. Philologen in Wien* III (1926), p. 17f. Only Olba is mentioned by Strabo; the name of the settlement around the temple appears in an inscription of the time of Arcadius and Honorius (*M.A.M.A.* III 73). A coin, however, inscribed Διοκαισαρέων was issued in the time of Domitian; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 439, no. 2 and below Chap. XXIV note 27. For Seleucus see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 85, no. 166= Michel 1231 =*M.A.M.A.* III p. 50. The earliest of the known rulers, probably,

was Τα[ρ]κυάρις Ταρκυάριος τοῦ Νάσου ἱερεὺς Διός, whose name appears in an inscription from Uzunca Burç (*M.A.M.A.* III 69). For the god Tarku (or Tark) see Herzfeld *Arch. Anz.* p. 435: Frazer *Adonis*, pp. 110 and 122: Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.* I^3 2, pp. 702 and 716. A later priest, perhaps the son of this Tarkyaris, was the ἱερεὺς Τεῦκρος τοῦ Ταρκυάριος whose name appears on towers at Uzunca Burç and at Canytelides near the "cave" north of Elaeussa (see above note 19), both of which may be dated about 200 B.C.; see *J.H.S.* XII p. 262f., no. 45 and p. 226, no. 1 = Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 88 and p. 53, no. 121. The latter inscription indicates that at this time the dominions ruled by the priest extended almost to the coast. Still later priests bore the title of ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας; these were Τεῦκρος Ζηνοφάνου Τεύκρου, who renewed the στέγαι given by Seleucus I (*M.A.M.A.* III p. 50, see above), and Ζηνοφάνης Τεύκρου τοῦ Ζηνοφάνου (*M.A.M.A.* III 68), and the man whose name appears as [Ζηνοφάνης] Ζηνοφάνου τοῦ [Ζηνοφάνου] and [Ζηνοφάνης Ζηνο]φάνου τοῦ Ζην[οφάνου] (*M.A.M.A.* III 63 and 64). The third of these men may be dated by the mention (in no. 63) of [Ἐρ]μίας Μίμμιος, of whom it is said in no. 62 that "having slain two of the garrison and the tyrant," he was rewarded with a golden torque by Philip II, the last of the Seleucid dynasty, who ruled for a short time about 65 B.C. (see Chap. XV note 19). The inscriptional evidence, accordingly, shows that the priests were called Tarkyaris (Teukros) or Zenophanes; the name Aias, included among them by Strabo, does not occur until Strabo's own time, when, from A.D. 10 onward, the name of Aias, son of Teukros, described as ἀρχιερεύς, τοπάρχης Κενναταῶν καὶ Λαλασσέων, appears on coins; see Chap. XXI note 12. The belief, therefore, based on Strabo, that the priests were named Teukros and Aias alternately (see *e.g.* Keil in *Mitt. d. Vereins Klass. Philologen in Wien* III [1926], p. 17: Oldfather in *R.E.* XIII 1172: F. Schwenn in *R.E.* V A 1130) is unfounded; see Ed. Meyer *ibid.* p. 739. The appearance of Zenophanes in these inscriptions bears out the statement of Strabo that Aba, the daughter of "one of the tyrants" who bore this name, was married to a member of the princely family; this "tyrant" is perhaps to be identified with one of the two men named Zenophanes who appear in the inscriptions. Since the rule over Olba was granted to Aba in 41 B.C. by Antony (see above p. 433f.), her father may well have been the Zenophanes who was a contemporary of Philip II. On the other hand, it seems difficult to identify any of these men, as suggested by Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 259, note 5 and H. A. Ormerod *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924), p. 204, note 2, with the Cilician Zenophanes (Ὀφάνης, Mss.) who, according to Diodorus XXXI 32 a = frg. XIV Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. xiii), supported Alexander Balas, pretender to the Seleucid throne, in 153 B.C.

24. For the roads in Cilicia Tracheia see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 388f. The road along the coast from Side eastward is shown on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 2-3, K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 708f., see above note 15) with the following stations: Selinus, Anemurium, Arsinoe, Celenderis, Seleuceia, Corycus, Pompeiopolis, Soli; of these, the last two are incorrectly distinguished, since

they were the same place (see below note 31). A milestone of Severus was found near Hamaxia, northwest of Selinus; see *I.G.R.* III 826. Milestones (uninscribed), together with traces of the ancient road, were found near Akkale, northeast of Elaeussa, by Heberdey and Wilhelm (p. 50). Traces were seen also southwest of Corycus and east of Anemurium (Cape Anamur); see Heberdey and Wilhelm, pp. 80 and 159. A bridge over the Calycadnus was built in A.D. 77/8; see *I.G.R.* III 840=*M.A.M.A.* III p. 6. From the shore near Akkale a road, with a milestone of Hadrian, ran up the mountain-side to Canytelides; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 51 and *C.I.L.* III 13625. For the difficulties presented by the road along the coast of Cilicia Tracheia see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 140f. and Schaffer, p. 73f.

25. The existence of roads from Iconium by way of Laranda (Karaman), Dalisandus and Claudiopolis (Mut) to Seleuceia, and *via* Laranda, Coropissus and Olba to Corycus was inferred by Ramsay (*H.G.* pp. 358 and 495) from the mention of Coropissus (Coriopio), whose site is unknown (see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1437f.), on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 3). The route from Karaman to Silifke was traversed by Hogarth (*Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III p. 648f.), who found remains of an ancient road north of Mut and the ruins of a Byzantine bridge over the Calycadnus seven miles from Mut, but reported no other evidences of the existence of a road in Antiquity. The remains and the bridge were seen also by Heberdey and Wilhelm (p. 119), who followed this route from Silifke to a hill called Sinabiç, northeast of Mut, and reported the ruins of many ancient settlements but no actual remains of a road. For the road from Seleuceia to Olba see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 81f. and *M.A.M.A.* III p. 23f. For the road from Corycus to Olba by way of Canbazlı, the pavement of which has been largely preserved, see Hogarth, p. 654 and *M.A.M.A.* III pp. 80 and 129. For milestones nos. I and II from Corycus see *M.A.M.A.* III nos. 198 and 199, and for milestone no. IV (of A.D. 197) see *C.I.L.* III 12123. Milestones of A.D. 197 and 307 were found near Olba; see *J.H.S.* XII p. 271f., nos. 76-78=*C.I.L.* III 12120-12122. For the road from Olba to Mağara (an ancient site) see Bent *Proc.* XII p. 460: Schaffer in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI p. 61f. and *J.O.A.I.* V p. 109: Herzfeld, p. 32. For about five miles north of Uzunca Burç milestones (all illegible or buried) were found by Ramsay at intervals of fifteen minutes; see *J.H.S.* XII p. 273. For the construction of these roads see *M.A.M.A.* III pp. 2 and 129. Of similar construction, probably, was the κλίμαξ λατομητή which led to Poecile Petra above Corasium, east of the Calycadnus; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 80 and R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 18 B (where *Coracesium* is evidently an error). For the modern road from Silifke to Karaman by way of Mağara and the pass of Yedi Bel see Hogarth, p. 653: Bent in *J.H.S.* XII p. 222: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 81: Schaffer in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI p. 66f.: Murray's *Handbook*, p. 182f. Remains of an ancient road, which ascended from the coast west of the Alata Çay and, often crossing the Lamus, reached Olba, were found by Schaffer *ibid.* p. 61f. and *J.O.A.I.* V p. 107. The road from Anemurium to Isaura appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 2, see K.

Miller *Itin. Rom.* 731f.), where, however, no intermediate stations are given.

26. For Cilicia Campestris see Schaffer, p. 20f. and Ramsay in *Geogr. Journ.* XXII (1903), p. 357f. For the spur of the Amanus called Cebelinur see Schaffer, p. 40. For the Aleian Plain see *Iliad* VI 201; its area in modern times, exclusive of the sandbanks, was estimated by Ramsay (*ibid.* p. 360) at about 800 square miles. For its products see Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 22: Pliny *N.H.* XIII 48; XVI 113; XVIII 81: *Expositio totius Mundi* 39: Athenaeus III 13, p. 77 F: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 611f.: Cuinet *Turquie* II pp. 25 and 54: Schaffer, pp. 30 and 39: G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, pp. 16 and 93.

27. For the Sarus (Seyhan), formed by the union of the Zamanti Su with an easterly branch and with the Gürgün Su, which unites with the main stream at the edge of the plain near Adana, see Schaffer, pp. 18 and 77f. The gorge of the river east of Haçin was described by Sterrett in *P.A.S.* II p. 239 and the neighbouring region by Hogarth (p. 659) and Schaffer (p. 90). The gorge of the Pyramus (Ceyhan) was described by Strabo XII p. 536 (after personal inspection) and by Hogarth, p. 665f. For the gorge of the Cydnus (Tarsus Su), the so-called Cehennem Deresi, nearly 1500 ft. deep, see Schaffer, pp. 17 and 56. For the water of the river see Strabo XIV p. 673: Arrian *Anab.* II 4, 7: Curtius Rufus III 10: Pliny *N.H.* XXXI 11.

28. For Tarsus see Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 23: Diodorus XIV 20, 2: Strabo XIV p. 672f.: Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul* (London 1907), pp. 93 and 105f.: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2413f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, pp. 193f. and 207f. The name of the city is evidently of native origin, perhaps derived from the name of the god Tarku (see above note 23); see Ruge *ibid.* 2414. In the time of Alexander a monument near Anchiale (perhaps at Kazanlı east of Mersin, see Garstang in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* XXV [1938], p. 20), purporting to be the tomb of Sardanapallus, bore an epigram which attributed the founding of Tarsus, as well as of Anchiale, to that monarch; see Aristobulus, quoted by Strabo (p. 671f.) and Athenaeus XII 39, p. 530 B = frg. 9 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 772): Callisthenes frg. 34 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 650): Arrian *Anab.* II 5, 4. Another tradition assigned the foundation of Tarsus to Sanherib (705-680 B.C.), when a Greek landing-party was repulsed by the Assyrians; see Berossus quoted by Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus in Eusebius *Chron.* I pp. 27 and 35 Schöne = pp. 14 and 18 Karst and Keil in *Mitt. d. Vereins Kl. Philol. in Wien* III (1926), p. 15f. Tarsus, however, was presumably the city called Tarzi which was conquered by Salmanassar III (859-828 B.C.), as related in his achievements recorded on an obelisk of black marble from Nimrud; see A. H. Sayce *J.H.S.* XLIII (1923), p. 49 and Weissbach in *R.E.* I A 1982. The attempt to connect Tarsus with Argos by attributing the foundation of the city to Triptolemus and a band of Argives in search of Io, which appears in Strabo XIV p. 673 and XVI 750 and in Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Perieg.* 867 (*G.G.M.* II p. 369), as well as in the description of the Tarsians as Ἀργείων ἄποικοι in Dio Chrysostum

Orat. XXXIII 41, is presumably of Hellenistic origin; see Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.* III² p. 95, note 1 and Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 262, note 4. The connexion with Perseus, found in Lucan *Phars.* III 225, Dio Chrysostom XXXIII 45 and 47 and later writers, as well as on coins of the second and third centuries after Christ which bear the figure of the hero (*B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. 185f., 206 and 214f.), is doubtless a similar attempt. The myth ascribing the foundation to Heracles, which appears on coins as early as the fourth century before Christ bearing his head and on those of the third century after Christ with his figure (*B.M. Cat. Lycaonia*, pp. 166, 195 and 205f.), as well as in Dio (*l.c.*), arose from the identification of the hero with the native god Sandan, also regarded as the founder; see Ruge *ibid.* 2415. The silver coins of the city issued in the late fifth and the fourth centuries before Christ bear legends in Aramaic characters, but a coin of the middle of the fourth century is inscribed Τερσικῶν; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lxxvii and 162f. This coin was regarded by Keil (*ibid.* p. 17) as evidence for the existence of a Greek element at Tarsus originating in the "early Achaean" period. For Alexander at Tarsus see Arrian *Anab.* II 4, 6f.: Curtius Rufus III 11: Justin XI 8, 3f. Under the Seleucids Tarsus issued coins inscribed Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 177. The change of name was dated by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ταρσός) in the time of Antiochus IV, who was said to have presented the city to his mistress (*II Maccab.* IV 30); but, as Ruge pointed out (*ibid.* 2418f.), the ethnicum Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Κύδνου appears in two Delphian proxeny-decrees, *Fouilles de Delphes* III 2, 208 and *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), pp. 228 and 267 = *S.G.D.I.* 2734, dated, respectively, by the archons Dion and Aristion, whose terms were placed in 243/2 and 215/14 (?) by Flacelière *Aitoliens à Delphes*, pp. 468 and 486. The king, therefore, under whom the city was renamed must have been either Antiochus I or Antiochus II. This name was still used about 166 B.C. (*I.G.* II² 2316, l. 48), but the old name was resumed at some time in the second century, when coins were issued bearing the legend Ταρσέων and the names of magistrates; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 178f. The harbour at the mouth of the Cydnus was called Ῥῆγμα by Strabo (XIV p. 672) and described as a λιμνάζων τόπος with ancient dockyards. Later (p. 673), where Strabo records the distance of Tarsus from the mouth of the Cydnus, most of the manuscripts read οὐ πλείους πέντε (στάδιοι), *i.e.* less than one mile, whereas at present the coast is twelve miles from the city. Ancient remains of a settlement on the north side of a lagoon separated by a sandbank from the sea, which is about four miles distant, seem to show that this was the harbour mentioned by Strabo. Consequently, the text should be altered, as was suggested by C. Müller (Didot Edition, Paris 1858), from ε′ to ο′ (*i.e.* 70) stadia, which is the distance from the outlet of the Ῥῆγμα (Ῥῆγμοι) to Tarsus according to the *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 168; see Kiessling in *R.E.* I A 505. The λινουργοί of Tarsus were a large (and underprivileged) class at the beginning of the second century after Christ; see Dio XXXIV 21f. and below Chap. XXV note 15. Linen garments and other articles of clothing from Tarsus appear in the Edict of Diocletian (see

Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 616 and 822), and linen from Tarsus is mentioned in *Pap. Oxy.* 109, of the third or fourth century; see L. C. West in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 52. For St. Paul as a σκηνοποιός see *Acta Apost.* XVIII 3, and for tents made of *cilicium* see above note 20. For the perfumes see Pliny *N.H.* XIII 6 (pardalium) and Athenaeus XV 38, p. 688 E (spikenard) and Broughton, p. 615.

29. For Mopsuestia (Misis) see Strabo XIV p. 676: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 11: A. Janke *Auf Alex. d. Gross. Pfaden* (Berlin 1904), p. 76: G. Cousin *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Mineure* (Paris 1905), pp. 278f. and 437f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 243f. The form of the name varies greatly. It appears as Μοψουεστία (or Μόψου Ἑστία) in Theopompus frg. 111 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 295f.) = frg. 103 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 558f.), Strabo *l.c.*, *I.G.* XIV 1051 = *I.G.R.* I 121 = *O.G.I.* 575 (A.D. 140) and Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 10 (Mopsuhestia); as Ἑστία Μόψου in Appian *Syr.* 69; and as Mopsos in Pliny *N.H.* V 91. On the other hand, the form Μοψεατῶν is found on the coins from the second century before Christ onward and in a dedication to Antoninus Pius at Misis (*I.G.R.* III 915). For other variants see Ruge *l.c.* The derivation from the name of Mopsus (see above note 3) appears in Theopompus *l.c.*; according to Callinus quoted by Strabo (XIV p. 668), some of his followers were dispersed in Cilicia. A possible connexion between finds of ancient pottery and an invasion of "Achaeans" at the beginning of the Iron Age was suggested by E. Gjerstad in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 197f. For the coins see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. cix f. and 103f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 473f. Some coins of the time of Antiochus IV bear the legend Σελευκέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πυράμῳ (a name perhaps assumed under Seleucus IV), but the city did not long retain this name, for coins issued perhaps under Antiochus IV are inscribed Μοψεατῶν, usually with the addition of τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ αὐτονόμου. For the road leading through Cilicia to Syria see below note 36.

30. The existence of Adana in the fourth century is known from Ps.-Scylax 102, where it is described as an ἐμπόριον. Its coins of the time of Antiochus IV are inscribed Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Σάρῳ, but those issued later bear the legend Ἀδανέων; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, pp. ci f. and 77: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. xcviii f. and 15f. Adana appears for the first time in historical writers in connexion with the settlement of former pirates in it by Pompey; see Appian *Mith.* 96 and Chap. XII note 43. For the enmity between Adana and Tarsus in 42 B.C. see Cassius Dio XLVII 31, 2.

31. For Soli (Mezitli) see Strabo XIV p. 671: Beaufort *Karamania*[2], p. 259: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 42f.: Schaffer, p. 35: Janke *ibid.* p. 2f.: Paribeni and Romanelli in *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 87f.: Ruge in *R.E.* III A 935f. Its existence in the fifth century before Christ is attested by Hecataeus, quoted by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*, and Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 24, as well as by coins. In Ps.-Scylax 102 it is called a πόλις Ἑλληνίς. For coins of the fifth century, inscribed Σολέων or Σολίου, and onward until it was depopulated about 83 B.C. (see below) see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lxxi f.

and 144f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 487f. According to Strabo *l.c.* and Mela I 71, it was founded by Achaeans (Argives) and Rhodians. For the plea of the Rhodian envoys to the Senate see Polybius XXI 24, 10f. = Livy XXXVII 56, 7f. An early settlement on the site is indicated by fragments of pottery dating from the Bronze Age (see Gjerstad *ibid.* p. 158), but the Argive tradition may well be an invention of the Hellenistic period. Soli seems, in fact, to have been a Rhodian colony, founded perhaps about 700 B.C.; see Beloch *G.G.*^{2} I 1, p. 262 and I 2, p. 236 and Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.* III^{2} p. 95. For Alexander see Arrian *Anab.* II 5, 5 and 8 and Curtius Rufus III 17; he afterward remitted fifty talents of the original fine and, later, Soli joined Mallus in giving him three ships (Arrian II 12, 2 and 20, 2). Soli was a Seleucid possession when, about 246 B.C., it was occupied by a body of Egyptian troops; see Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 1 = *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 885f. and Chap. I note 22. In 197 B.C. it surrendered to Antiochus III; see Livy XXXIII 20, 4 and Chap. XII note 1. For a dedication to Hermes, Heracles and Antiochus, presumably subsequent to this surrender, see *O.G.I.* 230 and, for the date, Radet in *R. Phil.* XVII (1893), p. 61f. and Holleaux in *B.C.H.* XXXII (1908), p. 268; the inclusion of these two gods in the dedication shows that at this time Soli, like other Greek cities, had a gymnasium. A δημιουργήσας τὸ δεύτερον is mentioned in *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 318, no. 6, which, because of the Greek names, is perhaps to be dated in the Hellenistic period. For the order forbidding the quartering of troops, dating probably from the second century before Christ, see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 42f., no. 101. For the famous men from Soli see Strabo *l.c.* Aratus was born about 310, Chrysippus about 280 B.C. Philemon, the writer of comedies also named by Strabo as a native of Soli, was not the famous comic poet of that name, but a later and less well-known writer; see Christ-Schmid *Gesch. d. Griech. Litt.*^{6} II p. 34. A coin of A.D. 163/4 bears portraits supposed to be those of Chrysippus and Aratus; see Imhoof-Blumer in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 167f. and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 154, no. 55. For the depopulation of Soli by Tigranes about 83 B.C. and its restoration as Pompeiopolis in 66 see Chap. XII notes 36 and 43. For the colonnade see Keil and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 45f. It was dated by Heberdey and Wilhelm (p. 87, note 1) in the time of Pompey, by Paribeni and Romanelli (p. 90) in the second century after Christ.

32. For Mallus see Ps.-Scylax 102, where it is described as a *polis* on the navigable Pyramus; Strabo XIV p. 675, where it is said to be "situated on a height" near the Pyramus: Mela I 70, where it is described as on the Pyramus: Curtius Rufus III 17, where it is placed on the left bank of the river: Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 916f. The site was long supposed (*e.g.* by Ramsay in *H.G.* p. 385) to be the cape of Karataş, the southernmost point of Cilicia Campestris. The ancient town situated there, however, was Magarsus (see below), as was shown by Heberdey and Wilhelm (p. 9), who also observed that the evidence of Ps.-Scylax points to a site some distance from the coast. The problem is complicated by the strong probability that since ancient times the river has changed its course. It now flows into the Bay of Yumur-

talık through a gap in the hills projecting from the Cebelinur, whereas in Antiquity at least one branch, if not the whole stream, flowed directly southward to the sea at Karataş Burun; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 10f., and Ramsay in *Geogr. Jour.* XXII (1903), p. 360f. and *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 102. For the supposed founding by Amphilochus (see above note 3) see Strabo *l.c.*; for his oracle see Pausanias I 34, 3: Plutarch *de Defectu Orac.* 45: Lucian *Philopseudes* 38: Cassius Dio LXXII 7, 1. Coins of the early third century after Christ bear the legend *ἱερ(ὸν) Θεοῦ Ἀμφιλόχου* (*J.H.S.* XVIII [1898], p. 163f.). The earliest coins of the city, inscribed *Μαρλοτᾶν* (with various abbreviations, sometimes in Aramaic), were issued in the late fifth or early fourth century before Christ; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. CXX f. and 97f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 467f. For Alexander see Arrian *Anab.* II 5, 9 and 20, 2 (three ships furnished by Mallus and Soli) and Curtius Rufus *l.c.* Antigonus used Mallus as winter-quarters for his army in 316/15; see Diodorus XIX 56, 5. For Ptolemy I see Diodorus XIX 79, 6. Antiochus IV was said to have presented Mallus, together with Tarsus, to his mistress (see above note 28). For inscriptions of *Μαλλωτῶν ὁ δῆμος* see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 8, no. 19 and *Journ. of Philol.* XI (1882), p. 143, no. 1. The former, in honour of a *δημιουργός*, was dated by the editors not earlier than the second half of the second century before Christ. For the *[Italicei qu]ei Mallei [negotiantu]r* see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 8, no. 18 = *C.I.L.* III 14177.[10] For Pompey's settlement of pirates see Chap. XII note 43. For Magarsus see Strabo XIV p. 676: Arrian *Anab.* II 5, 9: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 6f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 292. It appears as *Ἀντιόχεια ἐπὶ Πυράμου* (59 stades from Mallus) in *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 163 and as *Ἀντιοχέων ὁ δῆμος* in inscriptions from the third century before Christ onward; see L.W. 1486 and 1487 a and Heberdey and Wilhelm, nos. 14-17. Its ethnicum appears also as *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Πυράμου* in an Athenian list of victors of about 166 B.C. (*I.G.* II² 2316, l. 49f.) and in a proxeny-decree of Delphi (*Syll.*³ 585, l. 286) under the archon Cleophanes in 172/1 B.C.; see G. Daux *Delphes au II^e et au I^er Siècle* (Paris 1936), p. 192. For a *δημιουργός* see L.W. 1487 b. Athena Magarsis, to whom Alexander sacrificed (Arrian II 5, 9), appears also in Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* *Μάγαρσος*) and Heberdey and Wilhelm, no. 21 = *I.G.R.* III 889 (*Μαγα[ρσία]*).

33. For Aegaeae (Ayas) see Strabo XIV p. 676 (*πολίχνιον ὕφορμον ἔχον*): Beaufort, p. 300f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 14f. For the *συγγένεια* with Argos see *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 421f., no. 6 = *Mnem.* XXXIV (1906), p. 335f.: Bücheler in *Rh. Mus.* LXI (1906), p. 626f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *Herm.* LVII (1922), p. 155f. For the coins, inscribed *Αἰγεαίων*, from the time of Antiochus IV onward, often with the addition of *τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ αὐτονόμου*, see *BM. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. CXII f. and 20f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 423f. An inscription, perhaps of the Hellenistic period, mentions the *demos* and a *δημιουργός*; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, no. 42. For the temple of Asclepius see Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* I 7, 1 and *Vit. Soph.* II 4, 1. It is said to have been destroyed by Constantine; see Theophanes

Chron. p. 24 de Boor. Αἰ[*γαία*] Ἀρτε[*μις*] is mentioned in an inscription of the early imperial period (*I.G.R.* III 925). Aegaeae is called an *oppidum liberum* in Pliny *N.H.* V 91. For its *navalia* see Lucan *Phars.* III 227. It has the title *ναναρχίς* on coins of Decius and Valerian. For its suitability for a *φιλοσοφήσων* see Philostratus *Vit. Apoll. l.c.*

34. For Anazarbus (Anavarza) see J. T. Bent in *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 231f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 34f.: Schaffer, p. 43: G. L. Bell in *R.A.* VII (1906), p. 14f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 52f. For its coins of the first century before Christ, inscribed Ἀναζαρβέων, and onward see *Coll. Wadd.* 4096f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. cii f. and 31. For a *συντεχνία* λινουργῶ[*ν*] in A.D. 136 see *I.G.R.* III 896. For the title of metropolis see *I.G.R.* III 898, *C.I.L.* VI 2823 = *I.G.* XIV 991 = *I.G.R.* I 72 and *O.G.I.* 577 and coins of the third century after Christ.

35. For Castabala-Hieropolis see Bent in *J.H.S.* XI p. 234f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 25f.: Keil and Wilhelm *ibid.* 49f.: Ruge in *R.E.* X 2335f. The site at Bodrum Kalesi, identified with Hieropolis by inscriptions (see below) and evidently the centre of a region called Castabalis (*O.G.I.* 754), differs wholly from the position assigned to Castabala, "where there is a temple of Artemis Perasia" (see below), in Strabo XII pp. 535 and 537, where it is placed near Cybistra in Cappadocia and included in the territory assigned to Ariobarzanes by Pompey in 62 (see Chap. XV note 45). Appian (*Mith.* 105) also includes Castabala "a city of Cilicia" in this territory; here, however, "Cilicia" presumably refers to the Cappadocian *strategia* of this name (Strabo pp. 534 and 537, see Chap. XXI note 7). On the other hand, in Ptolemy V 7, 7 Castabala is correctly placed in Cilicia Pedias, near Mopsuestia. Since it is impossible to suppose that the city on the Pyramus was ever included in Cappadocia, it must be assumed either that Strabo was mistaken or that there were two places named Castabala. The former view was held by Imhoof-Blumer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* X (1883), p. 267f. and Ruge *l.c.*, the latter by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 342, retracted in *J.O.A.I.* VII [1904], *Beibl.* 88, note 37), Bent and Hicks (*J.H.S.* XI pp. 235 and 245) and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 430, note 4 and p. 436, note 19. The probability of this view is strengthened by the fact that the lists of Pliny mention a Castabala both in Cilicia (V 93, with Anazarbus and Epiphaneia) and in Cappadocia (VI 8, with Tyana). It may be assumed, with Hicks, that Artemis Perasia was worshipped in both places, as Ma was worshipped both at Comana in Pontus and at Comana in Cappadocia (see Chap. VIII note 13 and Chap. IX note 5), or, perhaps more probably, that Strabo was mistaken in connecting the cult of the Goddess with the Cappadocian Castabala. For the coins, inscribed Ἱεροπολιτῶν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πυράμῳ, issued from the second century before Christ onward see *Coll. Wadd.* 4302f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. ci and 82f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 447. The *demos* has this name with the addition of τῆς ἱερᾶς κα[ὶ] ἀσύλου in *I.G.R.* III 901 = *O.G.I.* 752 (of the later first century before Christ, see Chap. XV note 53) and on coins; elsewhere it appears as ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν; see *I.G.R.* III 901 = *O.G.I.*

754: *I.G.R.* III 905: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 50f. A δημιουργός is mentioned in *O.G.I.* 754, and a γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ ἐκλησίας καὶ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς γερουσίας appears in *J.H.S.* XI p. 250, no. 25 (a) (of the Hellenistic or early Roman period). For the meaning of Hieropolis as the "City of the Sanctuary" see Chap. V note 24, and for the development of a settlement around a sanctuary into a *polis* see Chap. V note 66. The name, perhaps assumed, as Bent suggested, to distinguish the Cilician from the Cappadocian Castabala, did not wholly displace the older name, for not only does Castabala appear in Pliny and Ptolemy but coins from Commodus onward are inscribed Ἱεροπολιτῶν Καστραβαλέων (Imhoof-Blumer *Griech. Münz.* p. 185, no. 561 and *Coll. Wadd.* 4320f.). For Perasia see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 27, no. 59 (Θεὰ Περασία Ἐπήκοος) and *J.H.S.* XI p. 246, no. 16 (mention of τῶν τῆς Θεοῦ Περασίας προσόδων). For the connexion of the Goddess with Orestes see Strabo p. 537. There was a similar connexion at both the Pontic and the Cappadocian Comana, as well as in other places in Asia Minor; see Höfer in Roscher *Lexikon* III 999f. In the case of the Goddess of Castabala it may have arisen from the supposed derivation of the name (recorded in Strabo) from πέραθεν.

36. The continuation of the Southern Highway (see Chap. II note 18) from Cybistra (Ereğli) by way of the Cilician Gates (Külek Boğaz) to Tarsus is shown in a very imperfect form on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (x 2-4, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 692). The branch from Tyana in Cappadocia which joined the main route north of Podandus (Pozanti) appears on the *Tabula* (Miller *ibid.* 664f.), in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (145), the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (577f.) and a fragment of an itinerary from Tarsus to Tyana, found in Rome (*C.I.L.* VI 5076). Two milestones east of Ulukışla, *C.I.L.* 12213 (no. XXIII from Tyana) and 12214 (no. XXXVI, probably from the Gates), if in situ, indicate that this was the course of the road. On the other hand, two milestones found between Tyana and Paşmakci (*Ann. Ép.* 1941, 163, see *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 213) suggest that its course was farther east. Inscriptions cut on the rock at the Gates record the improvement of the road under Commodus and the rebuilding (perhaps under Severus Alexander, see below) *a Pylis usq[ue ad] Alexa[n]dream* (*i.e.* Alexandria ad Issum); see *C.I.L.* III 12118 (=*Byz. Ztschr.* XIV [1905], p. 66, no. 108 and XV p. 284) and 12119=*I.G.R.* III 892 and 893. A milestone (no. β′) found at Tarsus (L.W. 1479=*I.G.R.* III 882), which was erected by the city, may have come from this road. For the route through the Cilician Gates see Ainsworth *Travels* II p. 43f.: Murray's *Handbook*, p. 160f.: Oberhummer and Zimmerer *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1899), p. 110f.: Schaffer, pp. 55f. and 79f.: Ramsay in *Geogr. Journ.* XXII (1902), p. 368f. and *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 112f.: Janke *ibid.* p. 97f.: Cousin *ibid.* p. 260f. (from Tyana): Baedeker *Konstantinopel u. Kleinasien*[2] (1912), p. 299f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XI 388 no. 1 and 389f. The road from Tarsus by way of Adana, Mopsuestia, Issus and Baiae (Pavas) to Alexandria ad Issum (Alexandretta) appears on the *Tabula* (Miller 750f.). The rebuilding of the bridge over the Sarus at Adana, probably in the late fourth century

after Christ, is commemorated in *I.G.R.* III 887=*Byzantion* IV (1927-8), p. 465f. The bridge over the Pyramus at Mopsuestia appears on a coin of the city issued under Valerian; see *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 289, no. 1 and Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 248. Both bridges were rebuilt by Justinian (Procopius *de Aedif.* V 5, 7 and 13), and remains of the bridge over the Pyramus are still visible under the modern construction; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 11 and Cousin, p. 278. Near Mopsuestia there are milestones of Severus Alexander, recording the rebuilding of the road *a Py[l]is usque a[d Alexan]dri[am] in Pi(e)r[ia]*, and of Valentinian and Valens; see *C.I.L.* III 226 (no. XLIV) and 13624=*Byz. Ztschr.* XIV (1905), p. 64, no. 106. See also *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 129 (no. XXX of A.D. 230). A branch-road from Mopsuestia by way of Epiphaneia to Anazarbus appears on the *Tabula* (Miller 766); a milestone (no. I from Anazarbus) was found a short distance south of the city (*I.G.R.* III 898). From Mopsuestia the main road led eastward through the defile of Karanlık Kapu, where there are remains of Roman fortifications barring the way; this seems to have been the place called Ἀμανίδες Πύλαι in Strabo XIV p. 676, Ἀμανικαὶ Πύλαι in *Stadiasmus Mar. Magn.* 156, *Portae Ciliciae* in Pliny *N.H.* V 91 and, probably, Ἀμανικαὶ Πύλαι in Ptolemy V 7, 7; see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 17 and Janke, pp. 16 and 44f. On the other hand, the Ἀμανίδες Πύλαι of Polybius XII 17, 2, Πύλαι Ἀμανικαί of Arrian *Anab.* II 7, 1 and *Amanicae Pylae* of Curtius Rufus III 20 seem to denote the fortified depression, south of Castabala-Hieropolis, now called Toprak Kale, through which Darius, in his pursuit of Alexander, marched into the plain of Issus; see Janke, p. 37f. and J. Gottwald in *Byz. Ztschr.* XL (1940), p. 89f. On the coast, near Karanlık Kapu, was the place called *oppidum Castabulum* in Curtius Rufus III 17 and Catabolo on the *Tabula* and in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (146, 1); see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 17 and Ruge in *R.E.* X 2336. Here the road was joined by the coast road from Aegaeae (see below note 37). After traversing the plain of Issus and passing through Baiae, the road reached the "Cilician-Syrian Gates"; see Xenophon *Anab.* I 4, 4: Polybius XII 8, 3: Strabo XIV pp. 670 and 676: Arrian *Anab.* II 6, 2: 8, 1: Cassius Dio XLVIII 41, 2; LXXIV (LXXV) 7, 1f.: K. J. Neumann in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol.* CXXVII (1883), p. 535f.: Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 18: Janke, p. 18f. and *Klio* X (1910), p. 139f. From here it is only a short distance to Alexandretta. For Cyrus's march see Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 21f.: Diodorus XIV 20, 1f. Ramsay, however, supposed (*Geogr. Journ.* XXII p. 386f.) that Cyrus did not pass through the Cilician Gates but used a different route which ran high up on the mountain-side above the course of the Çakıt Su. This theory is based, not merely on the fact that Xenophon does not specifically mention the Gates, but chiefly on the statement (I 2, 23) that the army marched 25 parasangs (62 miles according to Ramsay, but in reality about 92), a distance which, if reckoned from Pozanti, would be far too long. For Alexander see Arrian *Anab.* II 4, 3f. and 5, 8f. and Curtius Rufus III 11. For Appius Claudius Pulcher, governor of Cilicia, in 51 B.C. see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 6, and *ad Att.* V 17, 6. For Cicero see *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 2, 8=*ad Att.* V 20, 2 (51 B.C.); *ad Att.* V 21, 7 and VI 4, 1 (50 B.C.). For Julius Caesar in 47 B.C. see *Bell. Alex.*

66, 3 and below Chap. XVII note 18. For Tillius Cimber in 42 B.C. see Cassius Dio XLVII 31, 1. For Septimius Severus in his campaign against Pescennius Niger in A.D. 194 see Herodian III 2, 10f. and Chap. XXVIII note 20. A triumphal arch spanning the road near Bayramlı (3 hours north of Tarsus) was supposed by Ramsay to be a memorial of Severus's entry into Cilicia; see *B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 237f. and *Geogr. Journ.* XXII p. 375. Aurelian, who marched from Tyana to Antioch (*Script. Hist. Aug., Vita Aur.* 25, 1 and Zosimus 1-50, 2), must also have used this route. For crosses inscribed by Crusaders near Pozanti see Ramsay *ibid.* p. 384. During the winter months the pass in the Taurus was blocked by snow. Cicero, writing from Laodiceia early in 50 B.C. (*Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 14) remarked, *Taurus propter nives ante mensem Iunium transiri non potest*; in this year the first of June by the uncorrected (pre-Julian) calendar fell on 21 April; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 810.

37. The continuation of the coast road east of Soli (see above note 24) appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 3-4, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 759f.) with the stations Zephyrium, Mallus, Aegaeae and Catabolum, where it ioined the road from Mopsuestia to Alexandria ad Issum; see above note 36. The *Itinerarium Antonini* (145-6) and the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (578f.) show, in very imperfect form, a route which led from the Cilician Gates through *Nampsucrone* or *Mansucrinae* (*i.e.* Mopsucrene, north of Tarsus, see Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 250) and Tarsus to Aegaeae and Catabolum. A milestone (no. XI) of Maximian was found at Yanış, northeast of Aegaeae; see *C.I.L.* III 13623. Remains of the ancient road west of Mersin were reported by Herzfeld in *Pet. Mitt.* LV (1909), p. 29. For this section see also Paribeni and Romanelli, p. 95. For the section northeast of the cape of Karataş, near the original mouth of the Pyramus (see above note 32), see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 190.

38. This route seems to appear on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 4-XI 1, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 765f.). It led over the pass of Arslan Boğazı (950 metres high); see Schaffer, p. 94f. Traces of an ancient fortress protecting the road were found by Bent at Hamidiye Kale on the Pyramus above Anazarbus; see *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 233. The Bagdad Railway follows this route, passing under the Amanus by the long tunnel between Bahçe and Islahiye.

39. Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 20. The route from Cybistra over the high pass of Aydos Bel (3400 metres high) to Namrun in Cilicia and so to Tarsus was regarded by Schaffer (pp. 57 and 87 and *J.O.A.I.* IV [1901], p. 204f.) as the line of Menon's march. On the other hand, it was supposed by K. Münscher in *Philol.* LXVI (1907), p. 491f. that Menon left Cyrus at Laranda and followed the course of the modern highway to Mağara (see above note 25) and thence down to the coast, presumably at Corycus. A third suggestion was offered by Ruge in *R.E.* V A 49f., namely, that Menon

left Cyrus west of Cybistra and took the road leading over the pass of Dümbelek Bel to **Tarsus.**

40. *Itinerarium Antonini* 211-12. Its course has been worked out, with some differences, by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 28of.) and by K. Miller (*Itin. Rom.* 736f.); the region is briefly described by Hogarth in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III p. 658f.

CHAPTER XII

1. For Ptolemy II see Theocritus XVII 88. For Ptolemy III see *O.G.I.* 54 and Chap. IV note 28. An attempt to reconcile the discrepancy between the two statements was made by Niese (*G.M.S.* II p. 139, note 2), who suggested that by the treaty concluded, probably in 253 B.C. (see Chap. I note 21), between Ptolemy II and Antiochus II Pamphylia and Cilicia were ceded to the latter but that they were afterward taken back by Ptolemy III. For Aspendus see *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 116f., no. 83, republished by Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX (1915) VI p. 61 and M. Segre in *Aegyptus* XIV (1934), p. 252f., a decree bestowing privileges on soldiers in the service of the city and "King Ptolemy," probably Ptolemy I. Segre connected the inscription with a war, otherwise unknown, between Ptolemy and Demetrius Poliorcetes, but, as Rostovtzeff pointed out (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. I note 7), this is extremely doubtful. For the two places called Arsinoe see Strabo XIV p. 669f. and Chap. XI note 21. For Ptolemais, east of the Melas, see Strabo p. 667 and, for a possible site, Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) VI p. 135. A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Greek City*, p. 14) that these may have been old Greek or Hellenized cities, but his previous suggestion (*Cities*, p. 200) that the eastern Arsinoe was "perhaps merely Nagidus renamed" is improbable for the reason that Strabo listed both places. For Soli see Chap. XI note 31. For Pamphylia as an Egyptian possession at the accession of Ptolemy IV see Polybius V 34, 7 and for Perge, Aspendus and Side in 218 B.C. see Polybius V 72, 9 and 73, 3f. Beloch pointed out (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 333) that in Cilicia only the Tracheia was ever held by Egypt, and Ernest Meyer observed (*Grenzen*, p. 137) that even in Pamphylia neither the Ptolemies nor the Seleucids exercised real sovereignty.

2. Livy XXXIII 19, 11 and 20, 4f.: Hieronymus *in. Daniel.* XI 15f. = Porphyrius frg. 46 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1224). The places listed as occupied by Antiochus were (from east to west) Zephyrium, Soli, Aphrodisias, Corycus, Anemurium, Selinus and Coracesium. Hieronymus also includes Mallus, but this is probably an error, for it is hardly likely that at this time the power of Egypt extended so far to the east. For Pamphylia as Seleucid in 188 see Polybius XXI 41 (43), 8f. = Livy XXXVIII 37, 7f.

3. For the boundaries imposed on Antiochus by the Treaty of Apameia and the view that the range of the Taurus "began" with the mountain called Solyma, north of Cape Chelidonia, see Chap. I note 55 and Chap. XI note 11. For the inclusion of Milyas and part of Pisidia in the kingdom of Eumenes see Chap. I note 56, and for the award of Lycia to Rhodes see Chap. IV note 61.

4. For the raid of Manlius in Caria and western Pisidia see Livy XXXVIII 13-15, taken from Polybius, of whose narrative only fragments (XXI 34-36)

are extant. This raid was discussed by Ramsay in *A.J.A.* IV (1888), p. 272f., in various places in *C.B.* and in *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 239, but only in connexion with the local names and not continuously. The place-names in Livy's translation from the Greek original have been somewhat mangled and no great reliance may be placed on the Latin forms. From Tabae Manlius marched *ad Casum* (or *Cahum*) *amnem* and captured Eriza (see Chap. I note 56). The river was probably the Καζάνης, whose name appears on coins of the neighbouring Themisonium (*Coll. Wadd.* 6564f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 418f., see Robert *Villes*, p. 116f., note 6), presumably the Kara Hüyük Çay, which unites with the Horzum Çay, flowing northward through Cibyratis, to form the Indus; see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 101. His route across the mountains forming the eastern border of Caria was probably at the northern end of the Boz Dağ, where this range joins the Buba Dağ, an easier pass than that which led by way of the later Sebastopolis (see Chap. XX note 14) to Acıpayam in the plain of the Kara Hüyük Çay (advocated by Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 252f.); see G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 325 and Robert *ibid.* p. 232. After mulcting Moagetes, tyrant of Cibyra (see Chap. X note 30), Manlius advanced *per agros Sindensium*, presumably not the same as Isinda, as supposed by Ramsay in *C.B.* I p. 267 (apparently accepted in *R.E.* III A 223), but Sinda, which is placed by Strabo (XII p. 570 and XIII p. 630) on the border of Phrygia (*i.e.* Cibyratis) and Caria and in the neighbourhood of Cibyra; it appears on the maps of Kiepert (*F.O.A.* IX) and Philippson east or northeast of Cibyra near the junction of the Horzum Çay and the Çavdır Çay. He then crossed the *Caularis amnis* (probably the Çavdır Çay) and advanced *praeter Caralitin paludem*, more correctly Cabalitis (Lake Söğüt, see Ruge in *R.E.* X 1927 and Robert in *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 180f.) to *Madamprum* (unknown, see Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 1042). Advancing *ab Laco* (which he plundered), he came to the sources of the river Lysis and thence went on to the Κολοβάτος (so Polybius, Cobulatus in Livy). The Lysis is presumably the Gebrem Çay, which is formed by various streams rising in the mountains north of Lake Söğüt and flows northward into Lake Burdur (see Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 64); the most easterly of these streams is the Ged Deresi, which rises near the village of Ali Fahrettin on the road leading northeastward from the northeastern corner of Lake Söğüt. Consequently, *ab Laco* represents the city of Lagbe, known from inscriptions found in this neighbourhood (*C.B.* I p. 272, no. 191 = *Reisen* II no. 195 and L.W. 1211 = *Reisen* II no. 198) and from a coin inscribed Λαγβηνῶν (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 384); see Ruge in *R.E.* XII 455f. Near the headwaters of the Ged Deresi Manlius reached the main road leading from Laodiceia *via* Tefenni to Pamphylia; see Chap. X note 28 and Chap. XI note 15. Here he turned to the southeast, following this road along the Colobatus (the upper course of the Istanos Çay, see *R.E.* XI 1107) to Isinda (near Istanos), which at the time was besieged by an army from Termessus. In reply to an appeal from the Isindians, Manlius marched toward Termessus, which, however, bought off an attack, and in this neighbourhood, perhaps at the pass leading into Pamphylia (see Chap. XI note 15), he seems to have been approached by

envoys from Aspendus and other cities of Pamphylia, which by their payments warded off an advance into their district.

According to Livy, Manlius, *ex Pamphylia rediens,* marched to the river Taurus, and thence past *Xyline Come, Cormasa* (Κύρμασα, Polybius), *Darsa,* and *praeter paludes* (*παρὰ τὴν λίμνην*, Polybius), where he was met by envoys sent by the city of Lysinoe to surrender the place (and presumably pay a price), to the territory of Sagalassus. Since he appears not to have entered Pamphylia, he evidently, on returning from Termessus, marched back over his previous route until he reached the Taurus, the lower Istanos Çay (Ruge in *R.E.* v A 39). From here he could either march down the Istanos Çay to Lake Kestel or continue along the main road until he again reached the headwaters of the Lysis and then proceed to the north along this river to Lake Burdur. As the sites both of *Xyline Come* (arbitrarily placed by Ramsay *C.B.* I 268 near Pogla, in the mountains southwest of Lake Kestel) and of *Darsa* (which does not appear in the extant fragment of Polybius) are wholly unknown, we are dependent for any determination of this section of the march on the location of Cormasa and of the λίμνη near Lysinoe. The site of the former, which appears also on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as a station on the road from Laodiceia to Pamphylia, has not been definitely determined; the various proposals have placed it at some distance from this road, as well as from one another; see Chap. XI note 15. The position of *Lysinoe,* probably Lysinia, known from Ptolemy v 5, 4 (where it is listed next to Cormasa) and from its coins of the third century after Christ (see Head *H.N.*² p. 709), is likewise unknown; Ruge (*R.E.* XIV 40f.), apparently without regard to his location of Cormasa (near Lake Kestel), placed it in the region south of Lake Burdur. There seems to be no good reason, however, for removing Cormasa from the course of the main road. It may therefore be supposed that Manlius returned along this road from Isinda until (near Cormasa) he reached the upper Lysis (Gebrem Çay), and that from here, turning to the north, he marched down the broad valley of this stream until he reached Lake Burdur; this was presumably the λίμνη where he met the envoys from Lysinia—a place whose name is obviously connected with that of the river and which consequently was not far from it (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 326), but evidently not on the direct line of Manlius's march. The southern shore of Lake Burdur was included in the territory of Sagalassus in the first century after Christ (see Chap. XI note 17), and it was presumably this region which Manlius proceeded to plunder. From the eastern end of the Lake he went on by the road leading from Sagalassus and Isparta to Apameia (see Chap. XI note 16).

5. Polybius XXI 46 (48), 11 = Livy XXXVIII 39, 17. We have no positive information concerning the Senate's decision, but in 169 B.C. envoys of the *Pamphylii* appeared before that body and asked permission to present a golden wreath to Jupiter Capitolinus and to sacrifice in his temple, whereupon the Senate renewed its "friendship" with them; see Livy XLIV 14, 3. This action seems a clear indication that at this time, at least, they were

independent; it is evidently the basis for the statements of Täubler (*Imp. Rom.* I p. 76f.) and Holleaux (*C.A.H.* VIII p. 233) that Pamphylia was declared to be "inside" the Taurus, but the only ground for Holleaux's assertion that Eumenes received western Pamphylia is the fact that later Attalus II founded Attaleia.

6. For Eumenes and Selge see Chap. I note 65. Attalus's war against the city is known only from the brief summary of Trogus (*Prol.* XXXIV). In the list of events here given it is placed before his war with Prusias of Bithynia, which began about 157 B.C. (Polybius XXXII 15 [27]), two years after his accession to the throne. It has been suggested above (Chap. I note 79) that his conference with Attis, the priest of Pessinus, took place on his way homeward from Selge. The statement of Strabo (XII p. 571) that the Selgians *διεμάχοντο πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας ἀεί* probably refers to their struggles with Eumenes and Attalus. For Attalus's foundation of Attaleia and his relations with Termessus see Chap. XI notes 4 and 12. He may possibly have had similar relations with Oenoanda in Cabalis (see Chap. XXII note 21), the walls of which show Pergamene workmanship (*Reisen* II p. 177), but the inference (*ibid.* p. 178) is hardly justified that Oenoanda formed a boundary-fortress of the Pergamene Kingdom (or its allies) against Lycia or Rhodes.

7. For the philhellene policy of Antiochus IV see Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 95f.: Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Séleucides*, p. 281f.: Bevan *House of Seleucus* II p. 148f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 200f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 64 and 703f. For the new names of Tarsus, Mopsuestia, Adana and Magarsus see Chap. XI notes 28, 29, 30 and 32. For Oeniandus (whose actual site, between Anazarbus and Alexandria, has not been definitely determined, see Heberdey and Wilhelm, p. 23 and Ruge in *R.E.* VI 192) as Epiphaneia see Pliny *N.H.* V 93. It appears as Epiphaneia also in Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 4, 7f.: Appian *Mith.* 96: Ptolemy V 7, 7: Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 11, 4: *Tab. Peut.* X 4 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 766, see Chap. XI note 36). For Castabala as Hieropolis see Chap. XI note 35. Bronze coins with the head of Antiochus IV on one side and the name of the city on the other were issued at Adana, Aegaeae, Hieropolis, and Mopsuestia, as well as in many places in Syria; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, p. ci f.: Head *H.N.*[2] pp. 715f. and 763: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 201.

8. For the rise and growth of piracy in the eastern Mediterranean from the fifth century onward see Kroll in *R.E.* II A 1037f.: H. A. Ormerod *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924), p. 108f.: E. Ziebarth *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Seeraubs u. Seehandels im alt. Griechenland* (Hamburg 1929), p. 9f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 195f. and 607f. For the Cilician pirates see Ormerod, p. 190f. and *C.A.H.* IX p. 350f.: Ziebarth, p. 31f.: Rostovtzeff, p. 783f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 55 (where, however, the inland districts Milyas, Pisidia and Lycaonia were also regarded as a "stronghold of piracy"). The rise of piracy in Cilicia was attributed by Strabo (XIV

p. 668) to the operations of Diodotus Trypho, who in 145 enthroned a three-year-old Seleucid prince as Antiochus VI but soon murdered him and declared himself king. Driven from power by the rightful heir, he seems to have taken refuge in the stronghold of Coracesium (see Chap. XI note 1), whence he set forth into Syria on the campaign which ended in his death; see Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Séleucides*, pp. 354f. and 369f. The ravages of the Cilician pirates, however, as Ormerod observed (p. 205), antedated this episode. For Nicander see Livy XXXVII 11, 6f. and Appian *Syr.* 24 and for the raid on Chios see Livy XXXVII 27, 4f. For pirate-raids on Theangela in Caria and on the Aegean islands during the third century see *I.G.* XI 4, 1054 = *S.E.G.* III 666; XII 3, *Suppl.* 1291 (Thera); XII 7, 386 = *Syll.*[3] 521 (Amorgos).

9. Strabo XIV p. 652: Polybius IV 19, 8: Diodorus XX 81, 3; XXVII 3. For the supremacy of Rhodes in the Aegean in the later third century see Chap. III note 76. For the activity of Rhodes against the pirates see also Niese *G.M.S.* II pp. 358 and 571: Ziebarth *ibid.* p. 27f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 222, 610 and 619. For the epitaph of a Rhodian who died while fighting against the pirates (about 225 B.C.) see *Syll.*[3] 1225 as restored by M. Segre in *Riv. Fil.* LX (1932), p. 457f. The treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna in Crete about 200 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 581, see Chap. I note 36) contained clauses (ll. 51f. and 79f.) providing that Hierapytna should support the Rhodians in any war against the pirates or against those who might receive or aid them, and that the Rhodians in turn should assist Hieropytna if attacked by the pirates' supporters in consequence of a joint campaign ἐπὶ τὰν κατάλυσιν τοῦ λῃστηρίου. For the Cretan War about 155 B.C. and the weakening of the Rhodians' power see Chap. IV note 72 and Rostovtzeff, pp. 738 and 771f. This weakening, as Ormerod observed (p. 188f.), was the cause of the increase in piracy during the second century, rather than the reason assigned by Strabo (XIV p. 669), namely, Rhodes's enmity for the Seleucids and a consequent unwillingness to aid them in suppressing the raids. For an attack by pirates, probably in the late second century, on the sanctuary of Artemis Munichia at Pygela (in the territory of Ephesus, see Chap. III note 84) see *I.G.* XII 3, 171 = *Suppl.* 1286 = *I.G.R.* IV 1029, an Ephesian decree thanking the Astypalaeans for repelling the raiders and rescuing their captives. A dedication to the gods made by the Astypalaeans ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, with mention of three naval captains (*I.G.* XII 3, 201), was perhaps an offering from spoils taken from pirates. For raids on Imbros and Samothrace, probably in the second century, see *I.G.* XII 8, 53 and 159.

10. See Chap. IV note 69. For the slave-market on Delos see Strabo XIV p. 668: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 644 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 794f.: Westermann in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 937. Even in the third century the women carried off from Theangela (see above note 8) were sold there.

11. Polybius and Posidonius cited by Athenaeus VI 105, p. 273 A: Diodorus

xxxiii 18: Strabo xiv p. 669: Justinus xxxviii 8, 8. See also Marx in *Rh. Mus.* xxxix (1884), p. 68f. and Unger in *Philol.* lv (1896), p. 97f.

12. Livy *Per.* lxviii: Cicero *de Orat.* i 82; ii 2; *Brut.* 168: Trogus *Prol.* xxxix (referring to this campaign, since the events in this book did not extend later than 80 B.C., see W. Otto in *R.E.* viii 1310f.): *I.G.R.* iv 1116= *Ann. Scuol. Atene* ii (1916), p. 143f., no. 12, an inscription of a Rhodian ship-captain, containing mention of Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου στραταγοῦ ἀνθυπά[του] and Αὔλου [Γ]αβεινίου ταμία Ῥωμαίων ἰς Κιλικίαν, connected with the campaign in 102/1 by Münzer in *R.E.* vii 424, no. 8 and Holleaux in Στρατηγὸς Ὕπατος (Paris 1918), p. 11, note 2 and pp. 32 and 35. Another quaestor was C. Norbanus; see Münzer in *R.E.* xvii 927f. Antonius's name has been restored in an epigram from Corinth in praise of a Roman *pro consule* who, after transporting his ships across the Isthmus, went on to Side, while a *legatus pro praetore* (Hirrus) and the fleet tarried at Athens; see *A.J.A.* xxxii (1928), p. 9f.=*C.I.L.* i² 2662. Broughton pointed out (*T.A.P.A.* lxxvii [1946], p. 35f.) that his command probably lasted two years. His visits to Athens and Rhodes are mentioned in Cicero *de Orat.* i 82 and ii 3, and his use of Rhodian ships may be inferred from the inscription of the ship-captain cited above. The statement of the Byzantines in Tacitus *Ann.* xii 62, 2 that *piratico bello adiutum Antonium* has usually been connected (*e.g.* by Nipperdey and Furneaux) with the campaign of the younger Marcus Antonius against the Cretans in 74/3 (see below note 30); it was pointed out, however, by F. Junge *De Ciliciae Romanor. Prov. Origine et Primordiis* (Halle 1869), p. 8, note 21 that the wars in which the Byzantines aided Rome are listed in chronological order and that this campaign, placed between the revolt of Aristonicus and the First Mithradatic War, is evidently that of 102/1 B.C. For Antonius's quaestorship in Asia (in 113 B.C.) see Valerius Maximus iii 7, 9 and Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* i p. 44. An inscription of the *demos* of Prostaenna (Prostanna in Pisidia, see Chap. XIX note 23) honouring Antonius as ταμίας ἀντιστράτηγος Ῥωμαίων (*i.e.* quaestor pro praetore) has been found on Delos; see *Ins. Delos* 1603=Durrbach *Choix*, no. 123. For his triumph see Plutarch *Pomp.* 24, 6, where he is called θριαμβικός; his name has been restored in the *Acta Triumphorum* in *C.I.L.* i² p. 177 (dated in 100 B.C. by Broughton, p. 40). He seems to have commemorated his victory in Cilicia by decorating the Rostra in Rome during his censorship (in 97 B.C.) with *imperatoriis manubiis, i.e.* the prows of the enemy's ships; see Cicero *de Orat.* iii 10 and Junge, p. 9, note 22. It was perhaps in recognition of his defeat of the pirates that during his censorship a statue of him was erected as στρατηγὸς ὕπατος, τιμητής and patron of the Δήλιοι (*i.e.* the descendants of those expelled from the island in 166 B.C.); see *Ins. Delos* 1700=Durrbach *Choix*, no. 139 and Holleaux *ibid.* p. 29f. For the capture of his daughter see Plutarch *l.c.*; there seems to be no good reason for supposing, with Junge (p. 42, note 79), that, in relating this incident, Plutarch confused Antonius with the younger Marcus Antonius.

In Livy Antonius is called *praetor*, and this was actually his rank in 102,

for he did not hold the consulship until 99 (see *C.I.L.* I² p. 152). On the other hand, in Cicero *de Orat.* I 82 and in the inscriptions cited above he has the title *pro consule*. Because of this title and the belief that Sulla and Oppius were governors of Cilicia in 92 and 88 B.C., respectively (see below note 14), it has frequently been supposed that the victory of Antonius resulted in a permanent military occupation by the Romans of a part of the southern coast and even that an organized province named Cilicia was formed at this time; see *e.g.* Junge, pp. 1of. and 21: Marquardt *R.St.V.*² I p. 379f.: K. J. Neumann in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol.* CXXVII (1883), p. 531f.: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* I p. 44: E. Täubler in *Klio* X (1910), p. 253: Ormerod *Piracy*, p. 209 and *C.A.H.* IX p. 351: Ziebarth *Beiträge*, p. 33: Carcopino *Hist. Rom.* II p. 334f. (where even Lycia and Lycaonia are included in it): Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 974. A modified view was taken by Mommsen (*R.G.*⁷ II p. 133, note = Eng. Trans. III p. 382, note), namely, that the Romans may have "occupied nothing in this rugged country save stations for their vessels and troops," and by Holleaux (*ibid.* p. 11, note 2), who supposed that Antonius established Rome's authority over the territories which formed the *noyau* of the future province of Cilicia. At the same time, Mommsen pointed out that "the idea of a *provincia* did not absolutely involve possession of the country, but in itself implied no more than an independent military command," and Holleaux admitted that Antonius held his title of proconsul only by virtue of his military command and not as the governor of a subject territory. This was also the view of L. R. Taylor and A. B. West in *A.J.A.* XXXII p. 19, and Antonius's *provincia* was aptly characterized as a "maritime command" by R. Syme in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 299; as Mommsen observed in *R. St. R.* III p. 1083, *provincia*, strictly speaking, meant nothing more than a "sphere of operations." Moreover, it is hard to see what "stations" could have been "occupied" in this "rugged country." It is highly improbable that Coracesium (which was held by the pirates in 67 B.C., see Plutarch *Pomp.* 28, 1), as supposed by Neumann, or other isolated places in Cilicia Tracheia with their tiny harbours were occupied permanently by Roman troops or warships or became the headquarters of Roman officials. Even Ormerod, who supposed (*Piracy*, p. 209) that the permanent command "comprised little more than the former Attalid possessions in southwestern Asia Minor," included (p. 213) in "the area occupied by the pirates at this time" not only the coast and the interior of Cilicia Tracheia but also the Pamphylian ports of Attaleia and Side. In fact, there is no reason why the Romans, who were able to use Rhodes as a base, should have needed any other "stations" for naval operations off the southern coast. Moreover, in the law dealing with piracy which was passed in 101 or 100 B.C. (see below note 13) there is no real evidence of a province called Cilicia; for, whereas this law orders the governors of Asia and Macedonia (c, l. 8f.) to swear an oath to obey its provisions, and the quaestors of these two provinces (c, l. 4) to take certain measures (lost from the inscription) concerning the public funds, there is no mention of any governor or quaestor of Cilicia, and it is difficult to believe that the officials of this province, had it been in existence, would

have been left unmentioned. There is also no good reason, as will be pointed out (see below note 14), for supposing that Sulla and Oppius, whatever their titles may have been, actually administered any such province. The formation of the provinces of Crete and Cilicia is placed subsequent to the acquisition of Cyrene by Rome (in 96 B.C.) in Justin XXXIX 5, 3, where, however, as W. Otto pointed out (*R.E.* VIII 1311), the annexation both of Crete (actually in 67 B.C.) and of Cilicia is related in connexion with the war of Antonius. While it is not improbable that Antonius, for the purposes of his campaign in eastern waters, was officially designated as *pro consule in Ciliciam missus*, there is no reason for believing that his *imperium* consisted of more than the command of the fleet against the pirates. Gabinius, the *ταμίας Ῥωμαίων ἐς Κιλικίαν*, was evidently not the quaestor of the province but the quaestor regularly assigned to a military or naval commander (see Mommsen *R. St. R.* II³ p. 561f. and p. 563, note 1). According to Cicero *Brut.* 168, Antonius had a *praefectus*, M. Gratidius, who was killed during the campagin.

13. *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4, no. 37 = *S.E.G.* III 378. The date now generally accepted is 101 or 100 B.C.; see G. Colin in *B.C.H.* XLVIII (1924), p. 58f.: H. Stuart Jones in *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 155f.: Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 351: J. Carcopino in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 326 and *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) I p. 117f. Colin and Carcopino, followed by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 786) and by W. Schur in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 315, suggested that the measure was an attempt to form a general combination, not only against the pirates but also against Mithradates and Nicomedes, and to secure an extraordinary command in the East for Gaius Marius. Colin's restoration of Col. B, l. 7, *τήν τε Κιλικίαν διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας* [*αὐτὰς Μάαρκος Ἀντώνιος στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος κατέσχε καὶ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς ἐποιήσατο*], explained as a parenthesis intended to justify Antonius's occupation of Cilicia, was shown to be inept by M. A. Levi in *Atti Accad. Torino* IX (1924-25), p. 177, who pointed out that such a justification has no place in a law. The restorations proposed in *S.E.G.* and in *Fouilles de Delphes*, also alluding to an occupation of Cilicia by Antonius, are likewise unsuited to the context. A clause requesting the allies to police Cilicia seems to be required. An Athenian expedition, perhaps in the early first century, against the pirates, presumably at Rome's order, is suggested by the bestowal of wreaths on an Athenian admiral by the *Koinon* of the Lycians and the *demoi* of Cythnos, Phaselis, Myra, Side and Celenderis; see *I.G.* II² 3218 and Robert in *R. Phil.* LXX (1944), p. 13f.

14. For Sulla's mission see Chap. IX note 17. In a speech supposed to have been delivered by him to Mithradates in 85 and in his report to the Senate in 84 B.C. he is represented as describing himself as *Κιλικίας ἄρχων* or *ἡγούμενος* (Appian *Mith.* 57 and *B.C.* I 77), and in *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 75 it is said that Sulla *praetor Ciliciam provinciam habuit.* These statements have been the basis for the belief that Sulla was propraetor of a province called Cilicia; see *e.g.* Marquardt *R.St.V.*² I p. 380: Junge, p. 10f.: Mommsen

R.G. l.c.: Fröhlich in *R.E.* IV 1527: Ormerod *Piracy*, p. 212: Ziebarth *ibid.* p. 34: Syme *ibid.* p. 299, note 3: Rostovtzeff in *C.A.H.* IX p. 237. On the other hand, there is no mention of any such command in the accounts of Sulla's mission in Livy *Per.* LXX and Plutarch *Sulla* 5, 3f., in both of which only Cappadocia is named. In the case of Plutarch, this is especially surprising, for his biography was largely dependent on Sulla's Memoirs (see Chap. IX note 17), and the explanation of the omission offered by Junge (p. 11), namely, that Plutarch failed to find any deed of Sulla's in Cilicia which was worthy of mention, is hardly adequate. Plutarch relates (*l.c.*) that Sulla had a small force under his command, and the leading of this body of Roman soldiers over the Taurus would naturally have been included in his Memoirs as an achievement; it was afterwards regarded as one of the claims of Servilius Isauricus to fame that he was the first Roman to lead an army over this mountain-range (see below note 23). If Sulla really had an *imperium* in "Cilicia," it may perhaps be explained by supposing that the Senate, in order to give him an official title, designated him as *pro praetore in Ciliciam missus*, based perhaps on a similar title borne by Marcus Antonius (see above note 12); it is difficult, however, to see why an official sent to carry out a mission in Cappadocia should have held the same title as a commander despatched against the Cilician pirates. On the other hand, the belief that Sulla was sent to Cilicia may have arisen from the frequent confusion between Cilicia proper and the adjacent region north of the Taurus, including Cappadocia, due in part to the fact that one of the *strategiai* of the latter kingdom was called Cilicia (see Chap. VI note 28 and Chap. XI note 35); see Syme *ibid.* p. 299.

The belief in the existence of a province on the southern coast at this time has been further strengthened by the generally accepted supposition that Quintus Oppius, one of the three Roman generals who tried to oppose Mithradates in 88 (see Chap. IX note 26) was propraetor of Cilicia; see *e.g.* Marquardt *l.c.*: Reinach *Mith. Eup.*, p. 121: Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 240: Münzer in *R.E.* XVIII 740f. This view is based solely on the description of Oppius as στρατηγὸς Παμφυλίας in Posidonius frg. 41 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 268) = frg. 36 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 245f.), quoted in Athenaeus V 47, p. 211f. Elsewhere he is called, without mention of a province, *proconsul* (Livy *Per.* LXXVIII), *legatus* (Licinianus, p. 27 Flemisch), and στρατηγός (Appian *Mith.* 17 and 20). Since his name does not appear in the *Fasti Consulares*, it must be assumed that he was a *praetorius*, sent to the East, like Antonius, with proconsular *imperium*. In the lack of any other mention of the *provincia* of Oppius, the validity of the argument, based only on the fragment of Posidonius, is questionable. This fragment is a quotation from a speech attributed to Athenion, Mithradates's agent in Athens in 88 B.C. (see Chap. IX note 42), and the question arises whether the title στρατηγός is used in this passage of somewhat doubtful accuracy with the ordinary meaning of *praetor* and whether the expression means that, in fact, Oppius was governor of a province of Pamphylia. In the narrative which follows the speech (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 248 = Athenaeus p. 215 A) a certain Orbius (Ὀρόβιος) is described as στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων

καὶ φυλάσσων τὴν Δῆλον, and it was pointed out by von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1923, p. 42f.=*Kl. Schr.* v 1, p. 208f. that this is to be interpreted, not as *praetor Romanus* but as the leader of the (revolting) Roman settlers on the island. Von Wilamowitz, reluctant to attribute such inexactness in terminology to Posidonius himself, suggested that this narrative in its present form was a carelessly made extract from the original and rejected this description of Orbius as a later addition, a correction which was accepted by Jacoby. The apparent inaccuracy of this part of the quotation inevitably casts suspicion on its correctness as a whole. Nevertheless, the fact that, in the hope of opposing Mithradates's advance, Oppius and his troops were stationed in the southeastern part of the province of Asia ("on the border of Cappadocia," see Chap. IX note 26) does indeed suggest that, in order to give him a title, he may have been designated as *praetor in Pamphyliam missus*. But it seems unsafe, as also in the cases of Antonius and Sulla, to infer that his post was other than a special one created to meet an emergency or that at this time Pamphylia had been organized as a province.

15. The territory comprised in the province of "Cilicia" before the conquests of Servilius Isauricus (see below note 22) is known only from Cicero's speeches against Verres. The latter's thefts are said to have taken place in Asia and Pamphylia (*I Verr.* 2 and 11; *II Verr.* 1 93 and III 6), in Achaea, Asia and Pamphylia (*II Verr.* 1 60), in Achaea, Asia, Cilicia and Pamphylia (*Div. in Caec.* 6), in Aspendus (*II Verr.* 1 53f.) and in Perge (*II Verr.* IV 71). The commune of Milyas is also named not only as the scene of Verres's extortions but also as the recipient of part of the damages assessed against Dolabella on his conviction; see *II Verr.* 1 95f. As Achaea and Asia were obviously not parts of his province, there remain only Pamphylia and Milyas and what is meant by "Cilicia." Although Cilicia was officially the name of Dolabella's province (*II Verr.* 1 44), the district is mentioned in connexion with Verres in this one instance only, and in view of the improbability that in 80 B.C. the Romans actually controlled any part of Cilicia Tracheia, it would seem either that Cicero was exaggerating the scene of Verres's thefts or that he applied the official term "Cilicia" to Milyas or the adjacent part of Pisidia. The order of the names in the passage in question, in which "Cilicia" stands between Asia and Pamphylia, suggests that the word may have been thus loosely used. On the other hand, a much greater area seems to be assigned to the province in *II Verr.* 1 95, where we are told that Verres, while acting as the quaestor of Dolabella, wrongfully exacted grain from *Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia Phrygiaque tota*. Of these districts, however, Lycia, an independent federation (see Chap. XXII note 32), was certainly not in Dolabella's province. The inclusion of Phrygia as a whole (accepted by Junge, p. 22f.) might seem to be confirmed by the fact that in 56 B.C. the three judiciary dioceses of which the district was comprised, namely, Laodiceia-Cibyra, Apameia and Synnade were joined to the province of Cilicia; see Chap. XVI note 18. Waddington, although he pointed out (*Fastes*, p. 23) that the trial of

Philodamus, conducted at Laodiceia in 80 by the governor of Asia (see above p. 248), shows that this diocese was not in Cilicia, nevertheless supposed that those of Apameia and Synnada were in this province; this was also the view of Marquardt (*R.St.V.*² 1 pp. 335f. and 382f.), who supposed that the two dioceses were attached to Cilicia by Sulla or Murena, of Ramsay (*C.B.* 1 pp. 341 and 428) and of Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 78f.). But, as Syme pointed out (*ibid.* p. 300, note 2), the expression *Phrygia tota* is not enough to prove that these two dioceses belonged to Cilicia. Moreover, in 62 B.C. all three Phrygian dioceses were in the province of Asia; see Cicero *pro Flacco* 34f., 39f. and 68, where Acmonia and Dorylaeum, respectively in the dioceses of Apameia and Synnada (see Pliny *N.H.* v 105f.), are represented as taking part in the prosecution of Flaccus (see above p. 379f.), and Laodiceia and Apameia are mentioned as being in Asia. It is difficult to believe, merely on the basis of this one statement, that the two Phrygian dioceses were attached to Cilicia in 80, transferred to Asia before 62 and retransferred to Cilicia in 56, and it is safer to suppose either that the inclusion of Lycia and Phrygia in Cicero's list of places was a prosecutor's exaggeration or that Verres, who committed thefts in Achaea and Asia, provinces not under his power, also took grain from districts outside the limits of his own province.

16. The early governors of Cilicia were Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (80/79 B.C.), P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (78-74), L. Octavius (74), L. Licinius Lucullus (74-67), Q. Marcius Rex (67/66); see Marquardt *R.St.V.*² 1 p. 380f. It was suggested by Th. Reinach in *Herm.* XXXIV (1899), p. 159f. that L. Cornelius L. f. Lentulus *ἀνθύπατος*, mentioned in a list of Roman officials in an inscription from Rhodes (*I.G.* XII 1, 48=*I.G.R.* IV 1118=*Syll.*³ 745, see Chap. X notes 19 and 20), was not proconsul of Macedonia, as Reinach had previously supposed (*Mith. Eup.*, German Trans. p. 474, note), but governor of Cilicia (in 83-81). The only argument, however, that can be adduced for this suggestion is that all the other Romans mentioned in the inscription served in Asia Minor, and it was regarded with reserve by Münzer in *R.E.* IV 1371 and Holleaux in *Στρατηγὸς Ὕπατος*, p. 37. It has sometimes been supposed that Dolabella held office for two years (80-78); see *e.g.* Marquardt *l.c.*: Münzer in *R.E.* IV 1297: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* II p. 485. This, however, is only an inference from the fact that we know of no governor between him and Servilius Isauricus. For his governorship and subsequent trial see Cicero *I Verr.* 11; *II Verr.* 1 41; 44f.; 73; 77; 88f.; 95f.: Asconius p. 27 Stangl. Asconius warns his readers that this prosecution must not be confused with that of another Gnaeus Dolabella (Consul in 81 and afterward proconsul of Macedonia), who was accused by the youthful Julius Caesar in 77 but acquitted; see Suetonius *Jul.* 4, 1: Valerius Maximus VIII 9, 3: Plutarch *Caes.* 4, 1. Nevertheless, the two are confused by Ps.-Asconius (pp. 194 and 234 Stangl). According to the very doubtful testimony of Ps.-Asconius (p. 194), the propraetor of Cilicia was defended by Hortensius Hortalus, who did defend the proconsul Dolabella (Cicero *Brut.* 317). According to *II Verr.* 1 99f., the *litis aestimatio* assessed against Dolabella

on his conviction included various sums of money which, the defendant declared, had been paid to Verres but were not entered in the latter's accounts, amounting in all to over two and a half million sesterces. The *litis aestimatio* on grain, hides, *cilicium* and sacking was three million sesterces (*ibid.* 95). The *Lex Cornelia de Repetundis* (of Sulla), under which Dolabella was tried, fixed this amount at four times the amount found to have been extorted; see Kleinfeller in *R.E.* I A 606. For Dolabella as a type of a dishonest governor see Juvenal VIII 105. According to Friedländer *Juvenalis Sat. Libri* V (Leipzig 1895), p. 412f., the satirist may also have had in mind Dolabella the proconsul of Macedonia (see above) and Publius Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, who became notorious for his plundering of Asia in 43 B.C. (see Chap. XVII note 49). The former, however, was acquitted, and the latter was never brought to trial.

17. The campaign of Servilius against the pirates of the coast was described by Sallust in *Historiae* I and by Livy in Book XC. Because of the loss of these sources we are dependent on the fragments of the former (I 127-132 and II 81 Maur.) and the brief notices (drawn mostly from the latter) which are contained in the epitomes; see Florus I 41, 4f.: Eutropius VI 3: Festus *Brev.* 11f.: Orosius V 23, 21f. See also Strabo XII p. 568 and XIV p. 665 and Velleius Paterculus II 39, 2. The war was treated by Drumann-Groebe (*G.R.* IV p. 408f.) and especially by Ormerod in *J.R.S.* XII (1922), p. 35f., repeated in briefer form in *Piracy*, p. 214f. and *C.A.H.* IX p. 354f. According to Cicero *II Verr.* III 211, Servilius was in command of Cilicia for a *quinquennium*. Cicero, however, was using a round number and furthermore, in order to contrast the integrity of Servilius with the corrupt practices of Verres, he was exaggerating the length of the former's command, for it is clear that Servilius's tenure extended from the beginning of 78 to the spring of 74. On the other hand, according to Eutropius and Orosius, the war lasted for a *triennium*. In an attempt to reconcile the discrepancy, Maurenbrecher suggested (*C. Sallustii Crispi Hist. Reliquiae* I p. 67f.) that the *triennium* referred to the duration of the second campaign (that against the Isaurians), and this explanation was accepted by Drumann-Groebe (p. 408, note 8) and Münzer (*R.E.* II A 1813). Another solution was offered by Ormerod, namely, that, while Servilius was in command from 78 to 74, the first year was given up to the necessary preparations, and all the actual fighting took place in the summers of 77-75, since no warfare was possible in 74 before the arrival of Servilius's successor, Octavius; see *J.R.S.* XII p. 37f. Although the meagre information contained in our sources scarcely permits of so definite a chronology as that proposed by Ormerod, namely, 77-76 for the war on the coast and 76-75 for the invasion of Isauria, this explanation of the *triennium* is more convincing than that of Maurenbrecher.

18. This great naval victory is mentioned briefly in Strabo XIV p. 665 and Florus I 41, 4, and referred to in general terms in the epitomes (see above note 17). Two inscriptions from Xanthus in Lycia record thank-offerings made by a certain Aechmon, *ναναρχήσας κατὰ πόλεμον ἐκ πάντων Λυκίων*

and *αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυκίων ἐπὶ τοῦ συναχθέντος στρατοπέδου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἐναντία πραξάντων τῷ ἔθνει*; it is related that he defeated "the enemy" in a naval battle at the Chelidonian Islands and then landed in their country and ravaged it, winning three victories over them; see *T.A.M.* II 264 and 265 = *I.G.R.* III 607 A and B = *O.G.I.* 552 and 553. Another inscription from Xanthus, in which Aechmon is called *ναύαρχος Λυκίων*, records the construction of his tomb by *οἱ στρατευσάμενοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ*; see *T.A.M.* II 319 = *I.G.R.* III 620 = *O.G.I.* 554. He was evidently an admiral of the Lycian Federation (see Chap. XXII note 35). Since the lettering of these inscriptions is that of the early first century before Christ, it was suggested by O. Treuber in *Gesch. d. Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887), p. 185, note 1 that Aechmon's victory was won either in connection with Antonius's campaign or in this war of Servilius. The latter of these suggestions was accepted by Benndorf in *Festschr. f. O. Hirschfeld* (Berlin 1903), p. 75f., who supposed that Aechmon and the Lycian fleet aided Servilius both in his naval victory and in his subsequent campaign against Zenicetes, and this view was adopted by Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 552, note 4 and Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 354. If it may be accepted, Servilius's battle can be definitely placed off the Chelidonian Islands. It was pointed out, however, by Kalinka (*T.A.M.* II 264 commentary) that Aechmon's achievements are celebrated as those of an independent commander, and that it is more probable that the inscriptions commemorate an earlier campaign of the Lycian Federation against the pirates, which, though successful, did not eradicate the evil. The omission of any mention of the Romans strengthens this view, for, had Aechmon been acting as the ally of Servilius, he would hardly have left the fact unmentioned.

19. The chief source for Servilius's campaign against Zenicetes is Strabo XIV p. 671; the passage is misplaced, for it occurs, not in connexion with the mention of the city of Olympus (XIV p. 666), but immediately after the description of the Cilician Corycus and the island of Elaeussa (see Chap. XI note 21). It was pointed out by Treuber (p. 187, note 2) and by Ormerod (*J.R.S.* XII p. 43f.) that the misplacement is due to a confusion in Strabo's source between the Lycian Corycus, near Olympus (see Chap. XI note 4), and the more famous Cilician city of this name. The same confusion is probably to be found in Sallust *Hist.* II 81 Maur., where, because the saffron from the Cilician Corycus was famous (see Chap. XI note 20), the Lycian Corycus is described as *urbs inclita portu atque nemore in quo crocum gignitur*; see Junge, p. 34 (where, however, it was pointed out that the fragment does not necessarily allude to Servilius) and Ormerod in *J.R.S* XII p. 42f. The Lycian Corycus is listed in its proper place in Strabo XIV p. 666, and its capture by Servilius, together with that of Olympus and Phaselis, is mentioned in Eutropius VI 3 (where *Ciliciae* has been deleted), Orosius V 23, 22 and Ps.-Asconius p. 237 Stangl, and also probably in Sallust I 131 and 132 Maur. For the bestowal of honours on a Lycian who may have taken part in the war against Zenicetes see *T.A.M.* II 900. A Zenicetes *Βασιλεύς*, who dedicated an iron strigil at Dodona, was identified

with this Lycian chieftain by Gomperz in *AEM.* v (1881), p. 136f. The identification was accepted by Benndorf (*ibid.* p. 84, note 1), who drew the conclusion that the Lycian Zenicetes assumed the title of King, as well as by Ziebarth (*Beiträge*, p. 34) and Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 354). But since the only reason for the identification is the fact that no other ruler named Zenicetes is known, it must be regarded as doubtful, especially in view of the long distance of Dodona from Lycia. For Olympus see Cicero *II Verr.* I 56 and Artemidorus quoted by Strabo XIV p. 665; see also Chap. XXII note 16. The mountain near it is described by Strabo (XIV p. 666) as *ὄρος ὁμώνυμον, ὃ καὶ Φοινικοῦς καλεῖται.* This is evidently the Musa Dağ south of the city; see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 9. But in his account of the stronghold of Zenicetes (XIV p. 671) Strabo describes the mountain-fortress as having a view over "all Lycia and Pamphylia and Pisidia and Milyas," and the fragment of Sallust (*Hist.* I 130 Maur.) *Lyciae Pisidiaeque agros despectantem* is generally supposed to refer to it also. It was pointed out by Ormerod (*J.R.S.* XII p. 40f. and *Piracy*, p. 217) that this description does not apply to the Musa Dağ (3280 ft. in height), from which there is no extensive view, but does suit the Tahtalı Dağ (7874 ft.) near the coast farther north (see Chap. XI note 11). He suggested, therefore, that Zenicetes was a chieftain of this mountain-group, who extended his power to include the whole coast. But in view of the probability that Strabo had not climbed either mountain and that both he and Sallust (if the fragment really describes the stronghold of Zenicetes and not some other portion of the Taurus) were merely giving a rhetorical description of a high peak, it seems unsafe to draw this inference. For Phaselis see Strabo XIV p. 666f. and Chap. XXII note 3, and for its "alliance" with Zenicetes see Cicero *II Verr.* IV 21, where its capture by Servilius is also recorded; see, in addition, Sallust I 129 Maur. and Florus I 41, 5 and the authors cited (for Corycus) above. For the plundering of Olympus see *II Verr.* I 56f. and for the annexation of Phaselis and Olympus by Servilius see Cicero *de Leg. Agr.* I 5 and II 50. The allusion to the seizure of *omnis ora Lyciorum atque Cilicum* in *de Leg. Agr.* I frg. 3 is a gross exaggeration in the case of Lycia, and, if it was applied to Servilius's conquests, in the case of Cilicia also.

20. For the ships collected by Lucullus in 85 B.C. see above p. 226. Since "Pamphylia" is named among the places which gave them and since Attaleia and Side were the only ports in the district, it may be assumed that they contributed to his fleet. It would appear, therefore, that at this time they were allies of Rome. There is no ground for the belief (see *e.g.* Ruge in *R.E.* II 2156 and Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 352) that Attaleia had been controlled by the pirates or "openly leagued" with them. For the annexation of Attaleia by Servilius see Cicero *de Leg. Agr.* I 5 and II 50. There is no good reason to suppose, with Münzer (*R.E.* II A 1814), that he destroyed it.

21. It has sometimes been maintained that Servilius occupied a part of Cilicia Tracheia (see Junge, p. 29f., Marquardt *R.St.V.*[2] I p. 382 and Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 409) and even that he "swept the whole south

coast" as far as Cilicia Campestris (Ramsay in *J.H.S.* XLVIII [1928], p. 47 and *Klio* XXII [1929], p. 381). This belief, however, is founded chiefly on the statement of Sallust (*Hist.* II 81 Maur.) that Servilius *iter vertit ad Corycum* and on Livy *Per.* XC, which mentions his success *adversus Cilices*. It has been shown in note 19, however, that Corycus is presumably the Lycian and not the Cilician city of the name, and in the *Periocha* of Livy *Cilices* is evidently used as a synonym for pirates in conformity with the tendency to designate them in general by this name; see Appian *Mith.* 92 and above p. 281 and Ormerod in *J.R.S.* XII p. 50. Even the Isaurians, because they were bandits, are placed *in Cilicia* in Livy *Per.* XCIII. This tendency appears likewise in the general references to the conquest of "Cilicia" by Servilius in Velleius Paterculus (II 39, 2), Eutropius (VI 3), Orosius (V 23, 21) and Festus (12, 3), where the word is used to denote his victories over the pirates, specifically, probably, the overthrow of Zenicetes, evidently alluded to also in the statement of Strabo (XII p. 569) that Servilius, besides his conquests in Isauria, τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πειρατῶν ἐρύματα ἐξεῖλε τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ. As Ormerod showed (*J.R.S.* XII p. 37), there is no real evidence that "Servilius ever succeeded in even entering Cilicia Tracheia, the principal headquarters of the pirates."

22. For the campaign of Servilius in Isauria see Sallust *Hist.* II 87 and III 1 Maur.: Strabo XII p. 568 and XIV p. 665: Livy *Per.* XCIII and the epitomes cited in note 17 above: Frontinus *Strat.* III 7, 1. It has been treated at length by Ormerod in *J.R.S.* XII (1922), p. 44f. and more briefly in *C.A.H.* IX p. 355. Strictly speaking, Isauria was the region east and southeast of Lake Suğla traversed by the upper Çarşamba Su (formed by the junction of an outlet of the lake with the Silistat Su, which rises in the mountains farther south) and named from the κῶμαι of Isaura Vetus and Isaura Nova which were its chief centres; see Strabo p. 568 (where τὴν δὲ Νέαν, *sc.* κώμην has been inserted by Meineke): R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10f.: Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 277f.: Ruge in *R.E.* IX 2056. Gradually, however, in the growing tendency to identify the tribes on both sides of the Taurus, the name was extended to include part or all of Cilicia Tracheia (see *e.g.* Pliny *N.H.* V 94), as, conversely, "Cilicia" was used to denote the country north of the range; see Ramsay *l.c.* and Ormerod, p. 51. On the other hand, in Ptolemy V 4, 9 Isauria is extended toward the north and regarded as including Savatra and Lystra in Lycaonia. For Isauria (in the narrower sense) and the town of Isaura Vetus and the question of the site of Isaura Nova see Hamilton *Researches* II p. 327f.: Sterrett in *P.A.S.* III pp. 97, 105f. and 148f.: Ramsay in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 77f. and *J.H.S.* XXV (1905), p. 163f. and XLVIII (1928), p. 47f.: Jüthner, Knoll, Patsch and Swoboda *Vorl. Bericht ueber eine Arch. Exped. n. Kleinasien* (Prague 1903), p. 44f.: *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* pp. 62f. and 119f. The Isaurians seem to be described in Sallust *Hist.* II 85 Maur. as *genus hominum vagum et rapinis suetum magis quam agrorum cultibus*, and their "villages" are called λῃστῶν κατοικίαι in Strabo XII p. 568. For the organizations of the Pisidians see A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 46, where they are characterized

"as confederations of clans rather than as tribes" and, as examples, not only the Isaurians, but also the Orondeis (see below note 25) and the Homonadeis (see Chap. XIX note 2) are cited. The statement of Strabo (*l.c.*) that the Isaurians "gave trouble" to the Romans and to Servilius does not necessarily refer to raids prior to the invasion; it is hard to see how the Isaurians could have reached the Roman possessions in Pamphylia. The statement of Festus (12, 3) that they combined with the pirates seems also, in view of their distance from the Mediterranean, to be highly improbable. It is difficult to accept the view of Ormerod (*J.R.S.* XII pp. 36f. and 45 and *Piracy*, pp. 212 and 217f.) that Servilius's invasion of Isauria was part of a general plan for "pacifying" the tribes north of the Taurus, formed by Sulla and initiated by Murena when he annexed Cibyra (see Chap. X note 31), or his suggestion (*C.A.H.* IX p. 355) that it was preliminary to an invasion of Cilicia Tracheia from the north.

23. It was supposed by Ramsay in *J.H.S.* XXV (1905), p. 165f. that Servilius invaded Isauria from the north by way of Apameia and Antioch-near-Pisidia, and this route was also suggested by Syme (*Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 300, note 4). There is no reason, however, to believe that Servilius was ever in the province of Asia, and it is stated expressly (presumably as the result of a boast of his own or his admirers) that he was the first Roman general to lead an army over the Taurus; see Eutropius VI 3 and Orosius V 23, 22. Ormerod, agreeing with Ramsay that any advance from the southern coast through Cilicia Tracheia was "improbable on military grounds" and pointing out that any invasion by way of the Cilician Gates was impossible, since Cilicia Campestris was held by Tigranes (see below note 35), showed that Servilius set out from Pamphylia; see *J.R.S.* XII pp. 48f. and 52f., rejected by Ramsay in *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 381 but accepted by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LIV (1933), p. 138. Ormerod suggested as Servilius's route either the road leading from the mouth of the Melas (Side) to Seydişehir (which he himself traversed) or a route from Antalya to Beyşehir by way of the pass of Kesik Bel. The latter of these, however, seems improbable, for it would have led Servilius far to the northwest of Isauria. It is perhaps more likely that he used the route followed by Jüthner and his associates, which leads directly from the Karpuz Çay, east of Side, to Silistat and Isaura Vetus; see *Vorl. Ber.* p. 39f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 54f. This road leads over the steep pass of Susam Bel, which is impracticable for waggons; it was evidently used in Antiquity, for many ruins, especially those (above the coast) of castles and look-out towers, were noticed along its course.

24. For descriptions of Isaura Vetus (Zengibar Kalesi, about seventeen miles southeast of Lake Suğla) see above note 22. It was a strongly fortified place in 322 B.C., when, after a desperate resistance, it was captured by Perdiccas; see Diodorus XVIII 22. The site of Isaura Nova is as yet not definitely determined. It was placed by Sterrett (*P.A.S.* III p. 149f.) at Dinorna, about twenty miles northeast of Zengibar Kalesi, on the basis of an inscription of the Roman period mentioning a *βουλευτὴς Ἰσαυρῶν*. Jüthner and his

associates, however, reported that there are no traces of fortifications in the place or other indications that it was ever a town of importance; see *Vorl. Ber.* p. 51 and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 99. Ramsay, rejecting this identification, placed Isaura Nova on a hill near Durla, about seventeen miles north of east from Zengibar Kalesi, where a metrical inscription, probably of the fourth century after Christ (*J.H.S.* XXIV [1904], p. 261, no. 1), mentions the young men [o]ἱ *γῆν εὐτειχέα ναίον Ἴσαρα*; see *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 77f.: *J.H.S.* XXV (1905), p. 163f.; XLVIII (1928), p. 47f.; L (1930), p. 269f.: *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 210f.: *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 382. This site was accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* IX 2055f. The question, however, is complicated by the statement of Frontinus (*Strat.* III 7, 1) that an *oppidum* called Isaura was forced by Servilius to surrender *flumine ex quo hostes aquabantur averso.* It was pointed out by Sterrett (*ibid.* p. 151) that this place could not have been Isaura Vetus, which got its water from a "fine flowing spring" on the mountain-side outside the city-walls (shown also on Jüthner's map), and that the *oppidum*, therefore, was presumably Isaura Nova. Calder, however, showed that this constitutes an objection to the placing of Isaura Nova at Durla, since the stream on which the latter lies does not carry enough water to serve as a supply for the modern town, which derives its water from wells; see *J.H.S.* XLVIII (1928), p. 220f. and *Klio* XXIII (1930), p. 91. On the other hand, Ormerod (*J.R.S.* XII p. 45f.) accepted the location at Durla on the ground that the place mentioned by Frontinus was, nevertheless, Isaura Vetus, "the diversion of the river being a well-known *Strategema*, wrongly applied to the case of a town which was known to have surrendered owing to the failure of its water-supply." Ormerod also connected with Isaura Vetus the detailed description in the "Orleans Fragment" of Sallust (*Hist.* II 87 Maur.), which relates that an *oppidum*, after the repulse of an attack by the Isaurians on the Roman *vallum*, was forced by Servilius to surrender *egestate aquae* and that the people of Isaura Nova, terrified by the fate of the captured town, sent envoys offering to surrender. Calder seems justified in his contention that the site of Isaura Nova must be sought elsewhere than at Durla; the mention in the inscription of the *γῆν εὐτειχέα Ἴσαρα* proves only that in the fourth century Durla was in Isauria. Moreover, Ormerod's argument that it is improbable that Servilius reduced two places by a lack of water is hardly convincing. In a mountainous country, where the towns were on heights, it is not difficult to suppose that Servilius—who, of course, had brought no siege-engines with him—was forced on more than one occasion to resort to the expedient of depriving the defenders of water, in one case by diverting the stream, in the other by cutting them off from the source of their supply. There is no good reason, moreover, for identifying Sallust's *oppidum* with Isaura Vetus; it is hard to believe that the Romans built a *vallum* on the steep mountain-side above which the city stood or that they could have cut off the defenders from the copious spring which, as has been mentioned, was not far from the walls. Strabo records the existence of several "robbers' settlements" in Isauria (see above note 22), and this *oppidum* may well have been one of them.

25. Pisidia is specifically named among the conquests of Servilius only in Festus *Brev.* II, 1. There seems, however, to be an allusion to it in Cicero *de Leg. Agr.* II 50, where there is an enumeration of Rome's possessions in southern Asia Minor as including, besides Attaleia, Phaselis and Olympus, *agrum Agerensem et Orindicum et Gedusanum.* Of these, the first and the third are entirely unknown. Zumpt's emendations *Aperensem* and *Eleusanum,* referring respectively to Aperlae in Lycia (see Chap. XXII note 17) and the island of Elaeussa off the coast of Cilicia Tracheia (see Chap XI note 21), although widely accepted, are, as Ormerod pointed out (*J.R.S.* XII p. 47, note 6 and p. 48, note 1), highly improbable; for there is no reason to suppose that Servilius's conquests included Aperlae, at least 35 miles west of Cape Chelidonia, or, as has been already shown (note 21), the coast of Cilicia Tracheia. Ormerod himself, following a suggestion of Calder, proposed (p. 47f.) the emendations *Ateniensem* and *Sedasanum,* the former of which refers to Atenia, placed by Ramsay (*B.S.A.* IX [1902-03], p. 253) at or near Kireli Kasaba on the eastern shore of Lake Beyşehir, the latter to Sedasa, which probably lay east of Lake Suğla (Ruge in *R.E.* II A 1006). If these emendations may be accepted, they would indeed show that Servilius overran eastern Pisidia. Atenia, however, is known only from *Notitiae Episcopatuum* VIII 470 and IX 379 (Ἀτενόα) and Hierocles 672 (Ἀτμενία), and it is questionable whether we may infer from the mention of a place in these late sources that it existed in the first century before Christ. Both emendations, moreover, presuppose (like Zumpt's) a far greater degree of corruption in the manuscripts of Cicero than do the other names in the same passage. It seems safer, accordingly, to regard these two *agri* as belonging to unknown places, perhaps two of the Isaurian λῃστῶν κατοικίαι of Strabo XII p. 568. The *ager Orindicus,* on the other hand, may be definitely placed in the region east of Lake Beyşehir. Among the communities of Pisidia listed by Ptolemy (V 4, 9) are the Ὀρονδικοί, whose cities were Misthium and Pappa. The site of the latter has been fixed at Yunuslar, about half way between the lake and Konya by inscriptions of the "Council and People" of the Τιβεριοπολειτῶν τῶν καὶ Παππηνῶν (*I.G.R.* III 1468 and 1469 from Yunuslar) and of the Τιβεριοπολειτῶν Παπηνῶν Ὀρονδέων (*I.G.R.* III 309 from Antioch-near-Pisidia). The name of the tribe appears in the title of a *proc(urator) Orondici* (*Ann. Ép.* 1927, 104, see Chap. XIX note 44), who presumably supervised an imperial estate in this region, and in a dedication to a deity called Τοης Ὀρονδικός (*M.A.M.A.* I 11 = *R.A.* XVII [1923], p. 232). For Pappa see Cronin in *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), p. 100f. and Jüthner *et al. Vorl. Ber.* p. 14 and *Denkmäler aus Lycaonien, etc.* p. 9f. and for a description of the region see Ramsay in *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 377. The inscriptions show that the correct form of the name of the tribe was Ὀρονδεῖς. This seems to be a different people from the Ὀροανδεῖς, who sent envoys to Manlius Vulso when in northern Phrygia, and to whom Manlius sent his brother Lucius to collect the 200 talents levied on the community; see Livy XXXVIII 18, 2 and 19, 1: Polybius XXI 42 (44), 7 and 44 (46), 1 = Livy XXXVIII 37, 11 and 39, 1. For various forms of the ethnicum see Ruge in *R.E.* XVIII 1130f. and Robert in *R.A.* II (1933), p. 132 and *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 521f. The *Oroandicus*

(*v.l. Orondicus*) *tractus* on the border of Galatia and Pisidia listed in Pliny *N.H.* v 147 probably refers to the Orondeis, whereas the *oppidum Oroanda* (*v.l. Oronda*), mentioned, together with Antioch-near-Pisidia, as belonging to the people formerly known as Solymi (v 94), may well have been the town of the Oroandeis. The view of Ramsay in *J.H.S.* XLVIII (1928), p. 49 and *Klio* XXII p. 376f. (reversing *B.S.A.* IX p. 254) that the two tribes were identical is not convincing; see Ruge *ibid.* 1132. The other town of the Orondeis, Misthium, which appears, probably more correctly, as Μιστία in a letter of Attalus II or Attalus III (*Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 74 I) and in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*, is generally placed at Fasılar, about twenty miles south of Yunuslar and ten miles east of the southeastern corner of Lake Beyşehir, where there is a huge carved stele of the Hittite period; see Ramsay in *B.S.A.* IX p. 266f. and *J.H.S.* XL (1920), p. 103: Jüthner *et al. Vorl. Ber.* pp. 16f. and 25f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 12f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XV 2129f. It may be supposed, therefore, that Servilius, after conquering the Isaurians, marched northward east of Lakes Suğla and Beyşehir; but at the same time it must be remembered that this supposition depends wholly on the identity of Cicero's *ager Orindicus* and the territory of the Orondeis. For Amlada, where the *polis* and the γεραιοί are addressed in a letter of Attalus II (or Attalus III), see Welles, no. 54 = *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 74 II and Chap. I note 77.

26. *C.I.L.* I^2 741 = Dessau 36: Cicero *II Verr.* I 56f. and V 66: Eutropius VI 3 and 5, 2: Orosius V 23, 22: Festus *Brev.* 12, 3 (*de Cilicibus et Isauris triumphavit*). The entry of Servilius's triumph in the *Acta Triumphorum* (*C.I.L.* I^2 p. 178) has been lost. For the capture, escape and recapture of a *nobilissimus pirata* named Nico see *II Verr.* V 79. For Servilius's reputation see also Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 68: Velleius Paterculus II 39, 2: Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 8, 4. For his death in 44 B.C. see Cassius Dio XLV 16, 1. According to Suidas (I p. 288 Adler), he died at the age of ninety, and, in fact, his birth cannot be placed after 130, since he was praetor in 90 B.C. See also Münzer *Röm. Adelsparteien* (Stuttgart 1920), p. 355, note 2. The lack of any permanent effect of his campaigns was noted by Appian (*Mith.* 93).

27. Appian *Mith.* 92-93: Plutarch *Pomp.* 24: Cassius Dio XXXVI 20-23. These authors preface their descriptions of the pirates' activities to their accounts of Pompey's command. But their purpose in so doing is evidently to emphasize the gravity of the situation, and the conditions that are described were presumably those of the preceding decade. Many of the details are also given by Cicero in *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 31f. and 55. For temples and cities of Asia Minor despoiled by the pirates see Appian *Mith.* 63 (see above p. 239f.). A list of many others on the coast of Greece is given in Plutarch *Pomp.* 24, 5. For attacks on the islands of Syros and Tenos see *I.G.* XII 5, 653 and 860. The robbery of the Temple of Apollo on Delos, recorded by Phlegon (frg. 12, 13 Jac., see *F.Gr.Hist.* II p. 1164), has been confirmed by the discovery of a Roman law of 58 B.C., which, in granting the island freedom and immunity from taxation, also ordered the restoration of the shrines and statues which

had been destroyed by the pirates; see Durrbach *Choix*, no. 163=*S.E.G.* I 335.

28. For the war of Antonius against the pirates see Foucart in *Journ. d. Savants* IV (1906), p. 569f. and Ormerod *Piracy*, p. 219f. and *C.A.H.* IX p. 355f. The creation of his command was dated by Velleius Paterculus (II 31, 3) a *septennium* before the passage of the *Lex Gabinia* of 67 B.C., *i.e.* 74 B.C. For the command and its significance see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II³ pp. 654f., 854f. and 862 and A. E. R. Boak in *Am.Hist.Rev.* XXIV (1918-19), p. 8. It is called an *imperium infinitum* in Cicero *II Verr.* II 8 and III 213 and in Lactantius *Inst.* I 11, 32 and a *curatio infinita totius orae maritimae* in Ps.-Asconius pp. 202 and 259 Stangl. Antonius is referred to in *Schol. Bob.* p. 96 Stangl as *orae maritimae praepositus*, but in a decree of Epidaurus as recently reread (*I.G.* IV² 66) he is called ὁ ἐπὶ Κρητῶν στρατηγός. For his character see Plutarch *Ant.* 1, 1: Sallust *Hist.* III 3 Maur.: Cicero *II Verr.* III 213: Ps.-Asconius p. 259 Stangl (*et Siciliam et provincias omnes depopulatus est*). The fragment of Sallust (*Hist.* III 2 Maur.), *qui orae maritimae, qua Romanum esset imperium, curator* ⟨*nocent*⟩*ior piratis* was perhaps said of him. For the reasons alleged for his appointment see Ps.-Asconius *ibid.* and Velleius Paterculus II 31, 4.

29. For Antonius's actions in Sicily see Cicero *II Verr.* III 215 and *Div. in Caec.* 55. His campaign on the coasts of Liguria and Spain is known only from Sallust *Hist.* III 5 and 6 Maur. Foucart pointed out (*ibid.* p. 575) that his operations off Spain were probably intended to check the rebellion of Sertorius, who was aided by pirates (Plutarch *Sert.* 7, 3 and 21, 5 and *Pomp.* 19, 6). For his action at Gytheium in Laconia see *I.G.* V 1, 1146=*Syll.*³ 748 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 952 and above Chap. X note 45. It was pointed out by Wilhelm that the words [ὅ]τε Ἀντώνιος παρεγένετο (l. 33) refer to Antonius the commander against the pirates and not, as had been previously supposed, to his brother, the Consul of 63 B.C., or his son, the Triumvir; see *A.M.* XXVI (1901), p. 419f. and *Beiträge*, p. 112f. For Epidaurus see *I.G.* IV² 66 (cited above note 28) and Rostovtzeff, p. 951f.

30. For the Cretan pirates see Strabo X p. 477: Plutarch *Pomp.* 29, 1: Diodorus XL 1, 3: Appian *Sic.* 6, 1: Ormerod *Piracy*, p. 225f.: Ziebarth *Beiträge*, p. 18. Athenian decrees of 320/19 (*I.G.* II² 399) and 217/16 (*I.G.* II² 844=*Syll.*³ 535) mention the fact that Athenians had been carried off for sale in Crete. For the campaign of Antonius, his death and his cognomen Creticus see Livy *Per.* XCVII (*bellum adversus Cretenses parum prospere susceptum morte sua finiit*): Cicero *II Verr.* III 213: *Schol. Bob.* p. 96 Stangl: Ps.-Asconius pp. 202 and 239 Stangl: Appian *Sic.* 6, 1: Florus I 42, 2f.: Cassius Dio frg. 111, 1 Boiss.: Diodorus *l.c.*: Plutarch *Ant.* 1, 1. The fragments of Sallust, *Hist.* III 8 (describing the capture of a large vessel by two *myoparones* belonging to pirates) and III 16 (*ibi triennio frustra trito*), are presumably to be connected with this war. For the continuation of piracy after Antonius's death see Cicero *II Verr.* V 87f. For the war of Metellus Creticus against the

Cretans in 69-67 see Münzer in *R.E.* III 1210f. and Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 375.

31. Plutarch *Luc.* 5f. According to Plutarch (see also *Pomp.* 20, 1), Lucullus's eagerness to obtain the command in Cilicia was due to his fear that Pompey, at the time in Spain, might be chosen as commander against Mithradates and to his hope that if he were made governor of Cilicia the nearness of the province to Cappadocia would ensure his own appointment against the King. If this be true, it may mean that he was planning, in the event of the expected invasion, to create a diversion by marching across the Taurus and invading Pontus by way of Lycaonia and Cappadocia. It may also mean, however, that he was aware of the incapacity of his fellow-Consul Marcus Cotta, who had been made proconsul of Bithynia for the year 73, and believed that, as the nearest commander of military experience, he would speedily be placed in command of the war. For his appointment to this command see Cicero *Acad. Prior.* II 1; *pro Mur.* 33: Plutarch *Luc.* 6, 4; 7, 1: Appian *Mith.* 68 and 72: Memnon 37, 1. For his proconsulship of Asia in 71-68 see Chap X note 47.

32. This inference, drawn by Junge (p. 36f.) from the statement of Appian (*Mith.* 72) that Lucullus, in addition to the legion he brought with him from Italy and the two legions which had formerly been under the command of Valerius Flaccus and had been left in Asia (see above p. 233), had "two others" seems to be confirmed by Porphyrio Scholia to Horace *Epist.* II 2, 26, *Luculli miles Valerianus et Servilianus exercitus*, and by Sallust *Hist.* II 47, 7 Maur. (a speech attributed to Gaius Cotta, Consul in 75), *exercitus in Asia Ciliciaque ob nimias opes Mithridatis aluntur.*

33. For the expulsion of Eumachus by the Galatians see above p. 226. For his invasion of Pisidia see Appian *Mith.* 75. Appian's narrative includes Cilicia among the regions that were overrun, but this cannot mean Cilicia Campestris, which at this time was held by Mithradates's ally and son-in-law Tigranes (see below note 35). Ramsay suggested (*Hist. Comm. to the Epist. to the Galatians*, p. 70f.) that by *Cilicia* Appian really meant a part of Lycaonia. As Ormerod pointed out (*J.R.S.* XII p. 51, note 4), in the general confusion in the use of the names Isauria and Cilicia, it is dangerous to assume that Eumachus crossed the Taurus into Cilicia Aspera, where he could neither harm the Romans nor obtain booty. The victory of Deiotarus over Mithradates's *praefecti* is recorded also in Livy *Per.* XCIV and Orosius VI 2, 18.

34. The so-called *Lex Antonia de Termessibus* (a *plebiscitum*), *C.I.L.* I^2 589=Dessau 38=Bruns *Fontes*,^{7} no. 14=Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 19. The mention of the Consuls of 72 B.C. establishes a *terminus post quem* for the law; it was hardly enacted before 70, for the names of the tribunes who held office during the year in which it was passed are known from *C.I.L.* I^2 744=VI 31590=Dessau 5800, and the list does not

include Marcus Lollius Palicanus who was tribune in 71; see J. N. Hough in *A.J.P.* LI (1930), p. 139f. and Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 896. But for a dating in 68 see L. R. Taylor in *C.P.* XXXVI (1941), p. 121, note 32. It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, p. 947f.) that the mention of the former relations between Rome and Termessus (in 91 B.C., see col. II, l. 18f.) indicates that these were renewed by this measure and that this renewal may have been connected with encroachments on the city's privileges by the Roman government. The view was expressed by Heberdey in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXVIII (1931), p. 21f. and *R.E.* V A 749 that this law did not apply to Termessus alone but gave the same status to many other cities, perhaps throughout the provinces of Asia and Pamphylia-Cilicia. This view was based on the supposition that since the greater part of the inscription has been lost, the document must have contained more than the recognition of Termessus, as well as on the fact that *insulae* are included in the guarantee of the city's territory (col. I, l. 15) and the right to levy *portoria maritima* was specified (col. II, l. 31); for obviously the territory of Termessus did not reach the coast. It seems hazardous, however, to infer from the mere length of the document that its terms included other communities also; and it is perhaps more probable, as the present writer suggested in *The Greek Political Experience, Studies in Honor of W. K. Prentice*, p. 185, that the mention of the "islands" and the "maritime customs-duties" indicates the use of a standard form employed in cases of similar recognition of coast cities, as also in the treaties concluded with Greek city-states (see Chap. IV note 89). It is not improbable that similar measures applying to other communities were passed about this time. An era of Termessus beginning with the recognition of its independence is suggested by a series of coins dated *α'* to *λβ'*, which may have been issued from 71 to 39 B.C., when the city was awarded to Amyntas; see Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 646 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 712. The objection of Heberdey in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXVIII p. 74f. that Amyntas did not receive Termessus until 36 is scarcely valid, for there is reason to suppose that Pisidia was given to him in 39 (see Chap. XVIII note 17). For the autonomy of Termessus at the end of the first century after Christ see L.W. 358 *a* with corrections by Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX (1929) III p. 66f. For coins issued during the third century inscribed *αὐτονόμων* see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 272f.

35. Appian *Syr.* 48 and 69; *Mith.* 105f.: Justin XL 1, 3f.: Plutarch *Luc.* 14, 5: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIII 16, 4, §419: Strabo XIV p. 669. There is some doubt as to the identity of the Seleucid king whose dominions were seized, for the statements of the ancient authors concerning the year of the death of Antiochus X are mutually contradictory and irreconcilable; see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist d. Séleucides*, p. 605f. The date of Tigranes's seizure of Syria and Cilicia is obtained from Appian (*Syr.* 48f. and 70), who relates that when Lucullus defeated Tigranes in 69 (see above p. 344) Magadates, after fourteen years of command in these districts, went to the aid of his master. This is at variance with the statement of Justin (XL 1, 4; 2, 3) that Tigranes ruled Syria for seventeen years. An attempt has been made to

reconcile the discrepancy by the supposition that Justin was reckoning to the year of the conclusion of peace between Tigranes and Pompey in 66, but it seems clear from his further narrative (XL 2, 2) that he regarded the victory of Lucullus as marking the end of Tigranes's rule in Syria; see Junge, p. 52f. Accordingly, the chronology of Justin is generally regarded as due either to an error of the author or to a corruption of the manuscripts, and the date 83 is accepted by modern historians, *e.g.* Bouché-Leclercq, p. 608. Geyer, on the other hand, in *R.E.* VI A 971 gave the preference to 86.

36. Strabo XI p. 532 and Plutarch *Luc.* 14, 5, where the twelve cities whose citizens Tigranes removed to Mesopotamia are called Ἑλληνίδες, *i.e.* Syrian and Cilician; probably Mazaca in Cappadocia, whose inhabitants were carried away about 77 B.C. (see above p. 321), is included in the number. Cilicians and Cappadocians in Tigranocerta are mentioned in Plutarch *Luc.* 21, 4 and 26, 1 and Cassius Dio XXXVI 2, 3. It is generally assumed that among the cities from which they came were those in which Pompey later established the pirates who had surrendered to him; see below note 43.

37. The era of Mopsuestia began in the autumn of 68 B.C., evidently reckoned from the withdrawal of the Armenians (Imhoof-Blumer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* X [1883], p. 294, and *Kl. M.* p. 474f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 246) and that of Mallus in 68 or 67 (*J.H.S.* XVIII [1898], p. 163f.); if in 67, it may be due to a "refounding" by Pompey (see below note 43).

38. See above p. 360. The cession of Cilicia Campestris (together with Syria) had been demanded by Pompey in the treaty made with Tigranes in 66 (see above p. 357); see Appian *Syr.* 49-50; *Mith.* 105f. and 118. In accordance with his general policy of annulling Lucullus's arrangements (see Chap. XV note 6), Pompey had ignored the latter's restoration of Antiochus XIII and recognized Tigranes as ruler of the two districts; see Junge, p. 53f. There was, therefore, a certain degree of justification for the claim that Pompey had added Cilicia to the Roman dominions (see Chap. XV note 49). On the other hand, the coins of Mopsuestia and perhaps Mallus (note 37) show that these cities, at any rate, regarded themselves as no longer subject to either the Armenian or the Syrian monarch, and the fact that Marcius Rex with his legions marched to his province of Cilicia by way of Lycaonia (see below note 39), *i.e.* along the Southern Highway, which led him through the Cilician Gates into Cilicia Campestris, suggests that in 67 this district had been annexed to the province.

39. Cassius Dio XXXVI 15, 1. His three legions are mentioned in Sallust *Hist.* V 14 Maur. He was delayed in his departure from Rome by the Consuls' fear that the Transpadane colonies might revolt and that his legions might be needed to suppress their rising; see Suetonius *Jul.* 8. For his visit to Greece see *C.I.L.* I^2 747 = III 7265 = Dessau 868, erected at Argos to *Q. Maarcius Q. f. Rex* by the *Italicei quei negotian*[*tur*], connected with this Marcius Rex by Münzer in *R.E.* XIV 1585 but possibly in honour of

some older member of the family. For Lucullus's request, made to him while marching through Lycaonia, see Sallust *Hist.* v 14 and 15 Maur.: Cassius Dio xxxvi 15, 1; 17, 2. For the predicament of Lucullus see above p. 345f. For Publius Clodius and Lucullus see Chap. XIV note 52. For Clodius's command of Marcius's fleet and his capture by pirates, who, however, afterward released him through fear of Pompey, see Cassius Dio xxxvi 17, 2f.: Strabo xiv p. 684: Appian *B.C.* ii 23.

40. For Marcius's general inactivity in Cilicia see Junge, p. 45 and Münzer in *R.E.* xiv 1585. For his reception of the deserter Menemachus see Cassius Dio xxxvi 17, 2. For his visit to Antioch and his attempt to extort money from Philip II (see Chap. XV note 19) see Malalas p. 225 Bonn (where he is called Κοΐντος Μαρκιανὸς ῥὴξ Ῥωμαίων) and G. Downey in *C.P.* xxxii (1937), p. 144f., who pointed out that Philip is called Φιλορώμαιος in an inscription from Olba (*M.A.M.A.* iii 62, see Chap. XI note 23). For the inclusion of Cilicia among the provinces given to Pompey in 66 B.C. see Cassius Dio xxxvi 43, 1 and 48, 2 and Chap. XV note 1. For Marcius's failure to obtain a triumph see Sallust *Cat.* 30, 4, where the author, in accordance with his general attitude toward the aristocracy, attributes the delay in the grant to the *calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos est.* Marcius died before 15 May, 61; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* i 16, 10.

41. For the Lex Gabinia and Pompey's appointment and his war against the pirates see Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 34f., 44, 52 and 57f.; *pro Corn.* i frg. 31: Asconius p. 57 Stangl: Livy *Per.* xcix: Plutarch *Pomp.* 25-28: Appian *Mith.* 94-96: Strabo xiv p. 665: Velleius Paterculus ii 31, 2 and 32, 4f.: Cassius Dio xxxvi 23-24; 30; 36 a; 37: Florus i 41, 7f.: Eutropius vi 12, 1f.: Zonaras x 3. For the law and Pompey's *imperium* see P. Groebe in *Klio* x (1910), p. 374f., A. E. R. Boak in *Am. Hist. Rev.* xxiv (1918-19), p. 11f. and Last in *J.R.S.* xxxvii (1947), p. 160f. For the full name of the proposer see *S.E.G.* i 335 (a law passed during his consulship in 58 B.C.) and for his legislation directed against Lucullus see Chap. XIV note 56. For the rank and number of Pompey's legates and for his conduct of the war see Mommsen *R.St.R.* ii^3 pp. 656, 680, note 1 and 683, note 6: Groebe, pp. 378f. and 384f.: Ormerod in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* x (1923), p. 46f. and *Piracy*, p. 235f. The original number of ships placed at his disposal, 200, according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 25, 3), or 270, including light craft, according to Appian (*Mith.* 94), was afterward increased to 500; he was also empowered to raise an army of 120,000 foot and 5000 horse, and the number of his legates was raised from fifteen to twenty-four. It was pointed out by Kromayer (*Philol.* lvi [1897], p. 429f.) that it need not be supposed that the additional ships were actually built, particularly as the interval between the passage of the measure and the defeat of the pirates was so short, and Groebe (p. 377f.) observed that Pompey did not avail himself of the power thus to increase his forces. Pompey's legate M. Pupius Piso is honoured as πάτρων καὶ εὐεργέτης in *Milet* i 3, p. 393, no. 173 (Miletus) and *I.G.R.* iv

1709 as restored in *Milet l.c.* (Samos), perhaps not erected until after the war against Mithradates. For the participation of Piso, Lollius and Metellus Nepos in this war see Chap. XV note 1. For the battle of Coracesium see Plutarch *Pomp.* 28, 1. The statement in Appian *Mith.* 96 that the *φρούρια μέγιστα* Cragus and Anticragus surrendered to Pompey is due, as Ormerod pointed out (*Piracy*, p. 240, note 1), to a confusion between the mountains of this name in Lycia and the mountainous coast of southwestern Cilicia Aspera, which also was called Cragus (see Strabo XIV p. 669) and afterward gave its name to the city of Antiocheia *ἐπὶ* Κράγῳ (see Ptolemy V 7, 2 and Chap XXIII note 30).

42. The official estimate of ships destroyed or captured, as stated at Pompey's triumph in 61 (see Chap. XV note 30), was 846; see Pliny *N.H.* VII 93f. This is given in round numbers as 800 by Plutarch in *Pomp.* 45, 2 (=Zonaras X 5) and Appian in *Mith.* 117 and exaggerated into 1300 in Strabo XIV p. 665; of these, 700 are said by Appian (*Mith.* 116) to have been captured undamaged. It was pointed out by Kromayer in *Philol.* LVI (1897), p. 430f. that this number must include small fishing-boats, and that the estimate given by Appian (*Mith.* 96) of 71 captured and 306 surrendered is much nearer the truth. The latter number, according to Plutarch *Pomp.* 28, 2, included 90 *χαλκέμβολοι*, *i.e.* fighting ships, a class in which Appian (*Mith.* 117) erroneously placed the whole 800.

43. Strabo VIII p. 387f.: XIV pp. 665 and 671: Plutarch *Pomp.* 28, 4: Appian *Mith.* 96 and 115: Cassius Dio XXXVI 37, 6: Mela I 71. Pompey's policy of establishing the pirates in settlements is also recorded by Livy *Per.* XCIX: Velleius Paterculus II 32, 5: Florus I 41, 14. The cities in which he settled them are enumerated in Appian *Mith.* 96 as Adana, Mallus, Epiphaneia and Dyme. To these must be added Soli, which now received the name Pompeiopolis; see Strabo *ll. cc.* The city began a new era reckoned from the autumn of 66 B.C.; see Imhoof-Blumer in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 166f. and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lxxiv and 152f. Its civic organization is shown by an inscription, evidently in honour of Pompey, described as *τρὶς αὐτοκρά[τωρ]* and *κτίστης καὶ πάτρων τῆς πόλεως* by *Πομπηϊοπολιτῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου καὶ ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμου ὁ δῆμος* (*I.G.R.* III 869). For a *demiourgos* (perhaps of the period prior to the refounding) and for remains of the public buildings see Chap. XI note 31. These settlements called forth the bitter comment of Cicero (*de Off.* III 49), *nos, qui piratas immunes, socios vectigales habemus.*

44. See *e.g.* G. Ferrero *Greatness and Decline of Rome,* Engl. Trans. (London 1907) I p. 197. Ancient critics of his policy are mentioned by Velleius Paterculus II 32, 6. For the complaint of the tax-farmers see Cassius Dio XXXIX 59, 2. It is not improbable, however, that the importance of this raid was exaggerated by the *publicani*, who hated Gabinius, then governor of Syria, apparently because of his repressive measures; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 426 and Vonder Mühll in *R.E.* VII 428. For the continuance of

piracy after Pompey's victory see Ormerod *Piracy*, p. 249f. For Sextus Pompey see above p. 437f. For the recognition of Pompey's achievements against the pirates see Velleius Paterculus II 32, 4 (*terrarum orbem liberavit*) and Pliny *N.H.* VII 98 (*cum imperium maris populo Romano restituisset*). It was probably in gratitude for his victory over them that dedications honouring him were set up on the islands of Delos and Samos, in the second of which he is described as *αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ εὐεργέτης κα[ὶ] σωτὴρ τῆς πόλεως*; see *Syll.*[3] 749 A and *I.G.R.* IV 1710=*Syll.*[3] 749 B, corrected by Wilhelm in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* 1924, p. 113f.

45. The era of the province appears as *ἔτους οβ΄* and *οη΄* (*i.e.* 72 and 78) *τῆς ἐπαρχείας* on two tombstones from the hill called Sinabiç, in the mountains a short distance northeast of Mut (Claudiopolis); see *I.G.R.* III 817 and 818. There is, however, no clue to the year from which the dates are reckoned; see Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 646. The only evidence afforded in the inscriptions lies in the names of the persons honoured, who are, respectively, *Σίλα[ς N]ενησίος ὁ καὶ Κλεόνεικος* and C. Pomponius Julianus with his wife Nas; these names seem to point to a date not later than the first century of the Christian Era, and it is not impossible that the years of the province were reckoned from the time of Pompey's conquest.

CHAPTER XIII

1. For the boundaries of Bithynia see Strabo XII p. 563: Pliny *N.H.* V 143: Ramsay *H.G.* p. 443: Ruge in *R.E.* III 507: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 108f. Its area, according to the measurements of Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 223, see Chap. VII note 39), was 47,500 sq.km. (18,340 sq.mi.). This estimate, however, includes the territory of the free city of Heracleia. The area of Denmark is 17,110 sq.mi.

2. For Pessinus see Chap. I note 71. The sources of the Sangarius were placed by Strabo (XII p. 543) about 150 stades from the city, but in reality they are about 25 miles distant, on the northern side of Belpınar Dağ; see Ruge in *R.E.* I A 2270. For the gorges of the river from Kara Viran (at the bend) as far downstream as Paşalar (at the mouth of the Kara Su) see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), pp. 6f. and 12. For the Regio Tarsica (Ak Ova) see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 191: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV (1889), p. 92f. and CXXV (1898), p. 66: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2413. For its products see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 4, 6 and Arrian *Bithyn.* frg. 20 Roos. For the fertility of Bithynia see *Expositio totius Mundi* 49 (Riese *Geogr. Lat. Min.* p. 117). It has been estimated that of the area of the former Sanjak of Izmit, which occupied more than a third of ancient Bithynia, one third is devoted to agriculture; see Cuinet *Turquie* IV p. 320f.

3. According to Xenophon *Anab.* VI 4, 2, except for the harbour of Calpe, there was no *polis* οὔτε φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θράκες Βιθυνοί.

4. For the Göl Dağ, on the northern side of the Sangarius east of the great bend, see von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV p. 54. For the tributaries of the river see von Diest *ibid.* CXVI pp. 9f., 14 and 18 and CXXV p. 47f. For the forests see Pliny *N.H.* XVI 197: Perrot *Exploration*, pp. 20, 26 and 58f.: Cuinet IV pp. 315f., 424f. and 499: von Diest XCIV pp. 56, 59 and 90 and CXXV p. 68: Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI pp. 83f. (valley of the Büyük Su), 97 (northern slopes of Ala Dağ) and 106 (Kardüz Dağ): R. Leonhard *Paphlagonia* (Berlin 1915), pp. 32 and 34 (mountains north of Bolu): Ravndal *Turkey*, pp. 121 (Geyve) and 124 (Bolu).

5. For the plains of Düzce (the plain of the Hypius) and Bolu (the plain of Salona, see below note 22) see von Diest *ibid.* XCIV pp. 83f. and 59f. For the former see also Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 30 and Leonhard *ibid.* p. 40f., and for the latter see Nowack in *Geogr. Rev.* XXI (1931), p. 84f.

6. The invasion was dated in the twelfth century by Ed. Meyer *G.d.A.* I^{3} 2, p. 689 and II^{2} 1, p. 567f. About 400 B.C. the northern coast of Bithynia was still known as ἡ Θράκη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ; see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 4, 1. For the lack of Hellenic influence in the interior see A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 41, and for the kings' ownership of the land see Rostovtzeff in *B.S.A.* XXII

(1916-18), p. 11 and *Hellenist. World*, p. 571 and p. 1571, note 65. For Pontus see Chap. VIII note 10. The "village"-system is found in Bithynia, as in the province of Asia (see Chap. V note 69). For the villages in the territory of Nicomedeia see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 489 with additions in F. K. Dörner *Inschr. u. Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (1942), nos. 31-33, 44, 46, 47, 59, 61 and 78, cited by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXIX (1943), p. 189. The following villages are also known: north of the Gulf of Izmit, *κωμῆται Ψαρηλανοί* (*A.M.* XXXIII [1908], p. 152, no. 6): near Nicaea, [*ἡ*] *Τετρακομία* (*I.G.R.* III 1397): near Prusa (see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 190 and *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 271), *ἡ Δαγουτηνῶν χώρα* (*A.M.* XXX [1905], p. 323, no. 1 = *B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 408, no. 408, *Δάγουτα* in Ptolemy V 2, 13): east of Bithynium, *Δαδοκωμῆται* (*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 302f., no. 3 = p. 425, no. 140): southeastern Bithynia, [*ἡ*] *Ὀκαηνῶ*[*ν*] *κώμη* (*B.C.H.* XXIV p. 415, no. 112 = LII [1928], p. 412) and *κώμη Σ*. (*B.C.H.* XXIV p. 405, no. 83).

7. For Chalcedon as a colony of Megara see Thucydides IV 75, 2: Strabo VII p. 320; XII p. 563: Mela I 101: Hesychius *Orig. Const.* 20 (I p. 9 Preger). Its foundation was dated in Ol. 23, 4 = 685/4 B.C. by Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 85 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 93 Helm, accepted as approximately correct by Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 257 and I 2, p. 235. It was suggested by E. C. Semple (*Geogr. of the Medit. Region*, p. 350) that Byzantium and Chalcedon were founded with a view to securing access for Megara to the grain-fields of southern Russia. For the situation of Chalcedon see Cuinet IV p. 166 and for its disadvantages as compared to that of Byzantium see Herodotus IV 144: Polybius IV 43f.: Pliny *N.H.* V 149. For the tunny-fishing (see also Chap. VIII note 20) see Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* VIII 13, p. 598 B: Strabo VII p. 320: Aelian *Hist.Anim.* IX 42: Pliny *N.H.* IX 50f. For the copper see Ps.-Aristotle *de Mir. Ausc.* 58, p. 834 B: Antigonus of Carystus *Hist. Mirab.* 131 (146): Pliny *N.H.* XXXVII 72: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* *Χαλκῖτις*: Cuinet IV p. 681: Bürchner in *R.E.* III 2093: Blümner in *R.E.* XI 2197: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 621. The island (modern Halki or Heybeli Ada) is called sometimes *Χαλκῖτις*, sometimes *Δημόνησοι*, a name applied also to the whole group; see Pliny *N.H.* V 151 and Hesychius *s.v.* *Δημονήσιος Χαλκός*. According to Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* *Δημόνησος*, it had a *κυανοῦ μέταλλον καὶ χρυσοκόλλης*; by the former lapis lazuli was ordinarily meant (Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 39), and, according to Cuinet (*l.c.*), this is found on Halki. But it seems much more probable that the semi-precious stone found on this copper-bearing island was chrysocolla (a silicate of copper) or malachite; see Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII 86: K. C. Bailey *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chem. Subjects* I (London 1929), p. 205f.: Broughton, p. 622. The stone was probably the "pseudo-smaragdus" which, according to Theophrastus *de Lapid.* 25 and Pliny XXXVII 72f., came from Chalcedon and was also found (Theophrastus *l.c.*) in the copper mines on Cyprus. A variety of jasper, described as *turbida*, is also said by Pliny (XXXVII 115) to have come from Chalcedon. For an *οἰκονόμος Χαλκηδονίων* on Halki see *C.I.G.* 3793 = *Byz. Ztschr.* XXVII (1927), p. 342 and Chap. III note 34.

8. For the history of Chalcedon see Ruge in *R.E.* x 1555f. and H. Merle *Gesch. d. Städte Byzantion u. Kalchedon, etc.* (Kiel 1916), p. 5f. For its subjection to the Persians see Demosthenes xv 26: Arrian *Anab.* III 24, 5 (an envoy to Darius): Merle, p. 37. For a coin with the head of Alexander and the legend Βασιλέως Λυσιμάχου see *Receuil* I p. 294, no. 21. For Chalcedon in the "Northern League" and its alliance with Nicomedes I see Memnon 11 and 19, 2 and Chap. VIII note 36. Stähelin pointed out (*Galater*², p. 6f.) that this alliance was in reality against Antiochus I. The freedom of Chalcedon is attested by decrees of Phocaea and Tenedos, probably of the third century, granting a request to recognize the city as ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος (*S.E.G.* IV 720), and by a decree of about 170 B.C. in which Chalcedon conferred citizenship and other honours on Eudemus of Seleuceia (*Syll.*³ 645 VI, see Chap. XI note 21). For decrees granting *proxenia* (the names of the *proxenoi* to be inscribed by the ἱερομνήμων) see *A.E.M.* XVII (1894), p. 63f.=Michel 540 and *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 267, no. 1. For an eponymous βασιλεύς, a ἀγεμὼν βουλᾶς, ten αἰσυμνῆται (serving for a month), a ἱερομνήμων, a γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ δάμου, a προφήτας and three νομοφύλακες see *C.I.G.* 3794: *J.H.S.* VII (1886), p. 154f.=*S.G.D.I.* 3053: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 296, no. 1: *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 187f. For the city-tribes (apparently fifteen in number) see *C.I.G.* 3794 and *S.G.D.I.* 3053 and note.

9. For Astacus as a colony of Megara see Strabo XII p. 563: Memnon 20, 1: Mela I 100. According to a version preserved in Charon of Lampsacus (*F.H.G.* IV p. 627) and accepted by J. Toepffer in *Herm.* XXXI (1896), p. 127 and Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 257 and I 2, p. 233, it was a colony of Chalcedon. It was a member of the "Confederacy of Delos" from 454 to 443, and in 435 it was colonized by Athens; see Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I pp. 238 and 471f. For its destruction by Lysimachus see Strabo *l.c.* The Gulf of Izmit continued to be called Astacenus (Strabo X p. 459 and XII p. 563 and Pliny *N.H.* V 148), and Robert observed (*R.Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 168) that the expression Ἀστακίη γῆ (or πατρίς) was used in several epigrams of the later period to denote Nicomedeia or its territory.

10. For Nicomedeia see Sölch in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 159f.: Tscherikower in *Philol. Suppl.* XIX 1 (1927), p. 45f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 468f. For its foundation by Nicomedes I see Memnon 20, 1 and Strabo XII p. 563. According to Pausanias V 12, 7, it was founded by his father, Zipoetes. The date of the foundation is given as Ol. 129, 4=261 B.C. in Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 121 Schöne=Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 131 Helm, but as Ol. 128, 4=265 B.C. in the Armenian version of Eusebius, p. 120 Schöne=p. 200 Karst. For the walls see Perrot *Exploration*, p. 2 and Cuinet IV p. 360f. The mention of a βουλή in a fragment of a decree of the time of a King Prusias, which was found at Nicomedeia (Perrot, no. 4), would indicate, if the decree was indeed enacted by Nicomedeia, that the city had a certain amount of self-administration under the kings; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 235f. The city-tribes Ποσειδωνιάς and Ἀσκληπιός are known from *C.I.G.* 3774 and 3775 and *M.A.M.A.* III 263, all of the imperial period.

11. This route led directly across Bithynia from Nicomedeia eastward to the frontier, whence it continued onward through Paphlagonia and across the Halys to Pontus and Armenia; see Chap. VIII note 33. For its importance see Sölch in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 170 and E. Gren *Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan, etc.* p. 55. The Bithynian section, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX 2-3, K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 667), had the following stations: Nicomedeia, Lateas, Demetrium, Duse pros Olympum, unnamed station. None of these can be identified with certainty. The suggestion, however, that Dusae was the modern Bey Köy at the southeastern corner of the Plain of Düzce (see above note 5), which was made by von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV pp. 83 and 85f., has found general acceptance; see Ruge in *Phil.-hist. Beitr. C. Wachsmuth . . . überreicht* (Leipzig 1897), p. 25f.; *R.E.* III 508f. and V 1865: R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 3 A: Sölch, p. 170, note 3. Ruge observed that the distance from Nicomedeia to Dusae as given on the *Tabula* (72 Roman miles) corresponds to that between Izmit and Bey Köy, and that the distance between Dusae and the unnamed station (30 Roman miles) corresponds to that between Bey Köy and Bithynium (Bolu, see below note 22), which he accordingly identified with this station. The fact that on the *Tabula* the Sangarius appears *east* of this station Ruge explained by the supposition that the river was added incorrectly after the *Tabula* was drawn. If these highly probable identifications be accepted, the road seems to have corresponded in general to the modern route (the "post-road to Bagdad," see Chap. VIII note 33) from Izmit by way of Adapazarı (where it crosses the Sangarius), Hendek, Düzce, Bolu and through the pass of Köroglu Derbent to Gerede in Paphlagonia; see Murray *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 5 and Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), p. 99f. The ancient road led eastward from Nicomedeia along Lake Sophon (Sapanca), on the southern shore of which there are remains of Roman bridges over affluents of the lake; near its eastern end, the Çark Su is spanned by a bridge built by Justinian in A.D. 561; see von Diest *ibid.* pp. 97 and 94f. and *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXXV (1898), p. 70. East of the Sangarius, the road, after traversing the Regio Tarsica (see above note 2) reached the plain of Düzce either by way of Hendek or, farther south, by way of the pass north of the Dikmen Dağ and Süleyman Bey Köy (tentatively identified with Demetrium by R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII); see Leonhard *Paphlagonia*, p. 42f. Remains of an ancient road and of forts and a bridge were found in the southwestern corner of the plain by von Diest (*ibid.* p. 88f.). From here the road led up the Asar Su and over a pass to the plain of Salona (see above note 5) through Bithynium. In the mountains to the east there are remains of ancient road-construction and a fort (von Diest, p. 63) west of the frontier pass of Köroglu Derbent. Nicomedeia was also connected with Chalcedon by a road running along the northern shore of the Gulf of Izmit through Dacibyza (Gebze); see Ruge in *R.E.* IV 2017. For a milestone (no. XXXI of Gordian) see *A.M.* XXXIII (1908), p. 152, no. 7.

12. Nicomedeia is called περικαλλής in Athenaeus I 36, p. 20 B. Among its works of art was the cult-statue of Zeus Stratius by Doedalses; see Arrian frg.

41 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 594) = frg. 78 Jac. (*F.Gr.Hist.* II p. 866f.) = *Bithyn.* frg. 20 Roos. This statue appears on coins of the Bithynian kings from Prusias I onward; see *Receuil* I p. 219f. and C. Robert in *R.E.* V 1266f.

13. For Nicaea (Iznik) see Sölch in *Klio* XIX p. 153f.: Tscherikower *ibid.* p. 46f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 226f. For its foundation by Antigonus and enlargement by Lysimachus see Strabo XII p. 565 and Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Νίκαια. Ruge observed (228f.) that since Lysimachus could not have gained possession of the place before 301 B.C. and since at that time he was married to Amastris (see above p. 309), the city must have been named in memory of Nicaea. For the wall see Strabo *l.c.* The wall now in existence, an irregular polygon, has a considerably larger circuit (4970 metres) than that described by Strabo (2893 metres). Its gates were built under Vespasian, Hadrian and Claudius Gothicus, and a large part of the wall and the towers date from the Byzantine and Seljuk periods; see *C.I.G.* 3745, 3747 and 3748 = *I.G.R.* III 37, 39 (= *Syll.*[3] 895) and 40: A. Körte in *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 398f.: Schneider and Karnapp *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik* (Berlin 1938), p. 1f. The only known city-tribe, the Φυλὴ Αὐρηλιανή, evidently dates from the Roman imperial period; see *A.M.* XXX (1905), p. 412f., no. 2 = XXXVI (1911), p. 104, no. 17 and Schneider and Karnapp, p. 50, no. 34 = *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 299. For two much-travelled physicians from Nicaea see Robert *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 103f.

14. For the road from Nicaea to Cius and Apameia Myrleia (see below note 19) leading along the southern shore of Lake Iznik see Sölch *ibid.* p. 173 and Gren *ibid.* p. 53. "Ruined by age," it was repaired by the imperial procurator in A.D. 58/9; see *C.I.L.* III 346 = *I.G.R.* III 15. A milestone no. I (Maximinus Thrax) found at Yenişehir, nine miles south of the lake, was perhaps originally on this road; see *C.I.L.* III 12226 = 13650 = *I.G.R.* III 1407 = *A.M.* XIV (1889), p. 244, no. 9. For the route from Nicaea to Dorylaeum in Phrygia see Chap. II note 21. Another important road ("the Pilgrims' Road," see Ramsay *H.G.* pp. 197 and 240f. and Gren, p. 54f.) ran eastward to Tottaeum (Geyve, see Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2462) on the right bank of the Sangarius and from here through southeastern Bithynia by way of Dablae and Dadastana (the sites of which are still uncertain, see Ruge in *R.E.* IV 1947 and 1978) to Juliopolis, formerly Gordiucome (near Emremsultan north of the central section of the Sangarius, see *R.E.* X 102), whence it led through Galatia and southwestern Cappadocia to Cilicia (see Chap. XIX note 9); see *Tabula Peutingeriana* IX 2-3 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 657f.): *Itin. Ant.* 141f.: *Itin. Hierosol.* 573f. The route corresponded in part to the modern "post-road" from Geyve to Ankara (see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 13f.). For ancient pavement on the Akseki Dağ southeast of Geyve and a bridge and pavement near Torbalı, farther east, see Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI pp. 109 and 112f. and Leonhard *Paphlagonia*, p. 47. Nicaea was connected with Nicomedeia by a section of the "Pilgrims' Road" leading through Eribolum, probably near Yeni Köy, south of the eastern end of the Gulf of Izmit (*R.E.* VI 439). Traces of this road were found near Yeni Köy by

von Diest *ibid.* cxxv p. 11, and remains of the road and of an ancient fortress were seen by Perrot (*Exploration*, p. 9f.).

15. Νεικαηνὴ κοκκηρά; see Edict of Diocletian 24, 8 (Mommsen-Blümner p. 39). Büchsenschütz observed (*Hauptstätten d. Gewerbefleisses im Kl. Alt.* p. 85) that the *coccus* was probably brought from Galatia (see Pliny *N.H.* xxii 3).

16. For Prusa (Bursa) see Hamilton *Researches* i p. 71f.: Philippson iii p. 69f.: Mendel in *B.C.H.* xxiv (1900), p. 363f.: Sölch *ibid.* pp. 156f. and 186f. Its ethnicum appears as Προυσαεῖς ἀπὸ Ὀλύμπ[ου] in *I.G.* xiv 1077 = *I.G.R.* i 139 and as Προυσαεὺς πρὸς Ὄλυμπον in *C.I.G.* 4155 = *B.C.H.* xiii (1889), p. 307f., no. 15. For the statement that Prusa was founded by Hannibal see Pliny *N.H.* v 148. It seems highly questionable, especially in view of the similar statement that he founded Artaxata in Armenia (Strabo xi p. 528). At the most, it can mean only that the city was founded on Hannibal's advice, presumably when he was at the court of Prusias I after the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia (see below note 39), and this view has been widely accepted; see Ed. Meyer in *R.E.* iii 519: Holleaux in *B.C.H.* xlviii (1924), p. 46 = *Études* ii p. 114f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 152. Holleaux dated the foundation in 184, after the end of the war between Prusias and Eumenes II (see below note 39). It is difficult, however, to place the foundation at this time, for Prusias I died about 183 and his successor Prusias II was at once forced into the war between Eumenes II and Pharnaces I of Pontus (see Chap. VIII note 41). It seems more probable, therefore, that the city was founded considerably earlier, perhaps when the region was acquired by Prusias I in 202 (see below note 20) and that Hannibal had nothing to do with it. A tradition of a mythical founder has been preserved in Strabo xii p. 564 = Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Προῦσα, where it is said that the city was a foundation of Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον (Κῦρον, Stephanus) πολεμήσαντος, and a coin of the time of Commodus bears the head of an eponymous hero with the legend Προυσαεῖς τὸν κτίστην Προυσίαν (*Receuil* i p. 582, no. 48). The suggestion made by A. Körte in *A.M.* xxiv (1899) p. 412, note 1 that the name of the city was older than the time of Prusias I and taken from a half-mythical founder whose name was later made to resemble that of the King was rejected by Holleaux *Études* ii p. 114, note 4 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 232, note 1, and it seems much more probable that the ascription to a mythical founder was merely an attempt to show that the city was an old one. For Mt. Olympus see Philippson iii p. 73f. Coins of Prusa of the time of Commodus bear a representation of the mountain with wooded slopes and a grotto from which a stream issues; see *Receuil* i p. 582, no. 45.

17. The route leading eastward from Prusa seems to have crossed the eastern end of the range of Mt. Olympus by a pass 1800 ft. above sea-level to the plain of Inegöl, near which perhaps lay Modra (see Ruge in *R.E.* xv 2333), and thence up the valley of the Koca Çay and over the watershed to Inönü, where it joined the road to Dorylaeum in Phrygia; see Philippson iii pp. 93f.

and 102 and Chap. II note 21. This route ran perhaps through Otroea, placed by Strabo (XII p. 566) near the eastern boundary of Bithynia; see Sölch *ibid.* p. 174. For the route leading from Cyzicus along the southern shore of the Propontis to Myrleia and Cius see Chap. III note 116. This was connected with Prusa by a road leading eastward from Lake Apolloniatis; see *Ann. Ép.* 1931, 66 (A.D. 198). It was also reached from Prusa by a road leading to Myrleia (see below note 19); for a restoration of this road by the imperial procurator in A.D. 78 see *C.I.L.* III 6993. Another road led directly northward to Cius; for milestone no. V (Gordian) see *C.I.L.* III 347=6996. Prusa seems also to have been connected with the region of Abbaïtis in eastern Mysia (see Chap. II note 2) by a route which led southward through a pass in the range of Mt. Olympus and across the upper Rhyndacus to the later Hadriani (see Chap. XXVI note 22) and thence to the upper Alaya Çay and along one of its tributaries, either the Inekollar Çay or (farther east) the Eğrigöz Çay past the natural stronghold of Eğrigöz and the later city of Tiberiopolis (see Chap. XXI note 24), which was probably one of the ancient sites in this valley (Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 790f.), to the basin of Lake Simav; see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 146f. and Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 331f.

18. For a decree enacted by [Π]ρουσα[έ]ων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τ[ῷ δήμῳ] in honour of an ἐπιστά[της] see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 229, who dated the inscription in the time of the kings; in this case, the ἐπιστάτης was presumably a royal governor (see Chap. V note 1). A fragmentary honorific decree (*I.G.R.* III 34) mentioning a siege and "King Mithradates" was found at Prusa. It was pointed out, however, by F. W. Hasluck in *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910), p. 302, note 4 and by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 314) that the stone may have been brought from Cyzicus, and the sending of πρεσβευταί to Rome which is mentioned in the inscription suggests a free city like Cyzicus rather than Prusa, which had been subject to the kings. The *demos* of Prusa is mentioned also in L.W. 1109, apparently of the first century before Christ. The only known city-tribe is the φυλὴ Ἀντωνεῖνα, evidently formed in the second century after Christ; see L.W. 1111. For Prusa as a πόλις μικρά see Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* For the θερμὰ ὕδατα see Robert *ibid.* p. 231=*B.C.H.* LXIV-LXV (1940-41), p. 288 (a fragment of a letter of Hadrian) and *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 94f., and for these springs in modern times see Cuinet IV p. 30f. and Ravndal *Turkey*, pp. 15 and 157f. Sölch pointed out (*ibid.* p. 188, note 1) that Prusa was the home of the famous physician Asclepiades of the first century before Christ (Cicero *de Orat.* I 62: Strabo XII p. 566: Pliny *N.H.* VII 124; XXIII 32; XXVI 12f.: Galen XIV p. 683 Kühn), as well as of C. Calpurnius Asclaepiades *medicus* of the time of Trajan (*C.I.L.* XI 3943=Dessau 7789). The god Asclepius, alone or with Hygeia, appears on coins of the time of Commodus (*Receuil* I p. 580, no. 30f.).

19. For Cius (Gemlik) see Strabo XII p. 563f.: Sölch *ibid.* p. 148f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XI 486f. For the foundation by Milesians see *Milet* I 3, p. 312f., no. 141 (see Chap. IV note 35): Aristotle frg. 514 Rose: Pliny *N.H.* V 144. According to a local legend (see Strabo p. 564), it was founded by a hero named

Cius, one of the Argonauts and a companion of Heracles. Heracles himself appears as κτίστης on coins of Claudius and Hadrian (*Receuil* I p. 317f.), and one of the city-tribes was called Ἡρακλεωτίς; see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 201f., no. 12 and XXIV (1900), p. 376f., no. 23, both of the imperial period. For the roads leading eastward through Nicaea see above note 14. Cius is described in Mela I 100 as *Phrygiae haud longe iacentis opportunissimum emporium*. For its early constitution see Aristotle *l.c.* About 360 B.C. Cius granted privileges to the *condottiere* Athenodorus in a decree passed [ἐν κυρίᾳ] ἐκκλησίᾳ on motion of the archons (?) and the *strategoi*; see L.W. 1140 = Michel 539 = Hicks-Hill² 126. For a decree conferring *proxenia*, perhaps also of the fourth century, see *C.I.G.* 3723. For the city-officials, an *epimenios*, a *prytanis* and *strategoi* see Chap. III notes 18, 21 and 29. For the tyrant Mithradates see Diodorus XVI 90, 2; XX 111, 4: Beloch *G.G.*² III 2, p. 150f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2157f. His nephew Mithradates was the first king of Pontus; see Chap. VIII note 34. For Myrleia (near Mudanya) see Perrot *Exploration*, p. 12: Hirschfeld in *R.E.* I 2664: Sölch, p. 154f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1104. For its foundation by Colophon see Mela I 99: Pliny *N.H.* V 143: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* This was doubted by Beloch (I 2, p. 242), but some of the coins issued in the fourth and third centuries show the same types as coins of Colophon; see *Receuil* I p. 246f.

20. Polybius XV 21, 3f.; XVIII 3, 12 and 4, 7 (= Livy XXXII 33, 16 and 34, 6): Strabo XII p. 563f. See also Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 582f. and Holleaux *Rome, la Grèce, etc.* p. 291, note 1 and above p. 14. Prusias I is referred to as the κηδεστής of Philip in Polybius XV 22, 1f. The new name of Cius appears as Προυσιεῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης in *C.I.L.* VI 1508 = *I.G.* XIV 1077 = *I.G.R.* I 139, as Προυσιέων τῶν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ on coins of the first century before Christ (*Receuil* I p. 315f.), and as Προυσιὰς ἡ Ἐπιθαλάσσιος in Memnon 41, 2, where, however, it is confused with Cierus (Prusias ad Hypium, see below note 21). The name Κιανῶν appears again on coins from Claudius onward (*Receuil* I p. 317f.). An inscription from Cius of the imperial period (*O.G.I.* 340) has been restored as [Προυσίας Βασι]λε[ὺς] Κ[α]λλίνεικος κτ[ίσ]της τῆς πόλεως, but an earlier copy (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 204, no. 19) reads Ἡράκλιος Καλλίνεικος, and it was shown by von Domaszewski in *Philol.* LXXI (1912), p. 320 that this refers to Hadrian. For the freedom of the city under the Romans see Strabo p. 564. The grant was probably made after the period when, perhaps under the Triumvirs, it was ruled by two women, Orsobaris Musa and Orodaltis, each of whom had the title of Βασίλισσα (*Receuil* I p. 316, nos. 26 and 27). The new name of Myrleia appears as Ἀπαμέων and Ἀπαμέων Μυρλεανῶν (or τῶν Μυρλεανῶν) on coins of 61-59 and 48/7 B.C.; see *Receuil* I p. 249f. The refoundation was attributed to Prusias I by Strabo (*l.c.*) and by Hermippus frg. 72 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 51), but to Nicomedes II by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Μύρλεια, where it is said that the King named it after his mother (the wife of Prusias II). The suggestion was made by Wilhelm (*J.O.A.I.* XI [1908], p. 75f.), on the basis of an inscription from the Piraeus which shows that Nicomedes's mother was named Apame, that Stephanus's version may be the correct one. This view

was accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1104f. and Jones *Cities*, p. 420, note 9, but, since the wife of Prusias I was Philip's sister (see above) and the wife of Prusias II was Philip's daughter (see below note 40), it is not improbable that both were named Apame. The remains of a Greek theatre, presumably dating from the rebuilding of the city, were seen by Perrot (*Exploration*, p.12f.). For Apameia as a Roman colony see Chap. XVII note 34.

21. For Prusias ad Hypium (Üsküb) see Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 31f.: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 20f.: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV p. 84f.: Leonhard *Paphlagonia*, p. 40. The connexion between Cierus and Heracleia Pontica, a Megarian-Boeotian settlement (see below note 23), is shown by the names of the city-tribes of Prusias, Μεγαρίς, Θηβαΐς and Διοννσιάς; see L.W. 1176 and 1177 (=*I.G.R.* III 64 and 68, incomplete): *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 435f., no. 26 (=*I.G.R.* III 65): *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 61f., nos. 207, 208 and 210 (=*I.G.R.* III 1421-1423) and nos. 209 and 211-13, which include also a tribe named Προυσιάς and eight others with imperial names from Julius Caesar to Faustina. Heracles appears as κτίστης on a coin issued under Domitian (*Receuil* I p. 604, no. 8), as also on coins of Heracleia (see below note 23). For Zipoetes's invasion of the territory of Heracleia and the city's recovery of Cierus and Tieium, apparently by purchase, from Nicomedes I see Memnon 10 and 16: Niese *G.M.S.* I p. 405 and II p. 75: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 419, note 6, where it is observed that the order of events as they appear in the fragments of Memnon is incorrect and that the recovery of the two cities is to be dated after the crossing of the Galatians into Asia. For the seizure of Cierus (and Tieium) by Prusias I and the renaming of the former see Memnon 27, 1 and 47, 1. Coins of the first century after Christ bear only the name Προυσιεῖς; later they have Προυσιέων πρὸς Ὕπίῳ; see *Receuil* I p. 604f. and *Num. Chron.* I (1921), p. 3. In inscriptions the usual form of the ethnicum is Προυσιεὺς ἀπὸ Ὑπίου; see *C.I.L.* VI 1508=*I.G.* XIV 1077=*I.G.R.* I 139: *I.G.* XIV 907 (ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπίου): *I.G.R.* III 57=1415: *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1855, p. 196, no. 21: *B.C.H.* XXII (1898), p. 494f., no. IV; XLVII (1923), p. 94, no. 33 (=*S.E.G.* II 428); LIX (1935), p. 153f., no. 48. It appears as πρὸς Ὕπιον in *I.G.R.* I 888 and as πρὸς Ὑπίῳ ποταμῷ in Ptolemy V 1, 3. Pliny (*N.H.* V 148) describes the city as *sub Hypio monte*. For a route leading northward to Dia (Akçakoca or Akçaşehir) on the Euxine (see below note 25) see von Diest, p. 86 and Leonhard, p. 38f.

22. For Bithynium (Bolu) see Strabo XII p. 565: Pliny *N.H.* V 149: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 42f.: A. D. Mordtmann in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1863, I p. 217f.: Ruge in *R.E.* III 542: Leonhard, p. 30f. The tradition (Pausanias VIII 9, 7) that it was settled by Arcadians from Mantineia was probably manufactured when the Mantineians built a temple of Hadrian's favourite, Antinous, a native of the city (see Chap. XXVI note 10); see Perrot, p. 43 and *Receuil* I p. 267. It was suggested by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 151) that Bithynium was a military colony founded to hold conquered territory. The founder, however, could not have been Nicomedes I, for Cierus, west of Bithynium, was not annexed to the kingdom until the time of Prusias I (see above

note 21). There is no evidence for the view of Ed. Meyer (*R.E.* III 517), followed by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 112) that it was founded by Ziaëlas. The only known tribes are the Ἀπολλωνίς (see Chap. I note 56) and the Σεβαστή; see *I.G.R.* III 72 (corrected by Perrot, p. 46, note 1) and 1424, both of A.D. 134. For the position of Bithynium on the road leading across Bithynia to Paphlagonia and Pontus see above note 11. It was also connected with the Euxine by a road which followed the course of the Büyük Su to its junction with the Billaeus and thence led along the latter to Tieium (see below note 28) near the mouth of the river, where it joined the coast road (see below note 25). A fragment of a milestone (*C.I.L.* III 345) was found at Bolu, and there are remains of pavement and an ancient bridge over the Büyük Su a short distance toward the northeast; about seventeen miles (in an air-line, much farther by the windings of the river) farther down stream are the ruins of a town and a fort which guarded the road, and, still farther down, remains of pavement and a bridge; see Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), p. 80f. On the left bank of the Billaeus, below the junction of the rivers, there are well-preserved stretches of ancient pavement and the ruins of a fort guarding a defile, as well as a milestone of Constantine, inscribed *a(b) Tio ci(vi)tate milia [passuum . . .]*; see Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 48; von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* XCIV p. 73: Mendel in *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 44: Kalinka in *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 54: *C.I.L.* III 14188⁴ = Kalinka *ibid.* 94, no. 64 (where the numeral is restored as XV). Bithynium seems also to have been connected with Heracleia Pontica by a road which led across the mountains from the ancient fort at Halahısar, five miles north-northwest of Bolu; see von Diest *ibid.* p. 61 and Leonhard *Paphlagonia*, p. 32. For the cheese from the Plain of Salona see Strabo *l.c.*: Pliny *N.H.* XI 241: Cuinet IV p. 511. For the hot springs see Mordtmann, p. 218: Cuinet IV p. 510f.: Murray *Handbook*, p. 6.

23. For the situation of Heracleia (Ereğli) see Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 38f.: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 15f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 79f.: K. Lehmann-Hartleben *Die antiken Hafenanlagen = Klio, Beiheft* XIV (1923), p. 130f.: Leonhard, p. 36. For the lighthouse depicted on its coins see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 251f. For the history of the city see J. Schneiderwirth *Heraclea am Pontos* (Heiligenstadt 1882), p. 7f. and *Das Pontische Heraklea* (Heiligenstadt 1885), p. 1f.: Beloch *G.G.*² III 1, p. 137f. and III 2, p. 94f.: Lenschau in *R.E.* XI 577f.: Laqueur in *R.E.* XVII 1610f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 591f. For Heracleia as a Megarian colony see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 2, 1: Diodorus XIV 31, 3: Arrian *Periplus* 13 Roos. For Boeotian settlers also see Ephorus frg. 83 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 259) = frg. 44 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 56): Nymphis frg. 2 (*F.H.G.* III p. 13): Scymnus 972f.: Pausanias V 26, 7: Justin XVI 3, 4f. See also Beloch *G.G.*² I 1, p. 259 and I 2, p. 233. This combination of settlers is borne out by the connexion with Cierus, where some of the city-tribes had Megarian and Boeotian names; see above note 21. Beloch pointed out (I 1, p. 259, note 5 and I 2, p. 100) that the tradition in Strabo XII p. 542 that Heracleia was a Milesian colony is worthless; for the original division of the *demos* into three tribes (Aeneas Tacticus 11, 10) was Dorian.

The mention of the Ionian tribe Βορεῖς (see Chap. III note 3) in *B.C.H.* XIII (1889), p. 316f., no. 26 may not be used as evidence, for Robert pointed out (*R. Phil.* LXII [1936], p. 113f.) that the inscription came from Heracleia-Perinthus (a colony of Samos). Dorian forms are found in the inscriptions, *e.g. C.I.G.* 4150 b: *I.G.R.* III 78 in the complete form given by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 245f.: *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 884, no. 50. The form Ἡρακλεωτᾶν appears on coins of the early third century before Christ (*Receuil* I p. 351f.). For the Acherusian Cave see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 2, 2: Diodorus XIV 31, 3: Apollonius Rhodius II 728f.: Ovid *Met.* VII 409f.: Mela I 103: Pliny *N.H.* VI 4; XXVII 4: Dionysius Periegetes 788f. For a grotto which may have been this cave see Perrot, p. 16f. and von Diest, p. 80. In the neighbourhood grew one of the poisons called *ἀκόνιτον*; see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* IX 16, 4: Strabo XII p. 543: Pliny *ll. cc.*: Wagler in *R.E.* I 1178f. For the head of Heracles on coins from the fifth century onward see *Receuil* I p. 345f.

24. For the Mariandyni see Plato *Leges* VI p. 776 C-D: Posidonius frg. 16 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 257) = frg. 8 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 227): Strabo XII p. 542: Pausanias V 26, 7: Beloch *G.G.*^{2} I 1, p. 259f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 1747f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 591. For the plain around Heracleia see Xenophon *Anab.* VI 2, 3. For the honey see Pliny *N.H.* XXI 74. For the nuts (*κάρυα Ἡρακλεωτικά*) see Theophrastus *Caus. Plant.* IV 2, 1: Athenaeus II 42f., pp. 53 D and 54 B: Macrobius *Sat.* III 18, 7: *I.G.* II^2 1013, l. 19. For the tree itself see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 15, 1. For the fishing (also at Tieium and Amastris) see Aelian *Hist. Anim.* XV 5. For the forests see Cuinet IV p. 515 and von Diest *ibid.* p. 78.

25. A road running up the Kılıç Su and across the Kara Dağ to the Billaeus was described by Ainsworth (*Travels* I p. 42f.). For a road to Bithynium see above note 22. The road leading along the Euxine coast from the Bosporus through Artane, Chelae, Heracleia, Tieium and Amastris to Sinope appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* IX 2-9 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 631f.). The names of many of the stations, as well as others not mentioned on the *Tabula*, including Calpe (Kerpe, *R.E.* X 1760), Dia (Akçakoca or Akçaşehir, *R.E.* V 299, no. 7) and Cales (Alaplı, *R.E.* X 1603), are listed in Arrian *Periplus* 17f. and *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 1f. The coast southwest of Heracleia was traversed by Ainsworth (I p. 34f.) and by Leonhard (*Paphlagonia*, pp. 35 and 37), who described it as very difficult because of the steep projecting cliffs. For the route between Heracleia and Tieium (Filyos, see below note 28) see von Diest *ibid.* p. 75f., who pointed out that the coast line is so broken by the deep cuts of the streams that the road, unless it was carried over these by viaducts (of which there are no traces), must have run some distance inland. From Tieium the road seems to have led eastward to Parthenium (Bartın), about ten miles from the coast, and thence northward to Amastris (Amasra, see below note 29); see Mendel in *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 43 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 291f. For a milestone erected in A.D. 78, which was found on the right bank of the Billaeus a short distance southwest of Tieium see Mendel, p. 39f., no. 188 = *C.I.L.* III 14188^8 = Kalinka in *J.O.A.I.*

XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 92, no. 62. Farther east, milestones no. VIII, erected by Antoninus Pius (A.D. 141) and Severus (A.D. 198), were published by Robert (*ibid.* p. 295f., nos. 3 and 4). A milestone of 198, reckoned from Amastris, was found at Bartın; see Mendel, p. 32, no. 177 = *I.G.R.* III 82 = 1429, with correction by Robert, p. 296, note 1. For traces of pavement between Bartın and Amasra and an inscription of the time of Claudius recording the cutting of the "mountain" at the defile of Kuş Kaya see von Diest *ibid.* p. 68 and Kalinka *ibid.* 53 and *C.I.L.* III 6983 = *I.G.R.* III 83 = 1431 = Dessau 5883 = Kalinka, 64f., no. 13. For the road west of Sinope see Chap. VIII note 21.

26. Callatis (near Mangalia, south of Costanza) and Chersonesus (near Sevastopol); see Scymnus 761f. and 822f.: Strabo VII pp. 308 and 319; XII p. 542: Memnon 21. Their foundation was dated in the late sixth century by Beloch (*G.G.*^{2} I 2, p. 234f.).

27. Theopompus frg. 200 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 311) = frg. 181 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 574): Isocrates *Epist.* 7, 12f.: Memnon 1-6: Trogus *Prol.* XVI: Justin XVI 4f.: Diodorus XV 81, 4; XVI 36, 3; 88, 5; XX 77, 1; 109, 6: Chion *Epist.* XII-XVII (Hercher *Epistolographi Gr.* p. 200f.): Aeneas Tacticus 12, 5: Polyaenus II 30: Suidas *s.v.* Κλέαρχος. See especially H. Apel *Die Tyrannis v. Heraklea* (Halle 1910). For the coins of Clearchus's sons see *Receuil* I p. 350f.

28. For Tieium, on a projecting headland and with a harbour formed by moles of "Cyclopean" construction, see Ainsworth *Travels* I p. 50f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 73f.: Mendel in *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 36f.: Robert in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 93f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 268f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 856f. It was a Milesian colony; see Scymnus 959f.: Mela I 104: Athenaeus VIII 2, p. 331 C: Arrian *Periplus* 13, 5 Roos: Beloch *G.G.*^{2} I 1, p. 258 and I 2, p. 100. According to Demosthenes of Bithynia quoted in Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Τίος, it was founded by Patarus, a Thracian chieftain who crossed over to Asia in the seventh century (Arrian frg. 60 Jac., *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 864). Tieium was included in the *sympoliteia* of Amastris (see below note 29) but refused to remain in the combination (Strabo XII p. 544). The earliest coins (*Receuil* I p. 616, nos. 1-3) were dated in the time of the tyranny by Ruge (*ibid.* 858), and the coin inscribed ἐλευθερία (*Receuil*, no. 4) was presumably issued after Heracleia freed Tieium from Nicomedes. For the seizure of Tieium by Prusias I see above note 21 and for a view that for a time in the second century it belonged to Eumenes II see Chap. I note 56.

29. For Amastris (Amasra), with its two harbours, see Ainsworth in *Geogr. Journ.* IX (1839), p. 234 and *Travels* I p. 56f.: von Diest *ibid.* p. 69f.: Hasluck in *B.S.A.* XVII (1910-11), p. 132: Kalinka in *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 52f. The site was that of Sesamus (Pliny *N.H.* VI 5), which is mentioned in *Iliad* II 853 and issued coins in the fourth century (*Receuil* I^2 p. 198f.). For the *sympoliteia* (soon after 300 B.C.) see Scymnus 962f.: Memnon

4, 10 and 7, 1: Strabo XII p. 544: Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ἄμαστρις. Besides Tieium (for a short time only), it included the old cities of Cytorus (Kidros, *R.E.* XII 224) and Cromna (site unknown, see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 262, note 1), which are mentioned in *Iliad* II 853-5. Robert observed (p. 263, note 1) that the various communities were united in one *polis* without the actual removal of the inhabitants. The known city-tribes are Ἀμ[α]στριάς, Δημητριάς, Διοσκουριάς and Ἀσκ[λ]ηπιάς; see Kalinka *ibid.* 68f., nos. 16 (=*A.M.* XII [1887], p. 182, no. 13), 18 (=*I.G.R.* III 87), 19 and 39 as emended by Wilhelm in *Gött. Gel. Nachr.* 1 *Fachgruppe* III (1939), p. 126f., all of the imperial period. For coins of the city inscribed Ἀμάστριος Βασιλίσσης see *Receuil* I² p. 172f. For the timber of the region see von Diest *ibid.* p. 67 and Robert, p. 276, note 2. For the boxwood and its uses see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 15, 5; V 3, 7; 7, 8: Strabo XII p. 545: Pliny *N.H.* XVI 71: Catullus 4, 11f.: Vergil *Geogr.* II 437: Ovid *Met.* IV 311: Blümner *Technologie u. Terminologie* II p. 252f.

30. For the "Northern League" see Chap. VIII note 36. For the aid furnished to Nicomedes I and Byzantium see Memnon 18 and 23. Previously, in 280 B.C., the navy of Heracleia had helped Ptolemy Ceraunus, who had made an alliance with the Northern League, to defeat Antigonus Gonatas; see Memnon 13: Justin XXIV 1, 8: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VII p. 99. For a naval expedition against the "tyrants" of the Cimmerian Bosporus see Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1347 B.

31. Memnon 26, where there is mention also of the treaty of "friendship and alliance" (see Chap. IV note 89). Heracleia was free in 180/79, when the city was one of the signatories of the treaty with Pharnaces (see Chap. VIII note 43).

32. For the early rulers of Bithynia see Memnon 20: J. Toepffer in *Herm.* XXXI (1896), p. 135: Ed. Meyer in *R.E.* III 515f.: Beloch *G.G.*² IV 2, p. 211f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, pp. 148 and 150: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 567f. The earliest known of the dynasts was Doedalses, who was ruling in 435, when a group of Athenians settled at Astacus (see above note 9); see Memnon 20, 1 and Strabo XII p. 563. The earliest mention of Zipoetes is in 315, when he was compelled by Polemaeus, Antigonus's nephew, to desist from besieging Astacus and Chalcedon and to enter into an alliance; see Diodorus XIX 60, 3: Plutarch *Quaest. Gr.* 49: Niese *G.M.S.* I p. 276. He was called Βασιλεὺς τῶν Βιθυνῶν by Diodorus, but this is evidently by anticipation, for he probably assumed the royal title in 298/7, the year from which, as was shown by Th. Reinach in *Num. Chron.* V (1905), p. 118 and *Receuil* I p. 217 (retracting the earlier date of 297/6, proposed in *Trois Royaumes*, p. 130f.), the Bithynian royal era was reckoned. According to Memnon 20, 3 and Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Ζιποίτιον, he founded a city called Zipoetium ὑπὸ τῷ Λυπερῷ ὄρει; this seems to be the place called τὸ Λύ[π]εδρον in *O.G.I.* 298 (see below note 39), but its situation has not been determined.

33. For Nicomedes I see Beloch IV 2, p. 212f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XVII 493f. For his coins, the earliest known of the Bithynian kings, inscribed Βασιλέως Νικομήδου see *Receuil* I p. 218f.

34. For Apollo, Artemis (or Bendis) and Ares (?) on Nicomedes's coins see *Receuil* I p. 218, no. 1f. For the sacrifices at Cos see Paton-Hicks 35. The mention in the letter of his son Ziaëlas to the Coans (see below note 35) of Nicomedes's friendship for them shows that the cult was established for Nicomedes I and not for one of the later monarchs of the name; see Herzog in *A.M.* XXX (1905), p. 180, followed by A. Neppi Modona *L'Isola de Coo* (Rhodes 1933), p. 183, note 3 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1529f., note 105. It was mistakenly assigned to Nicomedes III by Geyer *ibid.* 496. For the statue in Olympia see Pausanias V 12, 7.

35. For a coin inscribed Ζιαήλα Βασιλέως see *Receuil* I p. 219, no. 8. His accession to the throne was dated about 255 B.C. by Beloch (IV 2, p. 213). For his death (about 229) see Phylarchus frg. 32 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 341) = frg. 50 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 178) and Trogus *Prol.* XXVII. His conquests are known only from Stephanus Byzantius *s.vv.* Κρῆσσα and Ζῆλα, where it is stated that Ziaëlas captured a Paphlagonian city named Cressa and founded a city in Cappadocia called Zeïla. It has been widely supposed that Cressa was Crateia in western Paphlagonia (see Chap. VIII note 33); see Droysen *Hellenismus*[2] III 2, p. 262f.: Ed. Meyer in *R.E.* III 517: Beloch IV 1, p. 672, note 2: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 111f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 152. The identity of the two places, however, was questioned by Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1609, and it is indeed extremely doubtful; for the territories of Cierus and Bithynium lay between the Sangarius and Crateia, and Cierus was not annexed to Bithynia until the time of Prusias I (see above note 21). Crateia, accordingly, would have been entirely separated from the rest of Ziaëlas's dominions. It seems more probable, therefore, that Cressa is to be sought farther south, perhaps in the mountains of southwestern Paphlagonia. The connexion of a city in Cappadocia with Ziaëlas is impossible, for his conquests certainly did not extend so far to the east. It may be supposed that he added to his kingdom the northern watershed of the middle Sangarius and the region of Phrygia Epictetus (so Ernst Meyer, p. 112), which the Romans afterward forced Prusias I to cede to Eumenes II (see Chap. I note 56). For Ziaëlas's letter to Cos see *Syll.*[3] 456 = Welles, no. 25. See also Chap. III note 138 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 569. It was dated about 240 B.C. by Herzog in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 463f., who pointed one that the Ptolemy in question was Ptolemy III and not, as previously supposed, Ptolemy II.

36. For Prusias I see Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 662f. For his coins, inscribed Βασιλέως Προυσίου, see *Receuil* I p. 219f. For the war against Byzantium, the purpose of which was to compel the abolition of tolls on merchandise passing through the Bosporus, see Polybius III 2, 5 and IV 47f. and above p. 72. See also Niese *G.M.S.* II p. 383f. and Rostovtzeff,

pp. 673 and 679. It was probably with this alliance in view that Prusias made a present to the Rhodians after the great earthquake about 227; see Polybius v 90, 1 and Chap. III note 70. He had a grievance of his own against the Byzantines because, although they had sent representatives to the festival established by Attalus I in honour of Athena (see Chap. I note 26), they sent none to his festival of the Soteria (the occasion for which is unknown, see Holleaux *Études* II p. 62, note 4), and because they failed to erect the statues of him which they had decreed; see Polybius IV 49. When the war broke out, they made an effort to weaken him by setting up a rival claimant to the Bithynian throne, whose name is given as Τιβοίτης (probably an error for Ζιποίτης), described as a πάτριος ἀδελφός; see Polybius IV 50f. It was suggested by Reinach (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 101) and Niese (*G.M.S.* II p. 136, note 6) that he was one of the children of Nicomedes by his second wife, who had been driven out by Ziaëlas. According to Arrian frg. 75 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 600) = frg. 29 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 857f.), these children were named Prusias (ὁ Μονόδους), Ziaëlas and Lysandra. This is apparently an error, for Monodous (whose surname seems to have been due to the fact that instead of a row of upper teeth he had an undivided bone) is elsewhere called a son of Prusias II; see Livy *Per.* L: Festus p. 148 Müller: Pliny *N.H.* VII 69: Valerius Maximus I 8, *Ext.* 12. According to Suidas *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνιὰς Λίμνη (see below note 42), the name of this Monodous was Nicomedes.

37. Livy XXVIII 7, 10: Cassius Dio frg. 57, 58 Boiss. See above p. 13. According to Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*, "Prusias" fought against "Attalus" at Βοὸς Κεφαλαί (the site of which is unknown); this battle, however, as supposed by Bürchner (*R.E.* III 717) and Cardinali (*R.P.* p. 50, note 1), may have occurred in the war between Prusias II and Attalus II (see below note 42).

38. Memnon 27. See above note 21. The date of Prusias's attack on Heracleia is uncertain, for Memnon records only that it was "not many years" before his death. It was assumed by A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 152 (where the monarch is erroneously called Prusias II) that this campaign was subsequent to the King's acquisition of Cius and Myrleia in 202 (see above note 20).

39. Polybius III 3, 6; XXIII 1, 4 (=Livy XXXIX 46, 9); 3, 1f.; 5, 1: Livy XXXIX 51: Nepos *Hann.* 10f.: Trogus *Prol.* XXXII: Justin XXXII 4: Plutarch *Flam.* 20, 2: Appian *Syr.* 11: Pausanias VIII 11, 11: Zonaras IX 21, p. 455 C: Ampelius 34. A victory of Attalus [πρ]ὸ[ς Βιθ]υνοὺς κ[αὶ Γαλάτας π]ερὶ τὸ Λύ[π]εδρον is recorded in *O.G.I.* 298. As Lypedrum was presumably the mountain in Bithynia called Lyperum (see above note 32), it would seem that Attalus had taken the offensive. For the participation of the Galatians on the side of Prusias see Chap. I note 59. For the war see Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 70f.: C. Meischke *Zur Gesch. d. Königs Eum. v. Perg.* (Pirna 1905),

pp. 21f. and 28f.: Hansen *Attalids*, p. 93f. It began in 186 or 185 and was finished before December, 184 (see Chap. I note 59).

40. For Prusias's gifts to Didyma see *C.I.G.* 2855 = *R. Phil.* XXII (1898), p. 128f. = Haussoullier *Études*, p. 201f. and *R. Phil.* XXII p. 128, dated, respectively, in 178/7 and 167/6 B.C. by Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1923, VIII p. 19f., who connected the gifts with the defeat of Pharnaces in 179 and the Romans' conquest of Macedonia in 167. Aid rendered by Apollo of Didyma to Prusias is mentioned in Scymnus 55f. For his statue at Delphi see *I.G.* IX^2 184 = *Fouilles de Delphes* II 3, p. 264 = III 4, no. 76 = *Syll.*^{3} 632. Because of the erection of a similar statue to Eumenes II (see Chap. I note 68), the date of both was placed by Pomtow (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXIX [1909], 830) at the beginning of Prusias's reign. Prusias also rendered some favour to Aptera in Crete, which conferred *proxenia* on him and gave him the title of *Euergetes*; see *O.G.I.* 341. For his wife Apame, the sister of Perseus, see Livy XLII 12, 3 and 29, 3: Appian *Mith.* 2: *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 75 (see above note 20 and below note 45).

41. Polybius XXX 18(19) = Livy XLV 44, 19-20 = Diodorus XXXI 15 = Appian *Mith.* 2: Cassius Dio frg. 69 Boiss.: Plutarch *de Alex. Mag. Fort.* II 3 (where the incident is incorrectly connected with Nicomedes). Livy also relates (§4f.), on the authority of the *Latini Scriptores*, that Prusias, bringing with him his son Nicomedes, asked the Senate for the territory which had been taken from Antiochus but not assigned to anyone and at the time was held by the Galatians, and that the senators appointed the usual commission to investigate the matter. Since this incident, however, is not contained in the account of Polybius, its historicity is dubious; see also Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 201, note 2.

42. Polybius XXXII 15-16 (27-28) (157-156 B.C.); XXXIII 1, 1f.; 7 (9); 12-13 (156-154 B.C.): Diodorus XXXI 35: Appian *Mith.* 3. See also Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 326f., Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 772 and 800, Hansen *Attalids*, p. 125f. and above p. 28. For Prusias's raid on the Pergamene Kingdom see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 112f. According to this reconstruction (based on Polybius XXXII 15), Prusias, after sacking the Nicephorium and the Asclepieium outside Pergamum, attacked Elaea; then, after marching south past Cyme as far as the Hermus, he turned up the valley of this river past Temnus (where he burned the temple of Apollo Cynneius) and across the Hyrcanian Plain, plundering the temple at Hiera Come, to Thyateira, whence he returned *via* Stratoniceia on the Caïcus and central Mysia to Bithynia. The statement of Polybius (XXXIII 13, 9) that, after peace was made, Attalus withdrew his navy and his infantry to his own country suggests that he had finally received authorization to take the offensive and invaded Bithynia. This is perhaps borne out by a thank-offering dedicated at Pergamum by Attalus and [ο]*ἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύσα[ντες ἐπὶ Προυσίαν] καὶ πολιορκήσαντες αὐτ[ὸν . . .] παραβάντα τὰς διὰ Ῥωμαίους γε[νομένας συνθήκας]*; see *I.G.R.* IV 287 = *O.G.I.* 327. It is possible that the battle at

Βοὸς Κεφαλαί (see above note 37) was fought during this campaign. An invasion of Bithynia is suggested also by the statement in Suidas *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνιὰς Λίμνη that Attalus (*i.e.* Attalus II, see Büttner-Wobst in *Klio* v [1905], p. 103), fighting a battle against "Nicomedes Monodous," conquered his territory but was later compelled by the Romans to restore it. By "Nicomedes" either Prusias himself is meant or, more probably, his son Prusias Monodous (see above note 36). It seems probable that the thank-offering τῶγ κα[τὰ] πόλεμον ἀγ[ώνων] erected by Attalus at Pergamum to Zeus and Athena Nicephorus (*O.G.I.* 328 1) commemorated his success in this war.

43. Polybius XXXIII 13, 6f., where the cities which Prusias was compelled to indemnify are enumerated as Methymna, Aegae, Cyme and Heracleia. It has been generally supposed that the last of these was Heracleia Pontica. The suggestion was made, however, by Robert (*Ét. Anat.* p. 114f., followed by Hansen, p. 127) that it was a Heracleia situated in the region of Mt. Sipylus, south of the Hermus, and so on Prusias's line of march eastward (see above note 42.) The existence of this place was inferred by Ramsay (*J.H.S.* II [1881], p. 300 and *H.G.* pp. 12 and 109) from a boundary-stone of the fifth century before Christ, one side of which is inscribed ὅρια Ἡρακλεωτῶν (*Syll.*[3] 934); see Keil-Premerstein I p. 95 (where the site was placed at Emiralem, south-east of Menemen): Bürchner in *R.E.* VIII 430f.: Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1918), *Beibl.* 163, note 1, where it was identified with Heracleia πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κυμαίᾳ τῆς Αἰολίδος and Heracleia Λυδίας, both listed in Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* While there is no record of any part played by Heracleia Pontica in this war, it may well be that, following his father's example (see above note 38), Prusias had made some attack on the city or its territory; and it is difficult to believe that so insignificant a place as this Lydian Heracleia—if, indeed, it was in existence in the second century—would have been mentioned by Polybius without some qualifying description or that it would have been designated by the Senate, together with the three free cities, as the recipient of an indemnity.

44. For Nicomedes II see Geyer in *R.E.* XVII 494f. According to Polybius XXXII 16 (28), 4, he was sent to Rome by Prusias in 156 B.C. after the King's attack on Pergamum (see above note 42) to reply to the charges brought by Attalus II. According to Appian *Mith.* 4, he was in Rome in 155/4, when he was acting as envoy to obtain a remission of the indemnity which Prusias had been ordered to pay to Attalus. Appian relates also that Prusias had ordered Menas, a fellow-envoy, to kill Nicomedes, should he not obtain the remission. This appears as a definite plan, which led to the prince's plot against Prusias, in Justin XXXIV 4, 1 and Zonaras IX 28, p. 465 D. For Nicomedes's seizure of the throne and the Roman commission see Polybius XXXVI 14 (XXXVII 6): Livy *Per.* L: Diodorus XXXII 20f.: Strabo XIII p. 624: Appian *Mith.* 4f.: Justin XXXIV 4: Plutarch *Cat. Maj.* 9, 1: Zonaras *l.c.* See also Niese *G.M.S.* III p. 329f., Benecke in *C.A.H.* VIII p. 283 and Hansen *Attalids*, p. 129f.

45. The date of his accession was evidently 149 B.C., for in the narrative of Zonaras (*l.c.*) his revolt is placed immediately after the events in Africa which occurred under the Consuls of this year. This accords with the fact that the earliest dated coin of Bithynia bears his portrait and the date *θμρ'* (*Receuil* I p. 217), evidently reckoned, as was observed by Reinach (see above note 32), from an era beginning in 298/7. The surname Epiphanes appears both on his coins and in inscriptions; see *O.G.I.* 346: *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 75: *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 484, no. 11 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 93: *Ins. Priene* 55. For Massinissa see Durrbach, no. 93 (perhaps erected after the King's death in 148 B.C.). Nicomedes's cult in Priene is known from *Ins. Priene* 55, dated from no. 108, l. 329 as not earlier than 128/7. The sanctuary for his mother Apame (see above note 40) is known from *J.O.A.I. l.c.*, found in the Piraeus but possibly brought from some city in Asia Minor (*ibid.* p. 81f.).

46. For Nicomedes III see Geyer in *R.E.* XVII 496f. For a long time, because of the statements of Appian (*Mith.* 7 and 10) that Nicomedes Philopator (see below note 47) was the son of Nicomedes Epiphanes, no distinction was made between Nicomedes II and Nicomedes III, and it was supposed that the former ruled from 149 to 94 B.C. Reinach, however, showed (*L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 167f.) that they were two separate monarchs, and this view has now been generally accepted. It accords not only with the further statement of Appian (*Mith.* 7 *fin.*) that Bithynia was bequeathed to the Romans by the grandson of Epiphanes but also with that of Syncellus (pp. 525 and 593 Bonn) that there were eight kings of the country. Reinach pointed out that Nicomedes III was the Nicomedes Euergetes who, according to Licinianus (p. 29 Flemisch), owed his surname to his various benefactions, and that he was the Βασιλεὺς Νικομήδης Βασιλέως Νικομήδεος who together with Βασίλισσα Λαο[δίκα Βασιλέως Μι]θραδάτου was praised in a decree of Delphi; see *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4, 1, no. 77 = *O.G.I.* 345 and Schober in *R.E. Suppl.* V 97f., dated in 102/1 B.C. by G. Daux in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 77f. His name appears also on the base of a statue at Delos, *C.I.G.* 2279 = *O.G.I.* 346 = *Ins. Delos* 1579 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 101, in which the text of Tournefort (printed in *C.I.G.* and *O.G.I.*) reads Βασιλέως Νικομήδ[ου] τοῦ ἐ(κ)γόνου (for ΕΥΓΟΝΟΥ) Βασιλέως Νικομήδου Ἐπιφανοῦ[ς]. The emendation Εὐ(ερ)γ(έτ)ου, proposed by Reinach (p. 175), was accepted by Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I* XI (1908), p. 76f. and by Plassart in *B.C.H.* XXXVI (1912), p. 408f. It was pointed out, however, by Roussel in *Rev. Épigr.* I (1913), p. 31f. that a second copy, made by the Earl of Sandwich, shows τοῦ ἐγ Βασιλέως, κ.τ.λ. and that this is probably the correct reading; the surname, therefore, seems not to have been given. The inscription was dated by Plassart from the mention of the gymnasiarch Dioscurides in 127/6 B.C. Since Nicomedes II was alive in 128/7 (see above note 45), the accession of his son may be placed either in 128/7 or in 127/6. Nicomedes III was also honoured at Delos in *O.G.I.* 342 = *Ins. Delos* 2038 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 102, dated by the mention of the ἐπιμελητής Dionysius in 110/9; see Roussel *Délos, Colonie Athén.* (Paris 1916), p. 109.

47. For Nicomedes IV see Licinianus p. 28f. Flemisch: Memnon 30, 3: Appian *Mith.* 7 and 10 (where he is incorrectly said to be the son of Nicomedes II): "Capitoline Chronicle" (*I.G.* XIV 1297 = *I.G.R.* I 175). See also Geyer in *R.E.* XVII 497f. His surname Philopator is known from the "Chronicle," as well as from Licinianus and Appian. His mother's name appears in Licinianus (p. 29 Flemisch) as Aristonica; she is called Nysa in Memnon 30, 3, but as this was the name of Philopator's second wife (see below note 48), it is not improbable that the two have been confused. In the less trustworthy version contained in a speech attributed to Mithradates Eupator in Justin XXXVIII 5, 10 Nicomedes is represented as the son of a dancing-girl. The Senate's ratification of his accession is mentioned by Memnon and Appian. The statement of Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 113) that on his accession he killed his relatives is based solely on the mutilated text of Licinianus (p. 29 Flemisch) . . *truncatis* . . . , which was tentatively restored by Camozzi (in 1900) as ⟨*ob*⟩*truncatis* ⟨*propinquis quos sibi infestos putabat*⟩. For the inscription from Delos, [Νικο]μήδην [Βασιλέως] Νικομήδου [Εὐεργέτου ο]ἱ ἐφηβεύσαντε(ς), see *Ins. Delos* 1580 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 104 = *O.G.I.* 343, dated by the archon Diocles, whose year was placed between 105/4 and 103/2 by Roussel (*Délos, Col. Athen.* p. 374) and in 104/3 by Dinsmoor (*Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* [1939], p. 201); the date shows that this Nicomedes was the son (still prince) of Euergetes and that the latter's name, not that of Epiphanes, as in *O.G.I.*, should be restored. For Caesar see Suetonius *Jul.* 2; 22, 2; 49: Plutarch *Caes.* 1, 3: Cassius Dio XLIII 20, 2: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 78, 1. The visit was in 81/80 B.C., when he was sent to ask Nicomedes for ships to aid in the capture of Mitylene (see Chap. X note 41). It was referred to by Caesar himself as *hospitium regis Nicomedis* in his speech *pro Bithynis* (see below note 51).

48. Licinianus p. 30 Flemisch. It was pointed out by Flemisch in *Granius Licinianus, eine text-sprach. u. quellenkrit. Untersuchung* (Donauwörth 1900), p. 67, note 4 that there is no ground for the statement of Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 114), accepted by Ed. Meyer in *R.E.* III 521, that Nicomedes divorced or killed Nysa after Socrates had informed the King that he had been incited by her to rebel. As restored by Flemisch, the text of Licinianus reads: *Hanc (i.e. Nysam) Socrates ad* ⟨*Mithradatem*⟩ *refert regem* ⟨*ad*⟩ *bellum contra fratrem incitavisse.*

49. The death of Nicomedes is dated under the Consuls of 74 B.C. (Lucullus and Cotta) in Eutropius VI 6, 1, and this year has been generally accepted. An attempt to date his death in 75, made by Maurenbrecher (*C. Sall. Crispi Hist. Reliquiae* II pp. 89 and 228f.) was refuted by K. Bauhofer *Die Composition d. Hist. Sallusts* (Munich 1935), p. 19f. Tetradrachms bearing the date δκσ′ *i.e.* 224 (*Receuil* I p. 233) were used by Reinach (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 128 and *Mith. Eup.* p. 318, note 2), on the theory that the Bithynian royal era began in October 297 B.C. (see also *R.E.* I 635), to show that Nicomedes did not die until after October, 74. The evidence of these coins Maurenbrecher (*l.c.*) tried to explain away by the unconvincing hy-

pothesis that they were issued by the young man who claimed to be Nicomedes's son (see below note 50). The subsequent view of Reinach, however, that the Bithynian era was reckoned from October, 298 (see above note 32) dates these coins in 75/4 B.C. and thus makes it possible to place Nicomedes's death early in 74. For Nicomedes's bequest see Cicero *de Leg. Agr.* II 40: Livy *Per.* XCIII: Velleius Paterculus II 4, 1; 39, 2: Appian *Mith.* 7 and 71; B.C. I 111: Arrian frg. 24, 4 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 591) = frg. 14 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 855) = *Bith.* frg. 1, 4 Roos: Eutropius *l.c.*: Festus *Brev.* 11, 1: Ampelius 34. A divergent statement in the *Scholiasta Gronovianus* to Cicero (p. 316 Stangl) reads as follows: *Iste (i.e. Nicomedes) mortuus est intestatus: pervenit ergo eius regnum ad populum Romanum. Misit ergo populus Romanus ad regnum illud tenendum Ariobarzanen.* This was supposed by Maurenbrecher (*ibid.* I p. 59 and *Jahresber.* CXIII [1902], p. 246) to have been ultimately derived from Sallust. Basing his argument on this theory, Maurenbrecher maintained that Nicomedes really died intestate, and that the story that he bequeathed his kingdom to Rome was an invention of some Roman annalist, which was taken over by Livy and so transmitted to all our later sources. This view found a certain amount of approval from T. Rice Holmes (*Roman Republic* I p. 398), who characterized the grounds for the annexation of Bithynia as "at least suspicious." Apart, however, from the danger of accepting a statement so inaccurate as to relate that the Romans granted Bithynia to Ariobarzanes, these scholars have overlooked the fact that Cicero (*l.c.*) spoke of Bithynia as an *hereditas.* Since this was in 63, eleven years after Nicomedes's death, it is difficult to suppose that the bequest was the mere fiction of an annalist established in that short interval. A similar scepticism concerning the bequest of Attalus III was disproved by the inscription which mentions his will (see Chap. I note 93).

50. Sallust *Hist.* II 71 Maur. This young man is presumably referred to in a passage of a "letter" of Mithradates Eupator to the Parthian monarch, composed by Sallust (*Hist.* IV 69, 9 Maur.): *Bithyniam Nicomede mortuo diripuere, cum filius Nysa, quam reginam appellaverat, genitus haud dubie esset.* On the basis of this passage it has been supposed by modern historians that Mithradates invaded Bithynia on the plea of restoring an alleged son of Nicomedes Philopator to the throne; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 322; Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 143: Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 383: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2181: Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 358. This supposition, however, is unfounded; for even if the statement here imputed to Mithradates could be regarded as historical, it would be impossible to make any such deduction from it. The whole tendency of the "letter," moreover, is shown in the preceding sentence, in which the words *simulatoque impio testamento* are applied to the will of Attalus III.

51. Velleius Paterculus II 42, 3. For Juncus see Chap. X note 44. A speech of Caesar's *pro Bithynis*, in an extant fragment of which (Gellius V 13, 6) Juncus was addressed, is usually connected with this visit and dated in 74; see *e.g.* Münzer in *R.E.* X 954. It was observed by H. Dahlmann, however,

in *Herm.* LXXIII (1938), p. 343f. that the content of the fragment seems to indicate that the speech was delivered in court, in a suit in which Caesar was advocate for the Bithynians and Juncus was either the opposing counsel or the defendant. The latter alternative, by which Juncus was represented as being prosecuted by the Bithynians on a charge of *res repetundae* about 73 B.C., although preferred by Dahlmann, seems improbable; for it is hard to believe that the newly-organized province, in a year in which western Asia Minor was thrown into a state of terror by Mithradates's invasion, could, have attempted to accuse its first governor of extortion.

CHAPTER XIV

1. For Mithradates's negotiations with Sertorius see Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 9; *pro Mur.* 32: Sallust *Hist.* II 78-79 Maur.: Livy *Per.* XCIII: Orosius VI 2, 12: Florus II 10, 4: Plutarch *Sert.* 23f.: Appian *Mith.* 68 and 112. For the Milesian ship see Cicero *II Verr.* I 87 and Ps.-Asconius p. 244 Stangl and above p. 247. Münzer dated the beginning of the negotiations in 79 and the journey of the two agents to Spain in 76; see *R.E.* VI 1992 and XIV 439. The actual alliance was probably concluded in 75; see T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Republic* I p. 375: A. Schulten *Sertorius* (Leipzig 1926), p. 107, note 516: H. Berve in *Herm.* LXIV (1929), p. 201: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2180. Sertorius's refusal to surrender the province of Asia is recorded by Plutarch; according to Appian (68), the whole of Asia Minor, including not only the province and Bithynia but also Cappadocia, Paphlagonia and Galatia, was ceded. This statement has been generally attributed either to ignorance on Appian's part or to a confusion between Mithradates's demand and the terms on which Sertorius accepted his offer; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 315f.: W. Stahl *de Bello Sertoriano* (Erlangen 1907), p. 72: T. Rice Holmes I p. 378f.: Schulten *ibid.* p. 106f.: Geyer *l.c.* The view that Sertorius refused to cede the province of Asia was expressed also by Gelzer in *Phil. Woch.* LII (1932), 1129f., who based his argument on the theory that the chapters of Plutarch in question were not derived from the same source as the rest of the *Vita* (*i.e.* Sallust's *Historiae*) and on the difficulty of believing that Sertorius, who intended to make himself master of Italy, would have consented to give up Rome's richest province. On the other hand, the truth of Plutarch's statement was questioned by Berve (p. 202f.), who, pointing out the apologetic tendency of this part of the *Vita*, attributed the story of the refusal to the biographer's desire to clear Sertorius of the charge of surrendering Roman territory and pointed out that it is highly improbable that Mithradates would have consented to send money and ships without a greater concession on Sertorius's part than permission to occupy those portions of Asia Minor which did not belong to Rome. It may be assumed, therefore, that the refusal of Sertorius, if made at all, was overruled, but it must be taken into consideration that this part of the *Vita* is not wholly accurate, as is shown by the account of Marius's position in Asia (see below note 10). This man is called M. Marius by Plutarch (*Sert.* 24, 3 and *Luc.* 8, 5 and 12, 5) and by Orosius (*l.c.*), but M. Varius by Appian (*Mith.* 68; 70; 76; 77). Marius is the correct form; see Münzer in *R.E.* XIV 1818f.

2. This is the estimate of Plutarch (*Luc.* 7, 4), according to whom Mithradates had 120,000 men κατεσκευασμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα Ῥωμαϊκήν; according to Appian *Mith.* 69, his infantry numbered 140,000 and his cavalry 16,000. The infantry was estimated at 150,000 by Strabo (XII p. 575) and Memnon (37, 2); according to the latter, he had 12,000 horsemen and 120 scythed chariots. The number 300,000, given by Appian in *Mith.* 72 as the total of the King's forces at Cyzicus, included non-combatants and presumably the soldiers and sailors of his fleet; even so, it is undoubtedly exaggerated.

3. For the commands assigned to Cotta and Lucullus and their forces see Cicero *pro Mur.* 33: Plutarch *Luc.* 6, 5f.: Memnon 37, 1 and 40, 1: Appian *Mith.* 72: Cassius Dio XXXVI 14, 3 and 16, 3: Eutropius VI 6, 2. Cotta, in addition to his fleet, had a force of infantry at Chalcedon; see Memnon 39, 1. For Lucullus's appointment to the proconsulship of Cilicia and the legions of Servilius see Chap. XII notes 31 and 32. For the legions of Fimbria see above p. 233. According to Plutarch (8, 5), Lucullus had 30,000 foot-soldiers and 2500 horsemen; according to Appian, 30,000 foot and 1600 horse. It was pointed out by K. Eckhardt in *Klio* X (1910), p. 77 that, in view of the great number of Mithradates's cavalry, Plutarch's estimate is the more probable. The suggestion of Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 385 that this was the size of his force after the addition of the cavalry of Deiotarus, who defeated Eumachus (see Chap. XII note 33), cannot be accepted, for Plutarch's estimate refers to Lucullus's forces at the time of his march to Cyzicus.

4. As far as known, his legates were: C. Valerius Triarius, who had seen service in Sardinia against the partisans of Lepidus (Asconius p. 22 Stangl); see *Ins. Delos* 1855 (=Durrbach *Choix*, no. 160=*O.G.I.* 447=Dessau 8774), 1856 (=Durrbach, no. 159) and 1857 (see below note 20): Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 1: Appian *Mith.* 77 and 88: Memnon 41f. and 48f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 10, 1f. and 12, 1f. L. Licinius Murena, son of Sulla's successor in Asia and Consul in 62 B.C.; see Cicero *pro Mur.* 20; 34; 89: Plutarch *Luc.* 15, 1; 19, 7; 25, 5f.; 27, 2: Phlegon frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 606) =frg. 12, 3 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1163f.). M. Fabius Hadrianus; see Plutarch *Luc.* 17, 1 and 35, 1: Appian *Mith.* 88 and 112: Phlegon *l.c.*: Cassius Dio XXXVI 9, 2f. Sornatius, presumably identical, as was pointed out by Groebe in *A.M.* XXXIII (1910), p. 139f. with [C. So]rnatius, honoured as πρεσ[βευτής] in *I.G.R.* IV 437; see Plutarch *Luc.* 17, 1; 24, 1; 30, 3; 35, 1. Sextilius; see Plutarch *Luc.* 25, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 84: Cassius Dio XXXVI 3, 2. C. Salluvius Naso; see below note 15. It is doubtful, however, whether Voconius and Barba, who held commands after the relief of Cyzicus (see Plutarch *Luc.* 13, 1: Appian *Mith.* 77: Memnon 41, 1) were legates.

5. For this campaign see Mommsen *R.G.*[7] III p. 57f.=Eng. Trans. IV p. 325f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 321f.: H. Bernhardt *Chron. d. Mithr. Kriege*, p. 19f.: T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I pp. 178f. and 398f.: Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 358f.: Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 384f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2181f. The arrival of Lucullus and Cotta in Asia and the invasion of Mithradates were dated in 74 B.C. by Mommsen, Bernhardt, Rice Holmes, Gelzer, Ormerod, and Maurenbrecher (*C. Sall. Crispi Hist. Reliquiae* I pp. 47f. and 82 and II p. 288f.); but in 73 by Reinach, Geyer, P. Jürges *De Sall. Hist. Reliquiis* (Einbeck 1892), p. 24f. and Brandis in *R.E.* III 524. According to Appian *Mith.* 70 and 71, Mithradates, setting out at the beginning of spring, invaded Bithynia Νικομήδους ἄρτι τεθνεῶτος. Since Nicomedes appears to have died early in 74 (see Chap. XIII note 49), it would, indeed, seem that the invasion occurred in the early summer of this year and that the siege of Cyzicus, which had already begun when "winter was drawing near" (Appian 72),

is to be dated in the winter of 74/3. In support of this date it has been argued that Lucullus and Cotta, in connexion both with their departure from Rome and with their success and failure, respectively, in Asia, are described as *Consuls* in Cicero *pro Mur.* 33, Livy *Per.* XCIII and XCIV and Eutropius VI 6, 2f., and that therefore they left Rome early in 74, long before the expiration of their office. Bernhardt adduced as further evidence the statement of Orosius (VI 3, 1) that in the year of Mithradates's withdrawal from Cyzicus Catiline was accused and acquitted of the seduction of the Vestal Fabia; he dated these events in 73 on the ground that Cicero, in describing (*in Cat.* III 9) the year 63 as *annus decimus post Virginum absolutionem*, was alluding to this seduction. Little value may be attached to the argument based on the application of the word *Consuls* to Lucullus and Cotta; for, as Mommsen observed (*R. St. R.* II[3] p. 240f., note 5), *consul* was frequently used incorrectly for *pro consule*, and in the present cases the term seems to be merely descriptive and does not necessarily date the events in question. It is difficult, moreover, to believe that the two men went to Asia Minor early in 74. Bithynia, after the claim of the self-styled son of Nicomedes had been rejected on the evidence of some of the inhabitants of the country who had come to Rome for the purpose, had been annexed as a province and placed under the administration of Juncus, governor of Asia in 75/4 (see Chap. XIII notes 50 and 51); by the time of Mithradates's arrival in Bithynia the *publicani* were already established in the new province and had won the inhabitants' hatred, so that the cities welcomed the King (Memnon 38, 2f. and Plutarch *Luc.* 7, 5). Lucullus was not appointed governor of Cilicia until after the death of Octavius, who had gone to the province early in 74 as the successor of Servilius Isauricus; see Chap. XII note 31. Even had Octavius died immediately on his arrival, the bringing of the news of his death to Rome, the appointment of Lucullus both to the governorship of the province and (subsequently) to the command of the war, the removal of the two Cilician legions to Asia and the enrollment of the new legion (see above note 3) could not have taken place rapidly enough to enable Lucullus to arrive in Asia in the early summer of 74. The argument based on Catiline's seduction of Fabia, moreover, was refuted by Jürges (p. 29, note 1), who pointed out that there is not necessarily any connexion between this act and the acquittal of the Vestals mentioned by Cicero, since the latter were probably those who were successfully defended by M. Pupius Piso (Cicero *Brut.* 236). While it is not impossible that Lucullus and Cotta had arrived in their provinces by the end of 74, the invasion cannot have taken place before 73. It is evidently dated correctly by Velleius Paterculus (II 33, 1), according to whom Lucullus withstood Mithradates seven years before the passage of the *Lex Manilia* in 66. The ἄρτι τεθνεῶτος of Appian, therefore, may not be taken literally.

6. Appian *Mith.* 70: Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm.* XXII 158f. For the sanctuary of Zeus Stratius near Amaseia see Chap. VIII note 12. For a similar sacrifice performed by Mithradates in 82 see above p. 245. The scene of the sacrifice to Poseidon is not recorded in either of our sources. But since its purpose was evidently to ensure a favourable voyage for the fleet, it was pre-

sumably offered at Sinope, the naval base, where there was a cult of Poseidon Heliconius (see Chap. VIII note 19).

7. According to Memnon 37, 2, Mithradates arrived in Bithynia "on the ninth day," but there is no indication of the place from which this is reckoned. For his probable route see Chap. VIII note 33 and Chap. IX note 25.

8. Plutarch *Luc.* 8, 1f.: Appian *Mith.* 71: Cicero *pro Mur.* 33: Memnon 39, 1f.: Livy *Per.* XCIII: Eutropius VI 6, 2: Orosius VI 2, 13. In Appian's narrative the naval commandant is called Nudus; according to Orosius, the name of the Roman leader who was defeated at Chalcedon was Publius Rutilius. Appian relates that Nudus was rescued, Orosius that Rutilius was killed in battle. Nevertheless, Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 323), followed by Münzer in *R.E.* I A 1268, combined the two into one man, P. Rutilius Nudus, whose name appears in Asconius p. 13 Stangl. The Roman loss of 5300, as recorded by Memnon, is probably exaggerated. Plutarch's estimate of 4000 may refer either to the land-battle or to the naval engagement, while the 3000 recorded by Appian may be regarded as the loss in the latter, although he mentions the loss of 20 of Mithradates's Bastarnians, who were in the land-army. The casualties in the naval battle were placed by Memnon at 8000 killed and 4500 captured, but this is probably also an over-estimate.

9. Memnon 38. Aristonicus appears as the name of Mithradates's admiral in Plutarch *Luc.* 11, 5. In Memnon's narrative (*l.c.* and 40, 2) he is called Archelaus, presumably through confusion with Mithradates's former general of this name, who had deserted to Murena (see above p. 243) and was at this time with Lucullus (see above p. 326). The presence of the troops from Cyzicus may be inferred from the statement of Plutarch (*Luc.* 9, 1) that the city lost ten ships and 3000 men at Chalcedon and that of Appian (*Mith.* 73) that Mithradates held 3000 Cyzicenes as captives.

10. For the blockade of Chalcedon see Plutarch *Luc.* 8, 2 and Appian *Mith.* 71. Cotta is not heard of again until just before Mithradates's final withdrawal from Bithynia, when he came out to meet Triarius; see Memnon 42, 1 and above p. 331. His "liberation" by Lucullus is recorded in the *elogium* of the latter erected by Augustus (*C.I.L.* I² p. 196, no. XXI = Dessau 60). The capture of the Bithynian cities may be inferred from the statements of Appian (*Mith.* 77), Memnon (41, 1f.) and Orosius (VI 2, 23) that, after Mithradates's withdrawal from Cyzicus, Lucullus's subordinates captured Nicaea, Apameia, Prusa and Prusias (Cius). The last two were evidently confused by Appian, who mentions only Prusias but describes it as ἡ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει, evidently meaning Prusa at the foot of Mt. Olympus. For the mention of a siege in an inscription found at Prusa but probably from Cyzicus see Chap. XIII note 18. Nicomedeia seems later to have been Mithradates's headquarters (Appian 76). For the presence of Marius in the King's army see Plutarch *Sert.* 24, 3f., where it is related that, bearing the fasces, he entered τινὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἀσιάδων in company with Mithradates, who willingly took δευτέραν

τάξιν καὶ σχῆμα θεραπεύοντος, while Marius granted freedom to some of the cities and in Sertorius's name promised exemption from taxes to others, thereby arousing in "Asia" the hope of deliverance from the *publicani*. The truth of this narrative was questioned by Berve in *Herm.* LXIV (1929), p. 209f. on the ground that it is highly improbable that Mithradates would have placed himself in a subordinate position and that this part of the narrative is fictitious and in keeping with the encomiastic character of this *Vita* (see above note 1). If we accept the statement that Sertorius refused to cede the province of Asia to Mithradates (Plutarch 23, 4f. see note 1), it might be supposed that Marius acted as proconsul of the province and so bore the fasces. But, with the possible exception of Lampsacus and Parium, which Mithradates may have seized either just before or during the siege of Cyzicus (see below note 11), the King did not enter any of the cities of the province; see also Rice Holmes *Roman Rep.* I p. 403. If by πόλεις τῶν Ἀσιάδων the Asianic cities in general are meant, there was no reason why Marius should carry the fasces, for, according to Plutarch, Sertorius had consented to cede Bithynia.

11. The capture of Parium and Lampsacus may be inferred from the statement of Appian (*Mith.* 76) that Mithradates, after his withdrawal from Cyzicus, retreated to these cities. It was supposed by Reinach (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 200 and *Mith. Eup.* p. 331, note 3) that coins of Mithradates, dated in the years 224 and 225 of the Pontic era, *i.e.* between October, 74 and October, 72 (*Receuil* I² p. 20), were minted at Parium. If this is so, it would show that the city was in the King's hands in the late summer of 73 and the following winter. The time when the ships were sent to Sertorius is uncertain, but it was presumably not before the Pontic fleet reached the Propontis and probably before the beginning of the winter of 73/2. For their capture on their return-voyage see below note 25.

12. According to Plutarch (*Luc.* 8, 1), Lucullus was in Phrygia when Cotta was defeated; according to Memnon (39, 3), he was encamped on the Sangarius when he received the news of the defeat. It was supposed by Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 385 that this encampment was on the lower course of the river and that Lucullus was planning to enclose Mithradates between his own army and that of Cotta and so compel him to surrender. It is hard to believe, however, that Lucullus expected to enclose so large a force between the two small Roman armies. If Plutarch's statement that he was in Phrygia is correct, it seems more probable that Memnon was referring either to the middle course of the Sangarius, near the boundary between Phrygia Epictetus and Bithynia (see Chap. I note 56), or to its upper course near Gordium. If so, Lucullus was marching northeastward, *i.e.* toward Pontus (see above Chap. XII note 31).

13. Plutarch *Luc.* 8, 5f.: Livy *Per.* XCIV. According to Plutarch, the phenomenon occurred in Phrygia περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὀτρύας. This was identified by Ramsay (*B.C.H.* VI [1882], p. 508, note 1 and *H.G.* p. 189) with

Otroea; if so, Lucullus may be supposed to have been marching from Phrygia to Prusa; see Chap. XIII note 17.

14. Orosius VI 2, 16f., where this man is mentioned by his praenomen Mamercus. Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 386 suggested that he was a son of Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, Consul in 77 B.C. The date is uncertain, but since the episode was related by Livy in Book XCIV (Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* IX 712) and so before the repulse of Mithradates from Cyzicus, it seems to have taken place in the autumn of 73 or during the following winter.

15. This is an inference from *C.I.L.* I² 743 = *I.G.* XIV 1121 = *I.G.R.* I 401 = *O.G.I.* 445 = Dessau 37, a monument erected to C. Salluvius C. f. Naso *leg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore)* by the *Mysei Ab[b]aitae et Epict[ete]s, i.e.* the inhabitants of Abbaïtis in eastern Mysia (see Chap. II note 2) and the adjacent Phrygia Epictetus, *quod eos bello Mitrhida[ti]s conservavit.* This "preservation" was dated in 73/2 by Reinach in *R. Phil.* XIV (1890), p. 146f. and *Mith. Eup.* p. 329, but there is no ground for his assumption that Naso was acting as governor of Asia. Another body of Pontic troops was defeated by Caesar, who, after the punishment of his pirate-captors (see Chap. X note 44), remained in Rhodes; see Suetonius *Jul.* 4, 2. It was shown by Jürges (*De Sall. Hist. Rel.*, p. 25, note 3) that this took place in 73.

16. For the siege of Cyzicus see Plutarch *Luc.* 9f.: Appian *Mith.* 72f.: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 20; *pro Mur.* 33; *pro Arch.* 21: Scholia Gronov. p. 318 Stangl: Sallust *Hist.* III 26f. and IV 69, 14 Maur.: Strabo XII p. 575f.: Livy *Per.* XCV: Florus I 40, 15f.: Orosius VI 2, 14f.: Eutropius VI 6, 3: Frontinus *Strat.* III 13, 6 and IV 5, 21: Obsequens 60: Diodorus frg. 33 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. XXIV): Memnon 40: Velleius Paterculus II 33, 1: Tacitus *Ann.* IV 36, 3: Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm.* II 511f. and XXII 163f. For the situation of the city see Chap. III note 115.

17. This place, called Adrasteia, had been occupied by Mithradates; see Plutarch, Appian and Strabo *ll. cc.* According to Appian, Lucullus seized it with the treasonable aid of Magius. It was identified by Hasluck (*Cyzicus*, p. 48) with the hill of Delikli Bayır, immediately south of the isthmus. According to Plutarch, Lucullus had previously been encamped *περὶ Θρᾳκίαν λεγομένην Κώμην*, the site of which has been identified by an inscription of the *Θρᾳκιοκωμῆται* (or *κατοικοῦντες Θρᾳκίαν Κώμην*) as Mahmum Köy, west of Bandırma; see Hasluck in *J.H.S.* XXIV (1904), p. 21f., no. 4 and XXVI (1906), p. 29 and *Cyzicus*, p. 50. It was evidently a village belonging to Cyzicus (see Chap. III note 41).

18. The estimates vary somewhat: 15,000 men and 6000 horses captured (Plutarch *Luc.* 11, 3 and Appian *Mith.* 75); 15,000 killed (Orosius VI 2, 15, presumably from Livy); over 10,000 killed and 13,000 captured (Memnon 40, 1). For the estimates of Mithradates's cavalry at the beginning of the war (12,000 and 16,000) see above note 2. The defeat of Eumachus was mentioned by Appian (*l.c.*) in connexion with this battle.

19. This battle was fought on the river Aesepus, according to Appian (*Mith.* 76) and Memnon (40, 5), but near the Granicus, about eighteen miles farther west, according to Plutarch (*Luc.* 11 6). Florus relates (1 40, 17) that both rivers were red with blood. The Pontic loss was estimated at 20,000 by Plutarch, at over 11,000 by Orosius (VI 2, 20). According to Appian (*l.c.*), Mithradates carried away the inhabitants of Lampsacus, but is seems highly improbable that he would have burdened himself with a large number of useless persons.

20. Plutarch *Luc.* 12, 1: Appian *Mith.* 77. Two *νῆες δίκροτοι* (the Athena and the Parthenos) from Miletus and one (the Athena) from Smyrna appear in monuments in honour of the legate Triarius erected at Delos by the *συνστρατευσάμενοι* in each of the vessels; see *Ins. Delos* 1855-1857 and above note 4. The erection of similar monuments was perhaps recorded in two other, fragmentary, inscriptions, *Ins. Delos* 1858 and *B.C.H.* XXXII (1908), p. 418, no. 10 *bis*. As Fougères (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 267), followed by Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 447, note 1), pointed out, the mention of the construction of "the wall" and "the tower" in nos. 1855 and 1857, respectively, is presumably to be connected with Triarius's fortification of Delos in 69 B.C. after the island had been plundered by the pirate Athenodorus; see Phlegon frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 606) = frg. 12, 13 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1164). It seems probable that the previous naval service which is implied in the participle *συνστρατευσάμενοι* was performed under Lucullus.

21. The view of Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2183) that Mithradates was discouraged by the cessation of opposition to Rome resulting from Sertorius's death (see above p. 326) is more convincing than that of Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 331) that the death of Sertorius put an end to the King's hope of establishing a legal claim to non-Roman Asia Minor. For Mithradates's flight and the disaster see Sallust *Hist.* III 54-56 and IV 69, 14 Maur.; Plutarch *Luc.* 13, 2f.: Appian *Mith.* 78: Memnon 42, 2f.: Livy *Per.* XCV: Florus 1 40, 18f.: Orosius VI 2, 24. He lost 60 ships according to Appian, 80 according to Orosius.

22. This is the estimate recorded in Eutropius VI 6, 3. The number 300,000 (including the baggage-train) given by Plutarch (*Luc.* 11, 6) and Orosius (VI 2, 19) is undoubtedly too great; it is perhaps based on the exaggerated estimate of his total strength at Cyzicus (see above note 2).

23. His line of march is uncertain. The statement of Eutropius (VI 8, 2) that, on his way to Pontus, he reconquered both Bithynia and Paphlagonia suggests that he went by way of the Billaeus and the Amnias, the route probably used by Mithradates on his march westward; see Chap. VIII note 33 and above note 7. This was apparently the view of Sölch in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 164, who suggested that Lucullus went by way of Bithynium. On the other hand, according to Plutarch (*Luc.* 14, 1), he marched "through Bithynia and Galatia," and this was accepted by Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 56, F. Guse in *Klio* XX (1926), p. 333f. and Ormerod in *C.A.H.* IX p. 363. Guse

supposed that he went to Ancyra and thence either down the Halys to the crossing at Osmancik or by the road leading (farther east) through Çorum to the plain of Chiliocomum (see Chap. VIII note 5). The latter was the route suggested by Munro. It is a question, however, whether the statement of Plutarch that Lucullus marched through Galatia did not arise from the General's use of Galatian porters. It is difficult to see why he should have chosen this route, which would have involved a long detour southward from Nicomedeia. It would, furthermore, have brought him to the neighbourhood of Amaseia, which was not captured until two years later (see below note 43). The argument of Munro that Lucullus left Amaseia "unmolested" at this time in order to establish communications with his fleet is unconvincing; for the fleet was still in the Propontis and did not reach even Heracleia until the summer of 71 (see above p. 340). There is also little ground for the argument advanced by Ormerod, namely, that there were Pontic garrisons in the cities of the coast; for the Amnias route lies far from any of these. It seems more probable, therefore, that Lucullus used this route and that, after reaching Phazimonitis (see Chap. VIII note 6), he went northward to Amisus by the road leading over the coast-range by the pass of Kavak (see Chap. VIII note 25). If Lucullus had 30,000 men in his army (see above note 3), the supply of grain which he took with him (Plutarch *l.c.*) was sufficient for a march of six weeks; for, according to Polybius VI 39, 13 (cited by Gelzer in *R.E.* XIII 389), each legionary soldier was allowed two thirds of an Attic *medimnos* (1½ bushels) of wheat per month.

24. For the siege of Amisus and of Themiscyra see Plutarch *Luc.* 14, 2f.: Appian *Mith.* 78: Sallust *Hist.* III 58 Maur. Since, according to Plutarch 33, 3, the army spent two successive winters in camp, the first before Cyzicus and the second before Amisus, this was evidently the second winter of the war. Both Plutarch (15, 1) and Appian (79) relate that "after the winter was over" ("in the beginning of spring") Lucullus set out to attack Mithradates in Cabeira, where the King had spent the previous winter (Appian 78). On the other hand, it is stated in Phlegon frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 606) = frg. 12, 3 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1163) that in Ol. 177, 1 (midsummer 72 to midsummer 71) Lucullus, leaving the prosecution of the siege of Amisus to Murena, advanced to Cabeira, *ὅπου διεχείμαζε*. This statement the proponents (Maurenbrecher and Bernhardt) of the view that the war began in 74 (see above note 5) used to defend their theory, maintaining that the winter of 72/1 (which, according to Phlegon, Lucullus spent at Cabeira) was the third winter of the war. This argument, however, cannot be accepted. It was pointed out by Rice Holmes (*Rom. Rep.* I p. 401f., where, nevertheless, the view that the war began in 74 is upheld) that it presupposes a whole summer for the advance of Lucullus over the comparatively short distance from Amisus to Cabeira, in the course of which the Romans met with no opposition. Moreover, as Jürges observed (*De Sall. Hist. Rel.* p. 30f.), it is inconsistent with the chronology of Phlegon himself, since both a siege of Amisus in the winter of 73/2 and an advance to Cabeira in the following spring could not have been included in Ol. 177, 1 if this began in midsum-

mer 72. The attempt of Jacoby (*F. Gr. Hist.* II BD, pp. 664 and 838) to show that Phlegon synchronized the Olympiad-year with the Roman consular year is not convincing; for his two examples, the census of 70 (frg. 12, 6) and the birth of Vergil (frg. 12, 9), both of which are recorded in Ol. 177, 3, do not establish his contention, since the former, held at least four months after the inauguration of the censors in April (Mommsen *R. St. R.* II³ p. 352), and the latter, the 15 October, occurred after midsummer and so would necessarily be placed in Ol. 177, 3, whatever system of chronology was used. It would appear, therefore, that Phlegon, who makes no mention of a winter spent before Amisus, was using a chronology different from that of Plutarch and Appian and supposed that Lucullus, having begun the siege of Amisus in the autumn, left it to Murena and advanced to Cabeira, "where he wintered." The winter which, according to Plutarch and Appian, Lucullus spent before Amisus, and the winter which, according to Phlegon, he spent at Cabeira were one and the same, namely 72/1 B.C.

25. Memnon 48, 1: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21 and *pro Mur.* 33 (where, as in *pro Arch.* 21, the orator attributed the victory to Lucullus himself). In the fragments of Memnon this battle appears after Mithradates's flight to Armenia (see below note 31). But, as Reinach observed (*Mith. Eup.* p. 337, note 1), the arrival of Triarius at Heracleia in the spring or early summer of 71 (see above p. 340) shows that it was fought before this time.

26. For Eupatoria, situated on a great rock on the right bank of the Lycus a short distance below the junction of the river with the Iris, see Strabo XII p. 556: Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 56: Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 75f. Its surrender to Lucullus at this time was inferred by Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 337), followed by Guse in *Klio* XX (1926), p. 334, from the statement of Appian (*Mith.* 115) that Mithradates, after his return to Pontus in 68 (see above p. 346), destroyed the town because it had opened its gates to the Romans. For the desertion of Phoenix see Appian *Mith.* 79. For the topography of the region see Munro, p. 57 and Anderson *ibid.* pp. 56f. and 73. Reinach suggested (*l.c.*) that the "mountains" which Lucullus crossed after the desertion were the ridge above the gorge of the Lycus, "27 km. from Cabeira."

27. Plutarch *Luc.* 15, 5f.: Appian *Mith.* 80: Sallust *Hist.* IV 5 Maur.: Memnon 43, 3. The version of Plutarch, which relates that the pursuing Pontians were routed by Lucullus and driven back to their camp, is probably, as Gelzer observed (*R.E.* XIII 391), an attempt to make the defeat appear less disgraceful. The scene of the battle was placed "perhaps near Manas," a village on the ridge projecting from the Paryadres, by Munro (*ibid.* p. 57), who supposed that Mithradates took up a position on the left bank of the Lycus, thereby cutting Lucullus's communications with the West and the South.

28. For the desertion of Diocles see Appian *Mith.* 78. For the desertion of Dorylaus, who had led Mithradates's army to Greece in 86 (see Chap. IX note 45) and had later been made priest of the temple at Comana, and his

cousin, Lagetas, see Strabo x p. 478 and xii p. 557. Plutarch relates incorrectly (*Luc.* 17, 3) that Dorylaus lost his life during the panic in the camp at Cabeira (see below note 30). According to Plutarch (16), Appian (79) and Frontinus (*Strat.* ii 5, 30), a Scythian chieftain came to Lucullus, ostensibly as a deserter, but in reality with the purpose of killing him. Reinach suggested (*ibid.* p. 338, note 1) that the desertion was genuine and that the attempt at assassination was due to wounded pride. The failure of Machares to send aid may be inferred from his later overtures to Lucullus; see below note 41. For Mithradates's envoy (Metrodorus of Scepsis) to Tigranes see Plutarch 22: Memnon 43, 2: Strabo xiii p. 610.

29. For the situation see Appian *Mith.* 80f.: Sallust *Hist.* iv 8 and 69, 15 Maur.: Memnon 43, 4. It was suggested by Munro (*ibid.* p. 58) that the supplies from Cappadocia were brought by the road leading from Sivas to Tokat and Comana and thence into the valley of the Lycus (see Chap. VIII note 25). But, as Munro admitted, this would mean that Lucullus brought them "across the line of road held by the enemy," for he pointed out (p. 57, note 2) that Comana was in Mithradates's hands (see below note 31). It is perhaps more probable that the route used was that which seems to have led from Zara, east of Sivas, to the valley of the upper Lycus at the later Nicopolis (Chap. VIII note 33) and thence past Cabeira to Lucullus's camp. For the victories won by Sornatius and Hadrianus see Plutarch *Luc.* 17, 1f.: Appian 81: Memnon 43, 4f.: Phlegon frg. 12, 3 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* ii p. 1163). The statement in Eutropius vi 8, 3 that 30,000 picked soldiers of Mithradates were routed by 5000 Romans must be due to confusion between the force sent against Hadrianus and the whole Pontic army.

30. Plutarch *Luc.* 17, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 81f.: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 22: Sallust *Hist.* iv 9-11 Maur.: Livy *Per.* xcvii: Memnon 43, 5f.: Eutropius vi 8, 3. The account of Memnon differs from that of the other sources in relating that the panic was due, not to any decision of Mithradates, who was absent from the camp, but to the precipitate departure of Diophantus and Taxiles, who were in command; when they brought the news to Mithradates at Cabeira, he also left in flight. This version, less sensational than that of Plutarch and Appian, was regarded by Reinach (p. 340, note 1) as nearer the truth. The Pontic loss was estimated by Livy at 60,000. This is, of course, an exaggeration, and even if it refers to the total number of those who fell during the entire campaign of Lucullus in Pontus, it is still too large.

31. Appian *Mith.* 82. According to Plutarch *Luc.* 19, 1, the King was pursued as far as Talaura—more correctly Taulara, as it appears on coins of the time of Mithradates (*Receuil* 1^2 p. 146)—one of the royal treasure-houses (see Chap. VIII note 10). Its site was placed at Taurla (Taourla), on the upper Lycus about thirty miles southeast of Cabeira (see Munro in *Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Pap.* iii [1893], p. 730), by Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 139f., admitted as a possibility by R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* viii *Text*, p. 15 B, Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* ii p. 284 and Ruge in *R.E.* iv A 2529f. The identification, however, is based solely on the resemblance of the names, and unless

Appian's statement that Mithradates fled to Comana is incorrect, it can hardly be accepted; for it would mean that the King returned northward across the mountains to the valley of the Lycus, a difficult and dangerous journey. Moreover, Grégoire reported (*B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 33) that there are no ancient remains at Taurla. It seems much more probable, therefore, that, as suggested by Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 58f., Taulara was near Sivas, and that Mithradates, in his flight from Comana, used the main road leading southward to the valley of the upper Halys (see Chap. VIII note 25). For Pompeius's pursuit and Mithradates's flight to Armenia see Memnon 44f.: Appian *l.c.*: Plutarch *l.c.*: Livy *Per.* XCVII: Eutropius VI 8, 4: Strabo XIII p. 610.

32. Plutarch *Luc.* 19, 1, where it is related that he conquered the Chaldaei (*i.e.* the Chalybes) and the Tibareni (see Chap. VIII note 8) and Armenia Minor: Appian *Mith.* 82, where it is said that he captured cities on the Euxine coast including (incorrectly) Amastris and Heracleia. Among the commanders who surrendered was Strabo's grandfather, a native of Amaseia, whose action led to the capitulation of fifteen strongholds; the rewards promised by Lucullus to these commanders were never bestowed, for Pompey prevented the ratification of these and all other measures of Lucullus; see Strabo XII p. 557f. and above p. 353. Reinach observed (*Mith. Eup.* p. 348, note 2) that evidently some of the strongholds did not surrender, for they were later captured by Pompey (see Chap. XV note 18).

33. For the capture and sack of Amisus see Plutarch *Luc.* 19, 2f.: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21: Sallust *Hist.* IV 13f. Maur.: Memnon 45, 2f.: Strabo XII p. 547: Eutropius VI 8, 2. Eupatoria is described in Appian *Mith.* 78 as close to Amisus, and according to Memnon (*l.c.*), it was captured and destroyed just before Amisus fell. It was supposed by Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 57, note 1, followed by Rice Holmes (*Rom. Rep.* I p. 406, note 2) and apparently by Ormerod (*C.A.H.* IX p. 363), that this place was the Eupatoria which was near the junction of the Iris and the Lycus (see above note 26). Reinach, on the other hand, followed (with some hesitation) by Ruge in *R.E.* VI 1161, regarded it (p. 247) as a "new quarter" of Amisus, provided with a wall of its own, and this place was evidently the suburb of Amisus described in Pliny *N.H.* VI 7, *Amiso iunctum fuit oppidum Eupatoria a Mithridate conditum.* Munro himself pointed out the discrepancy between the statement of Memnon that Eupatoria, after its capture, was destroyed by the Romans and that of Appian (*Mith.* 115) that the city on the Lycus, because it had surrendered to Lucullus, was destroyed by Mithradates.

34. Plutarch *Luc.* 19, 1 and 21, 1: Appian *Mith.* 83: Memnon 46, 2f. Appian's order of events, in which the mission of Claudius is placed after the capture of Sinope in 70 (see below note 40), is clearly incorrect. The mission was placed by Geyer (*R.E.* VI A 971f.) immediately after Mithradates's flight from Cabeira. On the other hand, Eckhardt in *Klio* X (1910) p. 74, following the arrangement in Plutarch 21, 1, supposed that Claudius was sent to Armenia during

Lucullus's stay in Asia in the winter of 71/70. Plutarch, however, was relating the adventures of the envoy, and the aorist participle πεμφθείς is used to indicate that he was sent, not at this particular time, but previously. It may be assumed that on Lucullus's withdrawal to the province of Asia after the capture of Amisus (Plutarch 20, 1 and Appian *l.c.*) the army was left in Pontus. This is, indeed, suggested by the statement in Plutarch 33, 3 (quoted from Sallust) that the soldiers complained (in the winter of 68/67) that after two winters spent, respectively, before Cyzicus and Amisus they had been kept during the following winters either in the enemy's country or in camp among the allies, without ever being taken to a "Greek and friendly city." This passage suggests also that the army spent the winter of 70/69 (prior to the invasion of Armenia) in camp. It was supposed by Jürges (*De Sall. Hist. Rel.* p. 33) that during this winter also Lucullus himself was in the province of Asia. This view was based only on a quotation from the speech of Memmius opposing his triumph (Servius *Comm. in Aen.* I 161), *inque luxuriosissimis Asiae oppidis consedisse*, and on Sallust *Hist.* IV 59 Maur., *quam maximis itineribus per regnum Ariobarzanis contendit ad flumen Euphratem.* It is unsafe, however, to base any such conclusion on the generalization of an inimical orator, and in any case Lucullus, who crossed the Euphrates at Tomisa (see below note 45), marched through Cappadocia.

35. Plutarch *Luc.* 21, 2 and 29, 6: Sallust *Hist.* IV 56 Maur. Plutarch mentions specifically Zarbienus, ruler of Gordyene, the district lying between the Taurus and the upper Tigris.

36. For descriptions of Tigranocerta and the court of Tigranes see Appian *Mith.* 84 and Plutarch *Luc.* 22, 5 and 29, 4. For the history of the city and the question of its site see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in *R.E.* VI A 981f., who, in opposition to the long-held opinion (based on Strabo XI pp. 522 and 532; XII p. 539; XVI p. 747: Tacitus *Ann.* XV 5, 2) that Tigranocerta was south of Mt. Masium (the range of Tūr Abdîn) south of the upper Tigris and near Nisibis (Nusaybin), established the more recent view that it was at Farkin (Martyropolis)in the region of Arzanene north of the Tigris.

37. Cassius Dio XXXVI 52, 3: Plutarch *Luc.* 21, 5. The tiara and the diadem appear in the portraits of Tigranes on his coins, and certain coins issued during his rule over Syria are inscribed Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, p. 213f.

38. The return of Claudius was related by Plutarch (*Luc.* 23, 2) in connexion with Lucullus's administration of Asia. It was supposed by Drumann-Groebe (*G.R.* IV p. 156, note 4) that, because of the length of Claudius's journey and Tigranes's delay in granting him an interview, his return must be placed later. But if he was sent on his mission in the late summer of 71 (see above note 34, admitted in Drumann-Groebe IV p. 142, note 14), it would have been possible for him to return in the spring of 70.

39. Memnon 59: Cassius Dio xxxvi 40, 3f. The assignment of Bithynia to Lucullus may be inferred from Cotta's order to his soldiers to join Lucullus (Memnon 52, 3) and from the appointment of Manius Glabrio as the latter's successor in this province (see below note 57).

40. For the siege and capture of Sinope see Memnon 53f.: Plutarch *Luc.* 23, 2f.: Appian *Mith.* 83: Strabo xii p. 546: Orosius vi 3, 2f.: Eutropius vi 8, 2. The order of events in Appian and in Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 21, where the fall of Sinope is placed before that of Amisus, as well as in Eutropius, where the fall of both cities is listed before Mithradates's flight from Pontus, is incorrect. The "Armenians" mentioned in a decree of Olbia as having received [χο]*ρήγια βασιλικά* from a ship-owner of Amisus (Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* i² 35) were not, as was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*Izvestija* xxiii p. 21f.), the "Cilicians" of the garrison of Sinope but Armenians settled at Olbia by Mithradates; see Wilhelm in *Klio* xxix (1936), p. 50f. and Chap. VIII note 53. For the *archipirata* Seleucus (Orosius *l.c.*) see above p. 331. Wilhelm pointed out (*ibid.*) that Leonippus, the commandant at Sinope (Memnon *l.c.*), was probably the man of this name who was a "satrap" of Mithradates in 88 B.C.; see *Syll.*³ 741 iii and Chap. IX note 28.

41. Plutarch *Luc.* 24, 1: Appian *Mith.* 83: Memnon 54, 1: Livy *Per.* xcviii. Plutarch and Appian report the overtures of Machares after the fall of Sinope, but Memnon connects the episode with the starvation suffered by the city.

42. Coins of Sinope from 45 B.C. to the time of Severus Alexander show an era beginning with the founding of the Roman colony by Caesar (see below Chap. XVII note 33), but others issued from Septimius Severus onward have an era reckoned from 70 B.C., evidently the year in which the city's freedom was granted by Lucullus; see *Receuil* i² pp. 194* and 201*f.

43. Memnon 54, 3. At least one royal mint, possibly at Amaseia, was still issuing coins in the late autumn of 70, for coins of Mithradates bear the date *ηκσ'* (228) = October, 70 to October, 69 B.C.; see *Receuil* i² p. 20.

44. Plutarch *Luc.* 22, 1 and Memnon 55. Tigranes's promise of troops is mentioned only by Memnon, but since Mithradates made no move toward Pontus until a year and a half later (see above p. 346), this mention may have been merely an anticipation of his subsequent return. The truth of the report that the two kings were about to invade Lycaonia and Cilicia (Plutarch 23, 7) is questionable, if, indeed, it was not invented by Lucullus for the purpose of justifying his invasion of Armenia.

45. For the campaign of 69 see Plutarch *Luc.* 24-29: Appian *Mith.* 84-86: Memnon 56-57: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 23: Sallust *Hist.* iv 59-67 Maur.: Strabo xi p. 532: Livy *Per.* xcviii: Cassius Dio xxxvi 1 b; 2, 3f.: Orosius vi

3, 6f.: Eutropius VI 9, 1: Festus 15, 3: Frontinus *Strat.* II 1, 14 and 2, 4. See also, in addition to the writers cited in note 5, K. Eckhardt in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 400f. and X (1910), p. 72f. and Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 972f. It is related in Plutarch 24, 2 that Lucullus had a force of 12,000 foot and "less than 3000" horse, but in 27, 2 that, after leaving 6000 foot-soldiers under Murena to prosecute the siege of Tigranocerta, he set out against Tigranes with 10,000 legionaries "and all the horsemen, slingers and bowmen, about a thousand" in number. According to Eutropius and Festus, he had 18,000 men at the battle near Tigranocerta, according to Frontinus, "not more than 15,000." Appian mentions two picked legions and 500 horsemen, but he evidently had in mind only the two notorious legions formerly in Fimbria's army. The discrepancy among the various estimates was explained by Eckhardt (*Klio* X p. 78f.), followed by Rice Holmes (I p. 408) and Geyer (*l.c.*), by the supposition that Plutarch in 24, 2 failed to include Murena's division of 6000 foot-soldiers, and that the estimate of 18,000 in Eutropius and Festus was the total force rather than the number of troops actually engaged in the battle, while Frontinus's 15,000 included all the infantry, cavalry and light-armed troops who fought on this occasion. According to this theory, Lucullus, when he crossed the Euphrates, had 18,000 foot, 3000 horse and 1000 light-armed troops. He crossed the river *πολὺν καὶ θολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος* (Plutarch 24, 4), *i.e.* in the early spring. For the gift of Tomisa (see Chap. IX note 16) to Ariobarzanes see Strabo XII p. 535. Lucullus's route led through Sophene and over the Taurus to the Tigris (Plutarch 24, 8). This was the road over the low pass of Ergani, used in A.D. 63 by Corbulo (Tacitus *Ann.* XV 27, 1, see above p. 560), and at all times an important route; see Eckhardt in *Klio* X p. 84f. and Lehmann-Haupt *Armenien einst u. jetzt* I (Berlin 1910), pp. 477f. and 511f. For the battle near Tigranocerta see Eckhardt in *Klio* X p. 100f. and Lehmann-Haupt *ibid.* p. 401f. and *R.E.* VI A 902f. The former showed that the account of Plutarch is more accurate than that of Appian. Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 362, note 1), followed by Eckhardt (p. 100, note 1) and Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2190f.), pointed out the correctness of the statement of Plutarch (29, 1) that Mithradates did not take part in the battle, as opposed to that of Orosius and Frontinus, who related that he was present.

46. For the submission of Antiochus to Pompey in 64 see above p. 376. According to Cassius Dio XXXVI 2, 5, Antiochus, as well as an Arab chieftain and others, surrendered to Lucullus after the fall of Tigranocerta. Plinv, on the other hand, relates (*N.H.* II 235) that Lucullus laid siege to the King's capital, Samosata on the western bank of the Euphrates, and that the inhabitants defended themselves by pouring a variety of naphtha (called *maltha*) on the attacking Romans. Since, however, this means of defence was used at the siege of Tigranocerta (Cassius Dio XXXVI 1 b, 1 and probably Sallust IV 61 Maur.), it would appear that Pliny confused the two cities. It is, moreover, very improbable that Lucullus marched westward across the Euphrates after the battle near Tigranocerta; for this was fought on 6 October (Plutarch 27, 7), and he seems to have spent the following

winter in Gordyene (see below note 47). Little weight can be attached to the statement in Cicero *Acad. Pr.* II 61 that the philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon was in *Syria* with Lucullus a short time before his death. It is true that this Antiochus was with Lucullus during the campaign of 69, for he described the battle near Tigranocerta (Plutarch 28, 7), and he died in Mesopotamia exhausted by hardships (Philodemus *Academ. Philos. Index* p. 109f. Mekler). Cicero, however, may easily have confused Syria and Mesopotamia.

47. Since, according to Plutarch *Luc.* 30, 3f. (and probably Sallust *Hist.* IV 72 Maur.), Lucullus was in Gordyene in the spring of 68, it may be inferred that he had spent the previous winter in this region. During this winter both he and Tigranes conducted negotiations with Phraates III, King of the Parthians, who, after making promises to both, decided to remain neutral; see Plutarch 30, 1f.: Appian *Mith.* 87: Memnon 58, 2: Sallust IV 69 (a letter attributed to Mithradates): Cassius Dio XXXVI 1, 1f. and 3, 1f. Eckhardt pointed out (*Klio* X p. 194f.) that the statements of Plutarch, Eutropius (VI 9, 3) and Festus (15, 3) that Lucullus was making plans for a war against Phraates cannot be credited.

48. For the campaign in Armenia in 68 see Plutarch *Luc.* 31-32: Appian *Mith.* 87: Sallust *Hist.* IV 74-76 Maur.: Livy *Per.* XCVIII: Cassius Dio XXXVI 4-6: Eckhardt in *Klio* X p. 192f. For the new army of Mithradates and Tigranes see also Memnon 58, 1 and Cassius Dio XXXVI 1, 1. Appian's estimate of 70,000 foot and 35,000 horse is doubtless exaggerated. The statement in Phlegon frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 606) = frg. 12, 10 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1164) that the two kings mobilized an army of 40,000 foot and 30,000 horse, organized "in the Italian way" (so also Appian), evidently refers to this force; see Reinach *ibid.* p. 364. On the basis of the statements of Plutarch (31, 1) that Lucullus left Mesopotamia *θέρους ἀκμάζοντος* and that the grain in Armenia was still green, and of Dio (XXXVI 4, 2) that the campaign began *μεσοῦντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους*, it has been assumed that the Roman army arrived in the plain of Muş (on the northern side of the Taurus) in the middle of summer (Reinach, p. 366 and Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 166) or even as late as August (Eckhardt, p. 206f.). But since, according to H. F. B. Lynch *Armenia* (London 1901) II p. 354, the grain in this part of the country is reaped early in August, this date can be regarded only as a *terminus ante quem* and there is no reason why Lucullus's arrival should not be dated in July. The scene of the victory over Tigranes was placed by Eckhardt (p. 221f.) at the crossing of the Murat Su near Karakilise (Karaköse) in the plain of Aleşkirt. This location was founded on a series of calculations based on the statement of Plutarch (31, 4) that Tigranes and his cavalry took four days to reach the crossing where the battle was fought. It presupposes, however, that the Roman army traversed the distance of 87 miles (140 km.) from the mountains northeast of the plain of Muş in four days, a very rapid march. It seems more probable therefore that the battle took place at the crossing of the Murat at Tutak (Lynch, pp. 14f. and 266),

about 23 miles below Karakilise. Eckhardt pointed out (p. 211) that since Mithradates was not present at the battle, the statement of Plutarch (31, 7) that he fled from the field is incorrect.

49. The mutiny is glozed over by Cicero in *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 23f., where the populace is told merely that the soldiers wished to return on account of the *longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum*. In Cassius Dio XXXVI 6, 1 the withdrawal from Armenia is attributed to the crippled condition of the army resulting from the battle and the shortage of food. Plutarch's description of the rigours of the climate (32, 1f.), particularly the detail that the rivers were frozen, was evidently taken from some highly-coloured narrative; Lynch reported (II p. 176) that a snowfall which occurred on 29 November at a point 2200 feet above the Plain of Muş was the first of the winter. The description was used by Eckhardt (p. 226f.), followed by F. Guse in *Klio* XX (1926), p. 336, to justify the theory that, when the soldiers mutinied, Lucullus had advanced far into the high Ağrı Dağ (the range of Mt. Ararat).

50. As Gelzer pointed out (R.E. XIII 402), it seems clear from Cassius Dio XXXVI 7, 4; 14, 3; 17, 2 that the Romans spent the winter of 68/7 at Nisibis. Plutarch's statement (*Luc.* 34, 5), accepted by Guse (*Klio* XX p. 336), that it was spent in Gordyene is presumably due either to a confusion with the previous winter (see above note 47) or to the quartering of a detachment under Fannius somewhere north of the upper Tigris (Cassius Dio XXXVI 8, 2).

51. Plutarch *Luc.* 33, 4f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 2, 1f. and 16, 1. Echoes of these charges appear frequently; see *e.g.* Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 23: Sallust *Hist.* IV 70 and 73 Maur.: Velleius Paterculus II 33, 1. For Quinctius see Plutarch 5, 4: Sallust *Hist.* III 48, 11 (a speech attributed to Macer). He was included by Cicero (*Brut.* 223) among the orators *aptissimi turbulentis contionibus* and described (*pro Cluent.* 79) as *ad inflammandos animos multitudinis accommodatus*. According to Sallust *Hist.* IV 71, Lucullus tried to bribe Quinctius to oppose the measure providing for the appointment of a successor to him in the East, but in view of Sallust's anti-aristocratic bias it seems probable that this charge is untrue.

52. Plutarch *Luc.* 34, 1f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 14, 3f. and 17, 2. Clodius's action was attributed by Plutarch to anger because he had not been advanced, by Dio to an innate desire to stir up revolution. For his later adventures in Cilicia see Chap. XII note 39. For the discharge of the legions see below note 56. Gelzer pointed out (*R.E.* XIII 403) on the basis of Dio XXXVI 14, 3 and Eutropius VI 9, 3 that a report of the measure probably reached Nisibis before Lucullus withdrew.

53. The collapse of the bridge is recorded only by Cassius Dio (XXXVI 10, 3) and the storm only by Appian (*Mith.* 88), but both must refer to the same battle; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 371, note 2 and Guse in *Klio* XX p. 336.

54. Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 1; *Pomp.* 39, 1: Appian *Mith.* 89: Cassius Dio xxxvi 12-13: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 25 and 45: Sallust *Hist.* v 8 Maur.: Livy *Per.* xcviii. The version of Plutarch and Appian, according to which Triarius forced the battle in order to gain the glory of a victory before Lucullus's arrival, is incorrect. This is shown not only by Triarius's request to Lucullus for aid but also by the character of the place in which the battle was fought.

55. Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 2: Appian *Mith.* 90: Cassius Dio xxxvi 14, 1f., where it is related that Mithradates took up a position at Taulara (see above note 31).

56. Plutarch *Luc.* 33, 5: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 26: Eutropius vi 9, 3. According to Cicero *pro Sest.* 93, Gabinius tried to arouse popular feeling against Lucullus by displaying a picture of his magnificent villa. The legions of Flaccus had been enrolled in the winter of 87/6 B.C. It was pointed out by Drumann-Groebe (*G.R.* iv p. 168, note 6) that the regular term of enlistment in the first century before Christ was sixteen years.

57. Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 90: Cassius Dio xxxvi 14, 4f.: Sallust *Hist.* v 13 Maur.: Livy *Per.* xcviii. According to Appian, the proclamation was sent to the soldiers by ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγός, but, as was observed by Gelzer (*R.E.* xiii 404), this is an error (unfortunately repeated in Drumann-Groebe iv p. 174, note 1).

58. Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 5f. and 36, 1: Cassius Dio xxxvi 43, 2 and 46, 1: Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* xiii 6 a. See also Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* lxxvii (1946), p. 40f. It was supposed by Gelzer (*R.E.* xiii 395), followed by Broughton, that the commissioner Murena was the former governor of Asia, Sulla's successor (see above p. 240f.), but he seems to have died before this time. Münzer in *R.E.* xiii 446 identified the commissioner with this man's son, Lucullus's legate; if this is correct, Murena must have returned to Rome after the capture of Tigranocerta.

59. Coins of Mithradates of the Pontic year αλσ′ (231) = October, 67 to October, 66 B.C. (*Receuil* i² p. 20) show that in this year he was once more established in his kingdom. No coins of his are known for the years 229 and 230. For Tigranes's attack on Cappadocia see Plutarch *Luc.* 35, 3f.: Appian *Mith.* 91 and 115: Cassius Dio xxxvi 15, 3 and 17, 1: Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 5; 12; 16; 26. The attack was little more than a raid, for a revolt of his son soon forced him to return to Armenia (see above p. 352).

60. *C.I.L.* i² p. 196, no. xxi = Dessau 60: Cicero *Acad. Prior.* ii 3: Plutarch *Luc.* 37; *Cat. Min.* 29: Velleius Paterculus ii 34, 2: Pliny *N.H.* xxxiv 36: Nicolaus frg. 77 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* ii p. 378): Eutropius vi 10. The triumph took place in 63 B.C.; see Cicero *pro Mur.* 37 and 69. Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 29) was wrong in dating it in 62.

CHAPTER XV

1. For the Lex Manilia see Plutarch *Pomp.* 30; *Luc.* 35, 7: Cassius Dio XXXVI 42, 4f.: Appian *Mith.* 97: Livy *Per.* C: Velleius Paterculus II 33, 1: Asconius p. 53 Stangl: Eutropius VI 12, 2. See also Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 430f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I p. 201f.: A. E. R. Boak in *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXIV (1918-19), p. 13. For Pompey's legates see Drumann-Groebe IV p. 486, note 4 and Groebe in *Klio* X (1910), p. 382f. They included Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, Lucius Lollius, Aulus Plautius, M. Pupius Piso, all of whom had served in the war against the pirates (see Chap. XII note 41), and L. Afranius, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, A. Gabinius Capito, L. Valerius Flaccus, who were appointed at this time. To this list should probably be added Manlius Priscus, who captured the fortress of Sinoria (Ammianus Marcellinus XVI 7, 10, see below note 18). The fleet was under the command of Servilius (Plutarch *Pomp.* 34, 5). Of the eight legates whose names are definitely known, five, namely, Piso, Afranius, Metellus Celer, Gabinius and Metellus Nepos were Consuls in the years 61-57 B.C., while Flaccus was praetor in 63 and afterward governor of Asia, and Plautius was praetor in 51 and later governor of Bithynia-Pontus.

2. Cicero *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 68: Cassius Dio XXXVI 43, 2f. The support of Caesar, attested only by Dio, was doubted by H. Strasburger *Caesars Eintritt in d. Gesch.* (Munich 1938), p. 100f. on the ground that in Plutarch *Pomp.* 25, 4 he is represented as supporting the Lex Gabinia for the reason given by Dio for his support of the Lex Manilia and that the statement that he advocated the latter measure was merely the result of a confusion with his advocacy of the former. For Cicero's wish to be associated with Pompey see *Epist. ad Fam.* V 7, 3 (62 B.C.). The motives assigned to him and to Caesar by Dio are not necessarily the correct ones.

3. Plutarch *Pomp.* 30, 5f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 45, 1. This trait in Pompey's character was described by M. Caelius Rufus (Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* VIII 1, 3): *solet enim aliud sentire et loqui.*

4. Cassius Dio XXXVI 45, 2f., where the envoy's name is given as Metrophanes. He was perhaps Mithradates's former general of this name, who commanded a force in Greece in 87 (Appian *Mith.* 29) and some troops in Asia in 73 (see above p. 327). He seems to have fallen into the hands of the Romans; see Sallust *Hist.* IV 2 Maur.

5. For estimates of the size of Pompey's army see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 382, note 2: Groebe in *Klio* X (1910), p. 383, note 7 and *G.R.* p. 486, note 5: J. Kromayer in *N. Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol.* XXXIII (1914), p. 160, note 5, followed by Rice Holmes (I p. 427f.) and Cary (*C.A.H.* IX p. 377). All are based on the statement of Appian (*Mith.* 116) that Pompey, on leaving Asia Minor, distributed to his army the sum of 16,000 talents (*i.e.* 96,000,000 denarii), of

which each soldier received 1500 drachmae (*i.e.* denarii) and the officers a proportionately larger amount. This is in agreement with Pliny *N.H.* XXXVII 16, where it is recorded that Pompey gave each soldier 6000 sesterces (1500 denarii) and the lump sum of 100,000,000 sesterces (25,000,000 denarii) to the legates and quaestors. Reinach, assuming that the latter sum was not included in the 16,000 talents and apparently allotting 6,000,000 denarii to the tribunes and centurions, estimated the number of legionary soldiers at 60,000. There is no ground, however, for this assumption, and this estimate is too great. If the share of the legates and quaestors be deducted from the sum total of 96 million denarii, there remains the amount of 71 million to be divided among the legionaries and their officers. Groebe, on the basis of the statements of Strabo (XI p. 530) and Plutarch (*Pomp.* 33, 5, see below note 12) that in the distribution of the money given to Pompey by Tigranes each tribune received 120 times and each centurion 20 times as much as a legionary soldier, computed that of the amount distributed at the end of the war each legion, consisting of 4000 men and the officers, received 8,800,000 denarii. The sum of 71 millions, therefore, would suffice for eight legions of 4000 men, the strength to which they might seem to have been reduced by the long war. On the other hand, it was pointed out by Kromayer that a more probable basis for calculating the extra amounts paid to the tribunes and centurions may be found in those given by Caesar in 46 B.C. (Appian *B.C.* II 102), namely, four times the legionary's share to the tribune and twice to the centurion. On this scale, a legion of 4500 men would receive 6,966,000 denarii and the total force would be ten legions. Since at the beginning of the war the legion probably contained 5000 men, the size of the army may be placed at about 50,000.

6. Plutarch *Luc.* 36, 1f.; *Pomp.* 31: Cassius Dio XXXVI 46: Strabo XII pp. 558 and 567. See also Chap. XIV note 58.

7. For this campaign see Appian *Mith.* 98-99: Cassius Dio XXXVI 47f.: Plutarch *Pomp.* 32, 1-3 (=Zonaras X 4): Livy *Per.* C. See also Mommsen *R.G.* III[7] p. 126f.=Eng. Trans. IV p. 407f.: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 443f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 383f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I pp. 205f. and 428f.: J. G. C. Anderson in *J.R.S.* XII (1922), p. 99f.: F. Guse in *Klio* XX (1926), p. 337f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2192f.: Cary in *C.A.H.* IX p. 376f. According to Appian, Mithradates entrenched himself twice and the cavalry-engagement—described also in Frontinus *Strat.* II 5, 33 (where it is placed *in Armenia*) and perhaps in II 2, 2 (where it is placed *in Cappadocia*)—occurred during the first encampment. The briefer account of Plutarch also suggests that there were two encampments, the first (*πρῶτον*) on a mountain, where, Mithradates supposed, there was no water, the second (*ἔπειτα*) in a place where Pompey besieged him for 45 days. Dio, on the other hand, tells of only one encampment; this was on a fortified hill, which Pompey did not dare to attack, although he succeeded in enticing some of the Pontic cavalry into an ambush. This evidently refers to the King's second position. The sources contain no indication of the site of the first encampment. Guse suggested

Zara, pointing out that it was connected by road with Sivas on the west (*Itin. Ant.* 207 and 213) and with the Euphrates on the east, and that Mithradates could hope, by controlling these roads by his cavalry, to cut off Pompey's supplies from both directions. The encampment recorded by Dio was placed by him in Armenia. Dio mentions also that Pompey had obtained control of "the country of Anaïtis, belonging to Armenia and dedicated to a goddess of the same name." This was evidently the *Anaïtica regio* of Pliny N.H. v 83, *i.e.* Acilisene, where, at Eriza (Erzincan), there was a famous sanctuary of Anaïtis; see Strabo XI p. 532 and XII p. 559: Agathangelus 21 (*F.H.G.* v 2, p. 125f.): Moses of Khorene II 60 (*F.H.G.* v 2, p. 393). Strabo, more definite than Dio, placed this encampment (XII p. 555) on "a well-watered mountain near Dasteira in Acilisene"; this was evidently the *mons Dastracus* in Armenia Minor where, according to Orosius VI 4, 3, Pompey *castra regis obsidione conclusit.* Since the site of Nicopolis, afterward founded by Pompey to celebrate his final victory over Mithradates, has been definitely fixed at Pürk near the southwestern corner of the plain of Endires (see Chap. VIII note 33 and below note 35), the site of Dasteira was placed by Anderson (*ibid.* p. 103) on "the dominating hill" of Eskişehir about two km. east of Pürk, described by Cumont (*Stud. Pont.* II p. 313) as the end of a rocky ridge accessible only from the southeast. Guse (p. 338) also placed it in this neighborhood, but on the high ground north of Pürk. Guse pointed out that Mithradates fell back along the road which led from Zara to the later Nicopolis (*Itin. Ant. ll. cc.* and 182, see also Chap. VIII note 33), probably over a pass in the range of Karabayır Dağ (Köse Dağ). In the modern descriptions of this campaign considerable error has arisen from the statement of Dio that Mithradates's encampment was in *Armenia* and from Strabo's location of Dasteira in Acilisene. On the basis of these statements, Mommsen, followed by Drumann and Geyer, supposed that both Pompey and Mithradates crossed the Euphrates into Acilisene and later recrossed it to the place (in Pontus) where the battle was fought. Reinach, however, observed (p. 384, note 1) that Dio's *Armenia* is evidently Armenia Minor; this is shown by the historian's subsequent statement (48, 2) that Mithradates, after abandoning his camp, set out for "the Armenia of Tigranes." The difficulty of believing that both armies crossed and then recrossed the Euphrates was also observed by Rice Holmes (p. 431f.), who, however, rejected Reinach's suggestion (p. 384, note 4) that the words τῆς Ἀκιλισηνῆς should be removed from the text of Strabo. The difficulty was more convincingly met by Anderson, who pointed out that in this passage, as also in XI pp. 521 and 527, Strabo was mistaken in supposing that Acilisene was separated from Armenia Minor by the Euphrates; for a considerable part of the district was on the right bank of the river and its northwestern boundary was not the Euphrates but the range of Çardaklı Bel about thirty miles northwest of Erzincan. Both Rice Holmes and Anderson, as well as Cary, followed Mommsen and Drumann in accepting Dio's version in preference to that of Appian and Plutarch, supposing that Mithradates encamped only once, *i.e.* at Dasteira. Reinach, on the other hand, followed Appian except in regard to the cavalry-battle, which, he believed, took place during the King's retreat

from his first encampment to Dasteira. Appian's account was accepted also by W. Fabricius in *Theophanes v. Mytilene u. Quintus Dellius als Quellen, etc. d. Strabon* (Strassburg 1888), pp. 94f. and 111, who supposed that Dio described the first encampment only and omitted all mention of that at Dasteira, and by Guse, who, like Fabricius, connected the cavalry-battle with the first encampment.

8. For Mithradates's flight and subsequent defeat see Cassius Dio xxxvi 48, 2f.: Plutarch *Pomp.* 32, 3f. (=Zonaras x 4): Appian *Mith.* 99-101: Livy *Per.* ci: Frontinus *Strat.* i 1, 7 and ii 1, 12: Florus i 40, 22f.: Orosius vi 4, 3f.: Eutropius vi 12, 2f.: Festus 16, 1: Velleius Paterculus ii 37, 2: Valerius Maximus iv 6, *Ext.* 2: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 76, 7: Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. For a discussion of the sources and the discrepancies among them see Magie in *Cl. Weekly* xxxvii (1943-44), p. 237f. According to Dio, Mithradates, who marched only at night, was pursued by Pompey, who led his forces on beyond the Pontic army while it was resting at noon; then, having stationed his soldiers in a defile through which the enemy must pass, he attacked in the darkness; during the battle the moon rose behind the Romans, greatly to their advantage since the King's soldiers, deceived by the shadows, missed their aim and, on coming to close quarters, were killed or taken captives. This *motif* of the moon and the deception which it caused is found also in the versions of Frontinus and Orosius, where it is represented as rising behind the Romans, in that of Florus, where it is said to have been behind the enemy but without indication as to rising or setting, and in Plutarch, according to whom it was setting behind the Romans. In Appian, on the other hand, the moon is not mentioned. In the narratives of Dio, Frontinus and Orosius, accordingly, the Romans are represented as facing west, in that of Plutarch as facing east. The account of Dio, since it agrees with that of the epitomizers of Livy in emphasizing the deception caused by the shadows cast by the moon, was presumably also taken from Livy. As the most detailed and the most picturesque description of the battle, it has been generally followed by modern writers. Only Fabricius (*ibid.* pp. 94f., 102f. and 111f.) attempted to reconcile this account with that of Appian by supposing that the engagement described in the latter's narrative took place on the day before the moonlight-battle and that Appian omitted this battle altogether. The statements in Dio's account, however, that Mithradates marched only by night and that Pompey's troops advanced past the King's forces are both open to suspicion. As was pointed out by Haupt in *Philol.* xli (1882), p. 155 and xliv (1885), p. 161f., the *motif* of the night-march was used elsewhere by Dio (who perhaps took it from Livy) for the purpose of embellishing his narrative. It is highly improbable, moreover, that Pompey with an army of 40,000 men, marching through a narrow valley, could have passed Mithradates's force, eager to make its escape, without attracting attention. The effect of the moonlight, however, regarded by Peter (*Geschichtl. Lit. über d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* ii p. 311, note 1) as an embellishment, due perhaps to Pompey's official historian, Theophanes, is the detail most open to suspicion. The deception caused by the rising moon is used in exactly the same way in

the description of the battle near Cremona in Tacitus *Hist.* III 23. The addition of this embellishment seems to be responsible for the statement that the Roman army passed that of the King and then awaited the latter's arrival; for it was only by supposing that Pompey's troops were facing west that the rising moon could have been placed in their rear. On the other hand, in the narrative of Plutarch, there is no mention of the night-march of the King or of a Roman advance beyond his army. According to this account, Pompey planned to attack the Pontic camp at midnight but, on learning of Mithradates's preparations for defence, he wished merely to surround the enemy and to postpone the battle until the following morning but was persuaded by his officers not to delay; the attack was made when the setting moon made it possible to see the enemy; when the Romans charged, the King's troops fled in panic. Appian, relating that Mithradates, having repelled an attack on his rear-guard, took up a strong position, where Pompey set guards to prevent his escape, described the usual encounter between the light-armed troops and the cavalry, whose withdrawal caused a panic in the Pontic camp. Except for the detail of the shadows cast by the moon, there is no essential difference between this account and Plutarch's; in the latter the attack was made while the moon was setting, in the former it was made at daybreak. Apart from these embellishments, the sensational character of Livy's narrative appears in the estimates of the Pontic loss, which was reported by Orosius, Eutropius and Festus as 40,000 or 42,000, but by Plutarch and Appian as 10,000. The scene of the battle was described by Dio as a *χωρίον κοῖλον μεταξὺ γηλόφων τινῶν*, by Appian as a *χωρίον περίκρημνον*. It was regarded by Anderson (*J.R.S.* XII p. 104) as the gorge of the upper Belgazi Çay, west of the pass of Çardaklı Bel (see Chap. VIII note 33) and about 50 miles southeast of Nicopolis. This was described by Cumont (*Stud. Pont.* II p. 330) as a defile winding through high wooded mountains. Guse (*Klio* XX p. 341) placed the battle in the same valley but farther west, in the gorge between Altköy and Refahiye.

9. This stronghold is called Sinoria in Strabo XII p. 555, Sinora in Plutarch *Pomp.* 32, 8, Sinorex in Appian *Mith.* 101 and Sinhorium (or Synorium) in Ammianus Marcellinus XVI 7, 10; it is probably the Symphorium of Cassius Dio XXXVII 7, 5. It is perhaps to be identified with Sinara which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (XI 1) on the road leading from Satala to the Armenian plateau; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 387, note 3: K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 677: Anderson in *J.R.S.* XII p. 105. This situation, as Anderson observed, is in accordance with the statement of Strabo that Sinoria was near the border of Armenia Major and, like the other strongholds of Mithradates, in the range of Paryadres. Guse in *Klio* XX p. 342 suggested Bayburt on the upper Çoruh Su as a possible site. For the subsequent surrender of the place to Pompey see below note 18.

10. According to Appian *Mith.* 101, Mithradates was attacked by the natives in Chotene. This was identified by Reinach (p. 389, note 2) with Chorzene, described by Strabo (XI p. 528) as one of the coldest parts of Armenia. This

region, however, seems to be the basin of the upper Kur, which was considerably east of what must have been Mithradates's route. The river to which he came is called Absarus by Appian (*l.c.*), but evidently the Çoruh Su is meant. This was usually called Acampsis, as in Arrian *Periplus* 7, 4f. and *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 42, 2 (*F.H.G.* v 1, p. 174), whereas the Apsarus was the Hopa Su, somewhat farther west; see R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 16 A. The two rivers are confused also in Pliny *N.H.* VI 12f. Guse observed (*ibid.* p. 342) that the King's route was probably down the valley of the Tortum Su to its junction with the Çoruh. Dioscurias was probably east of the modern Sukhum, near the mouth of the Kodor; see Tomaschek in *R.E.* v 1123f.

11. Appian *Mith.* 102. For the difficulty of the route see Radde and König in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXII (1894), p. 58f. and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *Armenien einst u. jetzt* I p. 46.

12. For Pompey's campaign against Tigranes see Plutarch *Pomp.* 33 (= Zonaras x 4); *de Alex. Fort.* II 3: Appian *Mith.* 104f.; *Syr.* 49f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 51-53: Cicero *pro Sest.* 58f.: Livy *Per.* CI: Strabo XI p. 530: Velleius Paterculus II 37, 3f.: Valerius Maximus V 1, 9: Florus I 40, 27: Orosius VI 4, 8: Eutropius VI 13: Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. See also Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 449f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I p. 207f.: Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 977. For the site of Artaxata at Ardaschat, on the hills above the left bank of the middle Aras about fifteen miles south of Erivan, see Lehmann-Haupt I p. 173f. According to Plutarch, Pompey met the younger Tigranes "near the Araxes, which rises in the same region as the Euphrates," probably on the watershed between the Euphrates (Kara Su) and the Kale Su, which unites with the Bingöl Su (or Pasin Su) to form the Araxes (Aras). The sources give no indication of Pompey's route to Artaxata, but it seems probable that he followed the later caravan-route leading from Erzurum through Hasankale (Pasinler, west of the junction of the Kale Su and the Bingöl Su) and over the Velibaba Pass to the plain of Aleşkirt and Diyadin, and thence over the Kucak Pass in the range of Ağri Dağ to Iğdır in the plain of Erivan; see Ritter *Erdkunde* X pp. 355f. and 364f. and Lehmann-Haupt II p. 733f.

13. The territory of the Albani extended along the left bank of the lower Kur from the hills west of the junction of the river with the Alazan and the Yora as far as the Caspian Sea; see Strabo XI pp. 500 and 502: Pliny *N.H.* VI 29 and 39: Ptolemy V 10, 1 and Müller's note. According to Strabo XI p. 500, Pompey, setting out from Armenia, marched by way of *τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Κύρῳ στενὰ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀράγῳ*, leading from Armenia into Iberia. By the *στενά* is evidently meant the defile through which the Kur flows below Akhaltsikh, a route which is too far north for him to have traversed on his march from Artaxata to Albania but may well have been used by him on his return from Colchis (see below note 15). The Aragus is not to be identified with the modern Aragvi (which flows into the Kur from the north) but with some stream entering the Kur from the south, perhaps the Akstafa. As Fabricius suggested (*Theophanes v. Mytilene, etc.* p. 154f.), Pompey's route probably

led from Erivan across the Pambuk range past the northwestern end of Lake Gökcha and down the course of the Akstafa, in both ancient and modern times the principal road between the Aras and the Kur; see Lynch *Armenia* I p. 39f. and Lehmann-Haupt I p. 157f. It would have brought him into the territory of the Iberi, somewhat west of the boundary between them and the Albani.

14. For Pompey's expedition into Trans-Caucasia see Plutarch *Pomp.* 34, 1-36, 2 (=Zonaras X 4): Appian *Mith.* 103: Cassius Dio XXXVI 53, 5f. and XXXVII 1f.: Strabo XI p. 491f.: Livy *Per.* CI: Florus I 40, 28: Orosius VI 4, 8: Eutropius VI 14, 1: Velleius Paterculus II 40, 1: Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. Of these sources, Dio alone gives a narrative in detail. He describes two different expeditions into the country of the Albani, each marked by a Roman victory; the first of these was in the winter of 66/5, the second toward the end of the following summer. Plutarch, perhaps from the same source, also describes two battles, although in a very abbreviated form. The narrative of Appian, on the other hand, contains only the second battle, which took place after Pompey's return from Colchis. In Appian's order of events the Trans-Caucasian expedition is placed before the surrender of Tigranes at Artaxata, apparently in the mistaken belief that Pompey with his entire army set out immediately in pursuit of Mithradates and, after following him as far as Colchis, advanced to the country of the Albani before returning to Artaxata. The statement of Dio (XXXVI 53, 5) that Pompey spent the winter of 66/5 in τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀναΐτιδι καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κύρνῳ has caused some confusion; for it has sometimes been supposed that by Anaïtis the district of Acilisene on the Euphrates (see above note 7) was meant, and it is, of course, impossible to bring this into connexion with the Cyrnus (Kur). Strabo, however, mentions (XI p. 503 and XII p. 557) a sanctuary of "Selene" in the country of the Albani, and as it is not improbable that this goddess was identified with the Persian Anaïtis, her name may have been given to this region also. The captive "Scythian" women and the Heniochi and Achaei (from the southern coast of Russia between Sukhum and the mouth of the Kuban) who marched in Pompey's triumph (see below note 30) must have been seized during his expedition to Colchis.

15. According to Cassius Dio XXXVII 3, 3, Pompey returned from Colchis to Albania "not by the shortest way, but turning back into Armenia." Reinach supposed (p. 398) that this indicates "a great circuit by the coast and the mountains of Armenia"; and both he and Fabricius (*ibid.* p. 176) connected with this march an episode recorded by Strabo (XII p. 549), who relates that three Roman cohorts were killed by the Heptocometae, who lived in the range of Scydises. This range, however, lies south of Trebizond (see Ruge in *R.E.* III A 617f.), and it cannot be supposed that Pompey used so circuitous a route. The incident, if historic, must have occurred after his return from Armenia to Pontus. The statement of Strabo (XI p. 500, see above note 13) that Pompey marched by way of the gorge of the Kur suggests that

the return-route described by Dio led over the Zekari Pass between Kutais and Akhaltsikh (see Lynch *Armenia* I p. 48f.).

16. Plutarch relates (*Pomp.* 36, 2) that Pompey, after his return to Armenia Minor, wrote a friendly letter to the kings of the Elymaei and the Medes, who had sent envoys to him. A victory over Darius, King of Media, was included among the achievements of which he boasted at his triumph (see below note 30), and this victory is mentioned also in Appian *Mith.* 106. It was magnified into an actual invasion of Media by Velleius Paterculus (II 40, 1) and Orosius (VI 4, 9). The victory over Darius was characterized as an "embellishment" by Mommsen (*R.G.* III[7] p. 149, note = Eng. Trans. IV p. 434, note) and Rice Holmes (I p. 435). There must, however, have been some basis for the claim, and it may well have been founded on the despatch of envoys by the Median King. Since the Elymaei and the Medes lived south and southwest of the Caspian, it seems most probable that their envoys came to Pompey when he was in the region of the lower Kur. For the reptiles in Albania see Plutarch 36, 1 and Strabo XI p. 503. The easiest route for a return from the Caspian to Armenia Minor was probably along the Aras and by way of the Armenian plateau.

17. Plutarch *Pomp.* 34, 1. See also Livy *Per.* CI. The explanation of Florus (I 40, 21) that Mithradates, after his retreat from Cyzicus, had asked the Trans-Caucasian tribes for aid does not necessarily mean that he was expecting help from them at this time. The treaty which he made with the Iberi before his invasion in 88 (Memnon 30, 3) could not be regarded as a reason for Pompey's attack on their country. The motive assigned by Appian (*Mith.* 103), namely, that Pompey wished to see Colchis because it had been visited by various Greek heroes, is of course wholly fanciful. Cary suggested (*C.A.H.* IX p. 380) that, in addition to Pompey's desire for glory, he may have wished to develop the supposed trade-route from the Euxine *via* the Caspian to the Oxus and India, his investigation of which is reported in Pliny *N.H.* VI 52; but see Chap. XXIII note 63.

18. According to Cassius Dio XXXVII 7, 5, Pompey spent the winter of 65/4 in a place called Aspis. This place is unknown, but since Plutarch relates (*Pomp.* 36, 1, see above note 16) that he returned from Albania to Armenia Minor, it was presumably in this region; see Reinach (*Mith. Eup.* p. 399), Fabricius (*Theophanes v. Mytilene*, p. 196, where the suggestion is made that Ἀσπίδι should be emended to Ἀναΐτιδι) and Rice Holmes (I p. 433f.). Dio's expression καὶ τότε ἐχείμαζε suggests that Pompey wintered in the same place as in 66/5, when he was in the region of the Kur (see above note 14); but since a place in this neighbourhood seems also to have been sacred to Anaïtis, Dio may have confused the two regions. For the capture of Sinoria (see above note 9) see Plutarch 36, 3f. (where the place is unnamed): Cassius Dio XXXVII 7, 5 (where it is called Symphorium): Appian *Mith.* 107 (where it is unnamed and apparently regarded as near the Cimmerian Bosporus): Ammianus Marcellinus XVI 7, 10. For the capture of

Καινὸν Φρούριον (or Καινὸν Χωρίον, see Chap. VIII note 10) see Plutarch 37, 1. It was perhaps the place where Pompey found the recipes for antidotes mentioned in Pliny *N.H.* XXIII 149 and XXV 7.

19. Plutarch *Pomp.* 39, 2 (=Zonaras X 5): Appian *Syr.* 49f. and 70; *Mith.* 106 and 118; *B.C.* V 10: Cassius Dio XXXVII 7 a: Justin XL 2, 3f.: Velleius Paterculus II 37, 5 and 38, 6: Eusebius *Chron.* I p. 261f. Schöne=p. 123f. Karst. There is some doubt whether the deposed monarch was Antiochus XIII or his cousin Philip II; see Wilcken in *R.E.* I 2486f.: Stähelin in *R.E.* I A 2226f.: Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Séleucides*, pp. 441f. and 605f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *M.A.M.A.* III p. 65f. The fragment of Diodorus (XL I a-b, see *F.H.G.* II p. XXIV f.) on which our knowledge of the incident depends seems to show that, after the restoration of Antiochus by Lucullus in 69, the two cousins engaged in a struggle for the throne. Antiochus was at first supported and then kidnapped by Sampsigeramus, the ruler of Emesa, and Philip was enthroned by Azizus, another native dynast. He was evidently the Philip Βαρύπους from whom, according to Malalas p. 225 Bonn, Marcius Rex demanded money in 67/6; see Chap. XII note 40. It seems probable, however, that before Pompey's arrival Antiochus had been restored by Sampsigeramus and that it was he who was deposed at this time; see J. Dobiáš in *Listy Philol.* LI (1924), p. 214f.

20. Antiochus's surrender was magnified into a war by Appian (*Mith.* 106), who, however, adds that he entered into friendly relations with Pompey. His name appeared in the list of the conquered kings displayed at Pompey's triumph, and hostages said to have been furnished by him were led in the procession; see Appian *Mith.* 117 and Plutarch *Pomp.* 45, 4. The alleged victory over him was probably only an act of submission on his part, perhaps the despatching of envoys, as in the case of Darius of Media (see above note 16). For the subsequent recognition of Antiochus as King see below note 52.

21. Cassius Dio XXXVII 5, 2f.: Plutarch *Pomp.* 36, 2: Appian *Mith.* 106. The restoration of Gordyene to Tigranes is alluded to in Strabo XVI p. 747, where, however, it is inaccurately said that Pompey gave the King "much" of Mesopotamia. The statement of Dio (XXXVII 6, 4) that the younger Tigranes took part in the invasion of Gordyene is incorrect, since he was at the time a Roman prisoner (see above p. 358).

22. Florus I 40, 31 and 46, 4. It was perhaps in connexion with these negotiations that Abgarus II, King of Osroene in northwestern Mesopotamia, made an arrangement with Pompey by which he was permitted to retain his kingdom (Cassius Dio XL 20, 1).

23. For the civil war in Judaea and Pompey's campaign in the country see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 1, 2, § 4f.=*Bell. Jud.* I 6, 1, § 120f. (=Zonaras V 5-6): Plutarch *Pomp.* 39, 2 and 41 (=Zonaras X 5): Strabo XVI p. 762f.: Appian

Syr. 50 and *Mith.* 106: Diodorus XL 2: Livy *Per.* CII: Cassius Dio XXXVII 15f.: Florus I 40, 30: Orosius VI 6, 1f.: Eutropius VI 14, 2: *Chronicum Paschale* I p. 350f. Bonn: Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. See also E. Schürer *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* I⁴ (Leipzig 1901), p. 291f.: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV pp. 463f. and 471f.: Cary and Bevan in *C.A.H.* IX pp. 381f. and 401f. According to Strabo XVI p. 763 and Josephus XIV § 66, the Temple was captured on τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, but according to Dio XXXVII 16, 4, it was on τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ, *i.e.* on a Sabbath. Schürer observed (p. 298, note 23) that although to Josephus ἡ νηστεία would naturally mean the Day of Atonement, he may have found the word in his Pagan source (perhaps Strabo's lost historical work), where, in the general misconception of the Jewish Sabbath, it may have been used to designate this day. Moreover, since the Day of Atonement was observed in October, it is hard to see how Pompey could have remained so late in Judaea and still have reached Amisus before winter began (see below note 26), especially as it was necessary for him to cross the Taurus before the Cilician Gates were blocked by snow.

24. For Aretas's capture of Damascus in 85 B.C. see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIII 15, 2, § 392 = *Bell. Jud.* I 4, 8, § 103. His coins issued in the city are inscribed Βασιλέως Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληνος; see *B.M. Cat. Arabia, etc.* pp. xi f. and 1f. For the campaign of Scaurus see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 5, 1, § 80f. According to Cassius Dio (XXXVII 15, 2) and Orosius (VI 6, 1), Pompey himself marched against Aretas and, after capturing Petra, placed a garrison there; this, however, is merely an inference from the fact that at his triumph Aretas was included in the list of conquered kings; see Diodorus XL 4 and Appian *Mith.* 117. Coins were minted by Scaurus during his aedileship in 58, bearing a representation of the monarch kneeling and the legend *Rex Aretas*; see H. A. Grueber *Coins of the Roman Rep. in the Brit. Mus.* (London 1910) II p. 589f. According to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* XIV 3, 4, § 53f. = *Bell. Jud.* I 6, 6, § 138), Pompey was in Jericho when he received the news of Mithradates's death; according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 41, 3), he was not far from Petra. This portion of Plutarch's biography, however, is very inaccurate; the projected expedition to Petra (c. 41) is placed after the conquest of Judaea (c. 39, 2), which is compressed into a single sentence.

25. For Mithradates's adventures in southern Russia and his death see Appian *Mith.* 102 and 107f.: Cassius Dio XXXVI 50, 2 and XXXVII 11f.: Plutarch *Pomp.* 41, 2: Livy *Per.* CII: Florus I 40, 25f.: Orosius VI 5: Eutropius VI 12, 3: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 76, 7f.: Justin XXXVII 1, 9: Valerius Maximus IX 2, *Ext.* 3: Aulus Gellius XVII 16, 5: Galen Vol. XIV p. 284 Kühn: Damocrates *Theriaca* 101f. (*Poetae Bucol. et Didac. ed. Didot* III p. 120): Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. See also Reinach *Mith. Eup.* pp. 397 and 402f. and Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2195f. The version that at his own request Mithradates was killed by a Gaul was the official account, announced to the Roman army in Pontus by Pompey (Plutarch 41, 5) and found in Livy and most of the other sources. It was perhaps adopted in order to save Pharnaces from the odium of having mur-

dered his father. A variant version, preserved only in Dio XXXVII 13, 3, related that the King was killed by some soldiers whom he had sent against his son.

26. Plutarch *Pomp.* 42, 1f. (=Zonaras X 5): Cassius Dio XXXVII 14, 1f. and 20, 1: Appian *Mith.* 113: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 4, 5, § 79=*Bell. Jud.* I 7, 7, §157. The assumption that Pompey arrived at Amisus before the beginning of winter is based on the statement of Appian (*Mith.* 116) that, before leaving Amisus for Ephesus, he distributed rewards to his soldiers λήγοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος.

27. Appian *Mith.* 113f.: Suidas *s.v.* Κάστωρ Ῥόδιος (see below note 40).

28. Plutarch *Pomp.* 42, 4f. For the grant to Mitylene see also Velleius Paterculus II 18, 3 and, apparently, *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 11 and p. 208. For the titles of σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης conferred on Pompey at Miletus and at Miletopolis (?) in Mysia see *Milet* I 7, p. 325, no. 253 and *J.H.S.* XXVII (1907), p. 64, no. 7; at Mitylene (where he was also called κτίστης), see *I.G.* XII 2, 140-149, 163 a (=*Syll.*[3] 752), 164, 165 and 202 (=*Syll.*[3] 751=Dessau 8776)=*I.G.R.* IV 49-55 and 79-80, and *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* nos. 39 and 40: Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1932, *Suppl.* p. 15, no. 5; at Therma, see *S.E.G.* III 693. For honours at Ilium see *C.I.G.* 3608=*I.G.R.* IV 198. He sailed for Italy from Ephesus (Appian *Mith.* 116). Theophanes also was honoured at Mitylene and after his death he was deified; see *I.G.* XII 2, 150 and 163 b=*I.G.R.* IV 56 and 55=*Syll.*[3] 755 and 753: Tacitus *Ann.* VI 18, 5: *B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 198, no. 158f. For Theophanes see also C. Cichorius *Rom u. Mytilene* (Leipzig 1888), p. 6f.: H. de la Ville de Mirmont in *R.E.G.* XVIII (1905), p. 165f.: Laqueur in *R.E.* V A 2090f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gött. Gel. Nachr.* I *phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe* I (1934-36), p. 109. For the fragments of his history see *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 921f. For his son and later descendants see Chap. XX note 62.

29. For the varying sentiments in Rome see Cicero *pro Mur.* 34; *Epist. ad Fam.* V 7, 1: Plutarch *Pomp.* 43 (=Zonaras X 5): Appian *Mith.* 113 and 116: Cassius Dio XXXVII 20, 4f. For the *supplicationes* see Cicero *de Prov. Cons.* 27 and W. Sternkopf in *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892), p. 468f. For Pompey's arrival in the city in January, 61 see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* I 13, 4.

30. For Pompey's triumph, celebrated on 28-29 Sept. 61, see Plutarch *Pomp.* 45 (=Zonaras X 5): Appian *Mith.* 116f.: Diodorus XL 4: Livy *Per.* CIII: *Cassius Dio* XXXVII 21, 1f.: Pliny *N.H.* VII 97f.; XXXIII 151; XXXVII 13f.: Valerius Maximus VIII 15, 8: Eutropius VI 16: *Acta Triumphorum, C.I.L.* I[2] p. 179. The statues of fourteen nations which Pompey erected in his theatre (Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 41) evidently represented those over whom he triumphed.

31. For Aristobulus see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 6, 1, §92f.=*Bell. Jud.* I 8, 6, §171f. (=Zonaras V 7): Plutarch *Ant.* 3, 1: Cassius Dio XXXIX 56, 6. The statement of Appian (*Mith.* 117) that he was put to death immediately

after the triumph is incorrect. After his capture by Gabinius in 56 he was sent back to Rome and imprisoned. Tigranes escaped in 58 by bribing Publius Clodius to set him free; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* III 8, 3: Asconius p. 40f. Stangl: Plutarch *Pomp.* 48, 6: Cassius Dio XXXVIII 30, 1f. According to Appian *Mith.* 105 and 117, he was finally killed, but no particulars are given.

32. For Pompey's position in Rome in 60 B.C. and the formation of the First Triumvirate see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* I 18-20; II 1, 6; 3, 3; 9, 1f.; 16, 1f.; 17, 1: Cassius Dio XXXVII 49, 3f.; 54f.; XXXVIII 1f.: Plutarch *Luc.* 42, 5f.; *Pomp.* 46, 3f.; *Caes.* 13, 2f.; *Crass.* 14, 1f.: Livy *Per.* CIII: Appian *B.C.* II 9f.: Florus II 13, 8f.: Velleius Paterculus II 40, 5 and 44, 1f.: Suetonius *Jul.* 19, 2. Broughton observed (*T.A.P.A.* LXXVII [1946], p. 42f.) that the opposition to Pompey among the Conservatives was largely due to his disregard of the senatorial commission sent to aid Lucullus (see Chap. XIV note 58) and the apparent completion of the new arrangements without the appointment of another one.

33. For Pompey's arrangements in the East see Plutarch *Pomp.* 38, 2: Cassius Dio XXXVII 7 a: Appian *Mith.* 114-115. The summaries in Appian and in Dio XXXVII 20, 2 are not necessarily in correct chronological sequence. See also Mommsen *R.G.* III[7] p. 150f. = Eng. Trans. IV p. 436f.: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 477f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* I p. 209f.: Cary in *C.A.H.* IX p. 392f.: F. E. Adcock in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 12f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 158f. and *Greek City*, p. 56f.: Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 3f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 978f.

34. Pliny *Epist. ad Traian.* 79-80; 112; 114-115: Cassius Dio XXXVII 20, 2. See also above pp. 603 and 640. The Lex Pompeia, an enactment of Pompey himself, issued by virtue of his proconsular *imperium*, was technically a *lex data*; see Mommsen *R. St. R.* II[3] p. 725 and III p. 311 and note 5. In a general way, the new organization of Bithynia corresponded to that of the province of Asia as arranged by Manius Aquilius and his fellow-commissioners in 129 B.C. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 56f.) that in both Bithynia and Pontus, which had been "administered on a centralized system," it was necessary so to organize the communities that a certain amount of administration could be placed in the hands of the local authorities. Jones also observed (*Cities*, p. 160) that the Bithynian cities to which the Lex Pompeia was applied were probably those which issued coins under the governors of 61-59 and 48/7, namely, Apameia Myrleia, Bithynium, Nicaea, Nicomedeia, Prusa and Tieium (see Chap. XVI note 68), as well as Chalcedon, which was free (Pliny *N.H.* V 149), Prusias ad Mare, which (perhaps under Augustus) seems to have obtained its freedom (Strabo XII p. 564), and Heracleia, which, by surrendering to Mithradates and murdering the Roman *publicani* (see Chap. XIV note 9), had probably lost its freedom. It is possible that Prusias ad Hypium was included in the number, but this was scarcely the case with Crateia, as was suggested by Jones, since its earliest known coins are of the time of Antoninus Pius (*Receuil* I p. 333f.). The "royal land" in Bithynia probably became, in part, the property of the

Roman people, but it may be assumed that a large portion of it was assigned to the cities as their territories; see Jones *Cities*, p. 161 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1571, note 65. Except, however, for the possessions of the free cities, these territories were subject to taxes collected by the *publicani* of the *Bithynica Societas* (see Chap. XVI note 72). While in many instances a city-territory may have been large, it is difficult to believe, on the basis of an imperfectly preserved inscription of the time of Hadrian (*M.A.M.A.* v 60, accepted with reserve by Jones *ibid.* p. 424, note 28), that the territory of Nicaea was contiguous to that of Dorylaeum. For a change in the Lex Pompeia by an edict of Augustus whereby the age-requirement for holding office was lowered to twenty-two years see Pliny *ibid.* 79, and for the continuance of the "laws" of Pompey in the early third century after Christ see Cassius Dio xxxvii 20, 2.

35. Strabo xii p. 541 (eleven πολιτεῖαι). Pompey himself boasted at his triumph that he had founded eight cities; see Cassius Dio xxxvii 20, 2 and Appian *Mith.* 117 (πόλεις Καππαδόκων). Since it is recorded in Appian 115 that he restored Mazaca in Cappadocia, the inhabitants of which had been carried away by Tigranes (see above p. 321) but returned to their homes by Lucullus after his capture of Tigranocerta (Plutarch *Luc.* 29, 4 and Strabo xii p. 539), it may be assumed that Mazaca was one of the eight. The others were evidently in the former kingdom of Mithradates, and in fact, seven are definitely known: Nicopolis, near the southwestern corner of the plain of Endires (see Chap. VIII note 33 and above note 7); see Strabo xii p. 555: Appian *Mith.* 105 and 115: Cassius Dio xxxvi 50, 3: Orosius vi 4, 7 (where it is incorrectly placed in Armenia Major): *C.I.L.* iii 6057 = 12154: *B.C.H.* xxxiii (1909), p. 25, no. 12. Magnopolis, at Eupatoria near the junction of the Lycus and the Iris (see Chap. VIII note 33 and Chap. XIV note 26); see Strabo xii p. 556 and Appian 115. Diospolis, probably at Cabeira (see Chap. VIII note 11); see Strabo xii p. 557. Neapolis, at or near Vezirköprü in Phazimonitis (see Chap. VIII note 6); see Strabo xii p. 560 and Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Φαμιζών. Zela, the sacred city of Anaïtis (see Chap. VIII note 14); see Strabo xi p. 512 and xii p. 559f. Pompeiopolis at Taş Köprü on the Amnias in Paphlagonia (see Chap. IX note 25); see Strabo xii p. 562: *I.G.R.* iii 125 (= 1447 = *O.G.I.* 546), 1446 and 1448. Megalopolis, probably at Sivas on the upper Halys (see Chap. VIII note 25 and Chap XVIII note 25); see Strabo xii p. 560.

With regard to the cities included among Pompey's eleven πολιτεῖαι there is some divergence of opinion; see Niese in *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii (1883), p. 580f.: Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 400: Brandis in *R.E.* iii 530: Munro in *J.H.S.* xxi (1901), p. 61, note 1: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* i p. 434f.: Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 5f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 159f. and *Greek City*, p. 57f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* iv p. 532: W. G. Fletcher in *T.A.P.A.* lxx (1939), p. 20f., note 12: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 978. There is general agreement in including in the list the coast cities Amisus, Sinope and Amastris, and the foundations of Pompey with the exception of Nicopolis. Amaseia also has been universally admitted except by Niese,

who rejected it on the insufficient ground that it probably had not had the organization of a *polis*. Nicopolis, accepted by Reinach, Brandis, Munro and Broughton, was rejected by Niese on the supposition that it was in the kingdom of Armenia Minor, which was assigned to Deiotarus (see below note 41), and by Rice Holmes on the ground that it was founded primarily for the "veterans who wished to settle in the East"; it was omitted also by Anderson, Jones, Fletcher and Rostovtzeff. To complete the list, Heracleia was inserted by Niese, Munro, Rice Holmes, Anderson and Fletcher, and Abonuteichus by Jones and Rostovtzeff. There seems, however, to be no good reason for rejecting Nicopolis. Although frequently placed by ancient writers in Armenia Minor, it was some distance west of the watershed between the Lycus and the Euphrates which was presumably the boundary between Deiotarus's kingdom and the province of Pontus. The statement of Cassius Dio (XXXVI 50, 3) that Pompey settled his wounded veterans in the new city suggests that it lay within the province, and this seems to be confirmed by an inscription (*B.C.H.* XXXIII p. 35, no. 13 = *Ann. Ép.* 1909, 10) in which the place is called an [Ἰτ]α[λ]ικὴ κολωνί[α]. On the other hand, it is difficult to accept either Heracleia or Abonuteichus. The former, although it was included in Pontus by Strabo (XII p. 543), was never a part of Mithradates's kingdom, and it seems improbable that Pompey regarded the city as belonging to the new province. The latter afterward had, it is true, an era reckoned from 64 B.C. (see *I.G.R.* III 91 = *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 55f., no. 1), which might suggest that in this year it achieved a change of status; but it was described by Strabo (XII p. 545) as a πολίχνιον, and it seems to have been a place of little importance. The territories of the several communities, as was pointed out by Fletcher (p. 20f.), appear to have been contiguous and, except for the sacred land of the Temple at Comana (see above p. 371) and the dominions assigned to the client-kings, to have included all the former kingdom of Mithradates. They were taken from the "royal land," *i.e.* the crown land. It is a question, however, whether Fletcher is justified in drawing a distinction between this and the *regii agri Mithridatis qui in Paphlagonia, qui in Ponto, qui in Cappadocia*, all of which are included by Cicero in *de Leg. Agr.* II 51 among the lands available for sale under the proposed law of Servilius Rullus; for the Orator, in his method of attacking this bill by a *reductio ad absurdum*, cannot be credited with great accuracy (as is shown by the mention of Mithradates's lands in *Cappadocia*), and the expression may well refer to the crown land. Except for the free cities of Amisus and Sinope, these communities were subject to the usual taxation exacted by the *publicani*, who are known to have been in Pontus in 47 B.C. (*Bell. Alex.* 70, 7, see Chap. XVII note 17). Their presence in the province, however, does not necessarily mean, as Broughton observed (*T.A.P.A.* LXV [1934], p. 212), that a portion of Pontus was held as *ager publicus* and, as supposed by Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 078), withheld from the new communities. Fletcher assumed (p. 25), on the basis of the method used in Bithynia (Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 65, 1), that the taxes were exacted from these communities (as also in the province of Asia in the first century before Christ, see Chap. VII note 17) on the basis of contracts

between the *publicani* and the local officials. It was pointed out both by Jones (*Greek City*, p. 58) and by Fletcher (p. 19f.) that Pompey's purpose in founding these communities was purely an administrative one and for the sake of lightening the burden of the provincial administration rather than developing urban life. Fletcher's view, however, that they were constructed not so much on the model of the Hellenic *polis* as on the principle used in the West, particularly in Spain, by which a canton became an administrative centre is, as was observed by Rostovtzeff (p. 1648f.), very questionable.

36. In 56 B.C. Archelaus appeared in Syria, intending to join Aulus Gabinius Capito, then proconsul of the province, in a projected campaign against the Parthians. When this was abandoned by order of the Senate, devising a new plan for self-advancement, he declared that he was the son of Mithradates and offered himself as consort to Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, whom the Alexandrians, after expelling her father, had made Queen of Egypt. He was proclaimed King, but after a reign of six months he was killed in battle by Gabinius during an invasion of Egypt in 55 for the purpose of restoring Ptolemy; see Strabo XII p. 558 and XVII p. 796: Plutarch *Ant.* 3, 5f.: Cassius Dio XXXIX 57f.: Livy *Per.* CV: Valerius Maximus IX 1, *Ext.* 6: Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Lagides* II p. 161f. For his son, also named Archelaus, who succeeded him at Comana, see Strabo XII p. 558. For his grandson, appointed king of Cappadocia by Antony, see Chap. XVIII note 26.

37. For Pimolisene, on both sides of the lower Halys around Pimolisa (Osmancik), which was a *φρούριον βασιλικόν* of Mithradates, see Strabo XII p. 562 and *Stud. Pont.* I p. 102 and III p. 182f. Only that portion which lay west of the Halys seems to have been assigned to Paphlagonia at this time. For Timonitis see Chap. VIII note 29. For the two princes see Strabo XII p. 541 (where, however, they are not named): Eutropius VI 14, 1 (*Attalo et Pylaemeni Paphlagoniam reddidit*): Appian *Mith.* 114 (Attalus only): Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος, where it is said that they both had been driven out (*ἐξελαμένους*) by Mithradates. On the basis of these statements, as well as those of Strabo (XII p. 562) that shortly before Strabo's birth (which Unger dated in 67/6) *ἦρχον πλείους* and (XII 544) that inland Paphlagonia was ruled by "dynasts" even after the overthrow of Mithradates, it was supposed by Unger in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 250f. that the restoration of the princes was effected by Lucullus after Mithradates's withdrawal from western Asia Minor and that they had been "driven out" by the King on his return to Pontus in 68 (see above p. 346). The passages of Strabo, however, do not seem to warrant this view, and the "expulsion" may easily refer to Mithradates's original seizure of part of inland Paphlagonia (see above p. 197; as was observed by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 574, Pompey's appointment of the princes could be officially called a "restoration." It is difficult to suppose either that Lucullus made any arrangements for Paphlagonia during his campaign against Mithradates, or that the King, at a time when he was fully occupied in recovering Pontus and defending

himself against Pompey, would have concerned himself with so distant a region. The rule of Attalus is attested by coins inscribed Βασιλέως Ἀττάλου Ἐπιφανοῦς; see *Receuil* I² p. 163*. Since, on his death about 40 B.C., his kingdom passed to the Galatian prince Castor (see Chap. XVIII note 16), whose son ruled in Gangra (see Chap. XVIII note 20), it seems probable that Attalus's share was southern or southeastern Paphlagonia. The "restored" Pylaemenes was regarded by Unger (p. 254) as the former king of this name, the son of Nicomedes Euergetes of Bithynia (see above p. 197), but this may be considered a mere conjecture. The existence of this prince was doubted by Reinach in *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 160 and *Receuil* I² p. 162*, but only on the insufficient ground that when Attalus died there was no other king in Paphlagonia. Pompey's appointment of both was accepted by Niese in *Herm.* XIII (1878), p. 38f. and *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII pp. 570f. and 573f., but his identification of them with the πλείους of Strabo XII p. 562 is far from certain. Unger, on the other hand, argued (p. 251f.) that πλείους indicates at least three rulers; his attempt, however, to find a third in Gaezatorix, who is mentioned in Strabo XII p. 562 but whose period is very uncertain (see Chap. VIII note 40), cannot be regarded as successful.

38. Appian *Mith.* 41: Justin XXXVIII 4, 9f. (a speech attributed to Mithradates). On the other hand, the *Gallograeci* to whom the King sent envoys asking for aid (Justin XXXVIII 3, 6) were, as the context shows, the Celts settled in Thrace.

39. For Galatian cavalry in Lucullus's army at Cabeira and at Tigranocerta see Memnon 44 and Plutarch *Luc.* 28, 2.

40. Strabo XII pp. 541, 547 and 567: Appian *Mith.* 114; Syr. 50 (where the number of the tetrarchs is incorrectly said to be four). For the tetrarchs see Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), pp. 568 and 583f.: A. Zwintscher *De Galatarum Tetrarchis* (Leipzig 1888), p. 1f.: Stähelin *Galater*², pp. 43f. and 88f.: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* V A 1091f. The view of Judeich (*Caesar im Orient* [Leipzig 1885], p. 151) and Zwintscher (p. 17f.) that the division among three tetrarchs antedated Pompey, and the attempt of Unger in *Philol.* LV (1896), p. 249f. to show that it took place in 66 are unfounded. The full title of Deiotarus after he obtained the tetrarchate of the Trocmi on the death of Mithradates of Pergamum (see Chap. XVII note 58) appears in the tomb-inscription of his son Deiotarus Philo[pa]tor (*R.A.* VI [1935], p. 140f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 110, see Chap. XVII note 29) as Βασιλεὺς Δηϊόταρος Φιλορώμαιος καὶ Γαλατῶν Τολιστοβωγίων καὶ Τρόκμων Τετράρχης. In an inscription from Athens (*I.G.* II² 3429 = *O.G.I.* 347) he is called less correctly Γαλ[ατ]ῶν Τολισ[τ]οβωγίων Β[ασιλεύς], and his coins (*B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xvii and 1) bear the legend Βασιλέως Δηϊοτάρου. For his kingdom and the bestowal of the royal title see below note 41. For Brogitarus see Kroll in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 82f. He appears as Βρογίταρος Δηϊοτάρου Γαλατῶν Τρόκμων Τετράρχης in *I.G.R.* IV 1328 (= *O.G.I.* 349) and 1683 and Haussoullier *Études*, p. 209f., no. 10, and a coin of his is inscribed Βασιλέως Βρογιτάρου

Φιλορωμαίου; see *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. xvii and Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 155. He is called Bogodiataros in Strabo XII p. 567, where it is related that Pompey gave him the fortress of Mithradatium (see Chap. VIII note 58), which, as Adcock observed (*J.R.S.* XXVII [1937], p. 15), was an "eastward extension" of his dominions. His father Deiotarus was perhaps also a tetrarch of the Trocmi; see G. Hirschfeld in *Herm.* XIV (1879), p. 475. His wife Adobogiona was the daughter of the Tolistobogian Deiotarus; see *I.G.R.* IV 1683 and Cicero *de Har. Resp.* 29. His sister was also named Adobogiona; see *I.G.* XII 2, 516=*I.G.R.* IV 3=*O.G.I.* 348 and Haussoullier, *l.c.* (where she is incorrectly called Ἀβαδογιώνα). She was evidently the Adobogiona τοῦ τετραρχικοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν γένους who, according to Strabo XIII p. 625, was the mother of Mithradates of Pergamum, appointed tetrarch of the Trocmi by Caesar (see Chap. XVII note 32). Brogitarus received the title of King in 58 B.C. by a plebiscitum proposed by Publius Clodius; see Cicero *de Har. Resp.* 28f.; *pro Sest.* 56; *de Domo* 129. The measure seems to have contained a clause by which the Priest of the Temple at Pessinus was deprived of his office and the priesthood given to a nominee of Brogitarus. This was displeasing to Deiotarus, who soon succeeded in ejecting his son-in-law's protégé and preserving the temple "in its pristine sanctity." In 55 Clodius attempted—apparently unsuccessfully—to obtain an appointment as *legatus* to Brogitarus; see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* II 7, 2. His purpose may have been to collect a part of the bribe still unpaid; see R. O. Jolliffe *Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Rom. Rep.* (Menasha, Wis. 1919), p. 73f. Brogitarus was still reigning in 53 B.C., for the coin previously cited is dated in his sixth year, but he was either dead or deposed in 47, when the Galatians' complaint to Caesar about Deiotarus's excessive power (see *Bell. Alex.* 67, 1 and above p. 411) suggests that he had seized Brogitarus's tetrarchate.

For Castor Saocondarius see Strabo XII p. 568 (=Suidas *s.v.* Κάστωρ Ῥόδιος), where it is related that he and his wife, the daughter of Deiotarus, were killed in their βασίλειον at Gorbeus by his father-in-law; see Chap. XVII note 60. Saocondarius was apparently part of his name, and not a patronymic, as supposed by H. Gelzer *Sex. Julius Africanus* II (Leipzig 1885), p. 71 and Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* VI p. 257, note 4. He was evidently the Castor Tarcondarius who sent his son to aid Pompey at Pharsalus (Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 4, 5, see above p. 403) and whose son Castor (who fought at Pharsalus, see Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 28) accused Deiotarus of an attempt to murder Caesar (see Chap. XVII note 59). He was identified by Suidas (*l.c.*) with the chronicler Castor of Rhodes and also apparently with Castor who led a revolt against Mithradates at Phanegoreia (see above p. 364). This identification, although accepted by some scholars (*e.g.* Kubitschek in *R.E.* X 2347f. and Christ-Schmid *Gesch. d. Griech. Lit.*[6] II p. 398), has been more generally rejected; see Niese *ibid.* p. 587, note 4: Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 156: Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* II BD p. 817. It was supposed by Niese (p. 586f.) that Castor was appointed tetrarch of the Tectosages by Pompey. There is no actual evidence for this view, for, as Judeich observed (*Caesar im Orient*, p. 151), the statement that he lived in a "palace" does not afford any proof.

On the other hand, his residence, Gorbeus, which was probably at Beynam, south of Ancyra, was in the territory of the Tectosages (see Ruge in *R.E.* VII 1589 and V A 172). It is improbable, moreover, that Deiotarus would have married his daughter to anyone who was not a prince, and Cicero's characterization of the younger Castor's family as *abiecta et obscura* (*pro Rege Deiot.* 30) may well be only an attempt to discredit the accuser. Nevertheless, there is also reason for believing that the tetrarch of the Tectosages appointed by Pompey was Domnilaus (or Donnilaus), who personally led the soldiers whom he and Castor jointly furnished to Pompey (see above). He was presumably the Domnecleius described as τετράρχης Γαλατῶν in Strabo XII p. 543. Judeich, accordingly, supposed (p. 151f.) that Domnilaus was appointed by Pompey, although he admitted that Castor Tarcondarius may have possessed a small territory around Gorbeus or may even have been co-tetrarch with Domnilaus. A compromise was sought by Ramsay (*Hist. Comm. to the Epist. to the Galatians*, p. 97, note 1 and p. 99f.) in the suggestion that Domnilaus and Castor Tarcondarius were brothers, sons of the tetrarch of the Tectosages appointed by Pompey. This surmise, although approved by Stähelin (pp. 89, 91 and 108), must be regarded as extremely hazardous. The fact that the two chieftains combined in supplying Pompey with troops does not prove that they were brothers or the sons of a tetrarch. Moreover, it is possible that Strabo's designation of Domnecleius as tetrarch may mean merely that he belonged to a family which had "tetrarchal" rank; in any case, it does not prove that Pompey made him tetrarch of the Tectosages, and in the present lack of evidence it cannot be definitely stated to whom Pompey assigned this post.

41. According to Strabo XII p. 547, Pompey gave Deiotarus the region around Pharnaceia and Trapezusia μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τούτων ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. According to Eutropius VI 14, 1, Pompey gave him Armenia Minor. His kingdom is called Armenia Minor also in Cicero *Phil.* II 94 and *de Div.* II 79 and in *Bell. Alex.* 67, 1. The passage of Strabo shows that he received the southern shore of the Euxine from Pharnaceia (Giresun) eastward. There is considerable difficulty, however, in determining what is meant by the rest of the statement. Anderson pointed out (*Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 4f.) that μέχρι as used by Strabo means sometimes "up to (but not including)" and sometimes "up to (and including)," and that in the present passage, since Colchis was given to Aristarchus (see below note 42), the word is evidently used in the "exclusive" sense and that there is therefore no indication in Strabo as to the disposition of Armenia Minor. On the other hand, in view of the other evidence that Deiotarus received Armenia Minor, it is difficult to suppose either that Pompey made no arrangement for its future or that his disposition of it was omitted by Strabo. The explanation offered by Adcock in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 15f. that Pompey gave it to Brogitarus and that at his death the Senate granted it to Deiotarus is, as the author admitted, only a "conjecture," unsupported by any evidence. Unless we are to suppose that Strabo was wholly mistaken in excluding the country from Deiotarus's

dominions, it must be assumed that, by an error either of the author or of a copyist—in the latter case perhaps under the influence of the preceding genitive Κολχίδος, perhaps through a reminiscence of XII p. 541, where the expression μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας describes ("inclusively") the dominions of Mithradates—the genitive was substituted for the accusative (see Adcock, p. 13, note 8). According to Strabo and Eutropius, Deiotarus's kingdom was given to him by Pompey. According to the passages of Cicero cited above, it was given to him by the Senate, and it is said elsewhere that the Senate granted him the title of King; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 17, 3; *de Har. Resp.* 29; *pro Rege Deiot.* 10: *Bell. Alex. l.c.* The statement in *Bell. Alex.* 68, 1 that Caesar reminded Deiotarus of the *officia quae consul ei decretis publicis tribuisset* suggests that this grant took place in 59 (the year of Caesar's consulship) but seems to indicate that these *officia* were conferred by action of the people. An attempt to reconcile the various statements was made by Fabricius (*Theophanes v. Mytilene*, p. 208f.), who suggested that while Deiotarus received the coast districts of Pharnaceia and Trebizond from Pompey, he did not obtain Armenia Minor until 59, when it was granted to him by the Senate, and this suggestion has received wide acceptance; see Zwintscher *ibid.* p. 12f.: Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 477f.: Stähelin *Galater*², p. 88, note 7: Cary in *C.A.H.* IX p. 393, note 2: Anderson, p. 3. There is, however, no real difficulty. The grants of territory made by Pompey in Asia Minor (including, presumably, that of Armenia Minor to Deiotarus) were not valid until they were formally ratified at Rome, and this ratification was finally achieved in 59 by the plebiscitum enacted by Caesar's henchman Vatinius (see above p. 368). The royal title, however, was customarily bestowed by action of the Senate; see *e.g.* Livy XXX 17, 10f.; XXXI 11, 14: Justin XXXVIII 2, 8: Caesar *Bell. Gall.* I 43, 4: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 7; *pro Sest.* 56: Tacitus *Ann.* IV 26, 4 (see Mommsen *R. St. R.* III p. 592, note 3). This was evidently the procedure in this case also. The action was taken before 58 B.C., when (contrary to custom) the title was conferred on Brogitarus by the plebiscitum of Clodius (see above note 40), in which also Deiotarus was designated as King (Cicero *de Har. Resp.* 29).

42. Appian *Mith.* 114: Eutropius VI 14, 1: Suidas *s.v.* Πομπήϊος. For coins inscribed Ἀριστάρχο(υ) τοῦ ἐπὶ Κολχίδος see *Num. Chron.* XVII (1877), p. 1f. and *Ztschr. f. Num.* V (1878), p. 226f.

43. For Deiotarus's knowledge of Greek see Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 25. For a statue of him at Athens, erected by the *demos*, see *I.G.* II² 3429 = *O.G.I.* 347. For his personal qualities as viewed by Cicero see Cicero *de Div.* I 26; *Epist. ad Fam.* IX 12, 2; XV 4, 5; *ad Att.* V 20, 9; *Phil.* XI 34; *pro Rege Deiot.* 39.

44. Appian *Mith.* 105. Sophene had been assigned by Pompey to the younger Tigranes but had been taken from him when he became insubordinate (see above p. 358). According to Appian, Gordyene also was given to Ariobarzanes, but, like his previous statement that it was given to this Tigranes, this is evidently an error; see Reinach *Mith. Eup.* p. 393, note 1.

45. Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 2, 2; 4, 4f.; *ad Att.* V 18, 1; 20, 2: Strabo XII pp. 534f. and 537. Castabala is mentioned together with Cybistra (Ereğli) in Strabo p. 535 and (without Cybristra) in Appian *Mith.* 105, where it is called a "city of Cilicia." It was not, however, the city of Castabala-Hieropolis in Cilicia Campestris; see Chap. XI note 35.

46. Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 73, 2, where Cicero wrote of friendly relations with him (see Chap. XVI note 61): Strabo XII pp. 535 and 569; XIV p. 679. He was presumably the [Ἀντ]ίπατρος Περιλάου Δερβήτης honoured at Temenothyrae on the Lydo-Phrygian border; see *I.G.R.* IV 1694.

47. For the fertility of the region of Ereğli see F. X. Schaffer in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI (1903), p. 86. For the mines at Bulgar Maden and in the immediate neighbourhood see Cuinet *Turquie* I p. 837: Schaffer, p. 83f.: Ravndal *Turkey*, pp. 149 and 151. It was suggested by Cary in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) I p. 136 and p. 141, note 4 that they were worked by the Hittites and that the treasure of silver which the troops of Ptolemy III captured at Soli in Cilicia about 246 B.C. (Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 1, see Chap. XI note 31) may have come from these mines. They may also have been the source of the ἀργυρικὸν τέλος which the Cappadocians paid to the Persians (Strabo XI p. 525).

48. Valerius Maximus V 7, *Ext.* 2: Appian *Mith.* 105. The sentimental motive assigned by the former need not be taken seriously. Since Ariobarzanes began to reign in 95, he was probably by this time an old man.

49. Cicero *de Prov. Cons.* 31: Appian *Mith.* 106 and 118. The statement of Appian that Pompey obtained that part of Cilicia which was not yet subject to the Romans is the more accurate. "Cilicia" was included among the countries over which he triumphed (see Pliny *N.H.* VII 98 and Plutarch *Pomp.* 45, 2 and above note 30.

50. The lineage, real and apocryphal, of Antiochus and his achievements are set forth on his monument erected on the summit of the Nemrut Dağ, a spur of the Taurus; see Humann and Puchstein *Reisen in Kleinasien u. Nordsyrien* (Berlin 1890), p. 234f. and *O.G.I.* 383-401. In these and other inscriptions (*O.G.I.* 402, 404 and 405) he has the titles of Θεός, Δίκαιος, Ἐπιφανής, Φιλορώμαιος καὶ Φιλέλλην, but on his coins (Babelon *Rois de Syrie*, pp. ccxii f. and 218 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xliv f. and 105) he is called only Βασιλεύς. For his dynasty see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 81f.: Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 233f.: Honigmann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 979f. For his great-grandfather Ptolemaeus, who seems to have made himself independent of the Seleucids and to have taken the title of King, see Diodorus frg. 12 Müller (*F.H.G.* II p. xi) and *O.G.I.* 402. For the boundaries of Commagene see Strabo XI p. 521f.; XII pp. 533 and 535; XVI p. 751. On the south it included Doliche (near Gaziantep) and on the west Catamana (near Bağdın, east of the upper Ak Su, see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* V *Text*, p. 1 B);

see Ptolemy v 14, 8. It probably included also the basin of the lower Ak Su; for it is difficult to infer with Honigmann (*ibid.* 984) from Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* v 18, 1 (*Cyrrhestica quae Syriae pars proxima est provinciae meae*) and Pliny *N.H.* vi 24 (*usque ad Cyrresticam eius regionem parte sua quae vocatur Cataonia contendit, scil. Cappadocia*) that a narrow strip of Cyrrhestica extended northward between Cilicia and Commagene to the frontier of Cappadocia.

51. Strabo xiv p. 664; xvi pp. 746f. and 749. For its site (Samsat) see Humann and Puchstein *ibid.* p. 182f. For its importance as a road-centre see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 684, 758 and 761f., and for its possible position on the "Royal Road" leading to western Asia Minor see Chap. II note 17.

52. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* iii 4, 5: Strabo xvi p. 749: Appian *Mith.* 114. For Antiochus's title of *Rex* and his right to wear the toga praetexta see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* ii 10, 2f.; *ad Fam.* xv 1, 2 and 4, 3. For his possession of Seleuceia see Strabo xvi p. 749 and Appian *Mith.* 114. In 54 B.C. he tried to obtain from the Senate the *oppidulum* of Zeugma (opposite Birecik) on the Euphrates; see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* ii 10, 2.

53. For Tarcondimotus see Strabo xiv p. 676 and Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* xv 1, 2, where he is called *fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populo Romano*. The "alliance" probably dated from the time of Pompey; see Niese in *Rh. Mus.* xxxviii (1883), p. 569 and Unger in *Philol.* lv (1896), p. 248. According to Strabo, he was κύριος of several "tyrants" who had strongholds in the Amanus, but in 51 he did not control the Eleutherocilices or the town of Pindenissus in this region, for it was attacked by Cicero; see *Epist. ad Fam.* ii 10, 3f. (where it is called *infestissima Ciliciae pars*); xv 4, 8f.; *ad Att.* v 20, 3f. and Chap. XVI note 66. For Castabala (Hieropolis-on-Pyramus) see Chap. XI note 35. Tarcondimotus and his descendants were honoured in a group of inscriptions from statues in the city; see *I.G.R.* iii 901 = *O.G.I.* 752-53 and Chap. XX note 22. On the statue-base erected to him by the *demos* he is called τοπάρχης as well as εὐεργέτη[ς] καὶ κηδεμὼν τοῦ δήμου. In Cassius Dio xli 63, 1 he is called merely ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας δυνασ τεύων. Strabo relates (*l.c.*) that "in his time" the Romans gave Tarcondimotus the title of King. This probably took place under Antony (see Chap. XVIII note 18). Tarcondimotus was probably the [β]ασιλεύς mentioned on the base of the statue erected by the *demos* of Castabala to Isidorus, described as one "of the first and highly honoured friends of the King"; see *O.G.I.* 754. By this time the kingdom was organized in the usual Hellenistic manner; for Isidorus was not only *demiourgos* (see Chap. XI note 35) but also *strategos* of the city, φυλακάρ[χη]ς of Castabalis and ἀρχυπηρέτης (chief paymaster, see Dittenberger, note 7) of the armies throughout the kingdom. It was suggested by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 40) that Tarcondimotus may have incorporated cities on his borders into his dominions. His possession of a port may be inferred from the fact that he sent ships to aid Pompey in the Civil War and from his

participation (and death) in a naval skirmish which preceded the battle at Actium (Cassius Dio XLI 63, 1 and L 14, 2), as well as from the statement of Dio (LIV 9, 2) that Augustus, when he restored the kingdom to Tarcondimotus's son in 20 B.C. (see Chap. XX note 22), retained *παραθαλασσίδιά τινα* which he gave to Archelaus of Cappadocia. Tarcondimotus's port was more probably a town on the Gulf of Issus than, as suggested by Jones (*Cities*, p. 203f.), the distant Corycus or Elaeussa or even Aegaeae.

CHAPTER XVI

1. The generally accepted belief that Flaccus was the son of the Lucius Flaccus who became Consul in 86 after Marius's death and was thereupon sent to the East (see above p. 222) is based on Cicero *pro Flacco* 61, *unum atque idem erat tempus cum L. Flacco consuli portas tota Asia claudebat, Cappadocem (i.e. Mithridatem) autem illum non modo recipiebat suis urbibus verum etiam ultro vocabat*, and 57, *patrem armis pellendum a suis moenibus censuissent*. As we know of no other Flaccus who had any connexion with Asia at the time of Mithradates's invasion, it seems necessary to identify the father of the governor with the Consul of 86, but since the latter, after fleeing across the Bosporus, was killed by Fimbria at Nicomedeia (see above p. 226) and so did not even enter the province of Asia, it is difficult to see how *tota Asia* could have offered resistance to him. It was pointed out, moreover, by W. Sternkopf in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol.* CLV (1897), p. 573f. that this statement cannot be reconciled with the further statement of Cicero (§55f.) that the Asianic cities collected money for the purpose of founding a festival in the elder Flaccus's honour, and that certainly such a collection could not have been made in 86, when Mithradates was in possession of the province. We can only suppose, as Sternkopf observed, that the elder Flaccus was governor of Asia after his praetorship, *i.e.* between 95 and 90. It was evidently during this stay in the province that he was accompanied by his young son (see note 2). We may presumably identify with either the elder or the younger Flaccus the L. Valerius L. f. Flaccus, whose mother Baebia, wife Saufeia and daughter Valeria Polla were honoured with statues at Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 144-146); in either case the title ἀνθύπατος (proconsul), which appears in these inscriptions, is incorrect, but it is given with a like incorrectness to the governors whose names appear on the cistophori of 58-53 B.C. (see Chap. X note 63 and below notes 15 and 16).

2. An outline of Flaccus's early career was given in the introduction to Cicero's speech in his behalf, but only fragments remain; see §5f. and §100. After accompanying his father to the East, he served in 83 in the army of his uncle, Gaius Flaccus, in Gaul, was *tribunus militum* under Servilius Isauricus (between 78 and 74, see above p. 287f.), quaestor under M. Pupius Piso in Spain (in 70) and legate under Metellus Creticus in Crete (in 69-67).

3. Cicero *pro Flacco* 27f. Cicero's attempt to refute the charge by the threefold argument that (1) it was permitted by a senatus consultum to levy the assessment, (2) a fleet was needed because some Asiatics had been captured by pirates, and (3) some ships had actually been put into commission, is highly suspect, and the Orator tried to avoid the charge that Flaccus had not spent all the money on the fleet by treating as irrelevant the fact that he did not enter it in his accounts. For the requisitioning of

money for ships as a source of revenue for a governor see R. O. Jolliffe *Phases of Corruption, etc.* p. 34f. and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 963.

4. *Pro Flacco* 34f.; 39f.; 42f. He is said to have taken 206,000 drachmae (34 1/3 talents) from Acmonia and 15,000 drachmae (2 1/2 talents), besides a larger sum, supposedly to be used *in aedem sacram reficiendam*, from Temnus.

5. *Pro Flacco* 55f. Cicero's argument that if the elder Flaccus had the right to use the money for the purpose for which it was collected, his son had the right to take it as belonging to his father, is particularly weak.

6. Cicero, at any rate, tried to make the jury believe this (see §94f.), and this view of the prosecution has often been adopted; see *e.g.* Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* v p. 614: Ed. Meyer *Caesars Monarchie, etc.*[2] p. 89. It has found a certain confirmation in Cicero's statement that Laelius found it easy to secure evidence in Asia because of the rumour (§14) that he was a friend of Pompey's, and that Pompey, who was an enemy of Flaccus, had asked him to undertake the prosecution, promising him every facility for its successful accomplishment. It does not, however, follow from the fact that Laelius was in the province of Asia in 62 that he had been in Pompey's army in the war against Mithradates.

7. For the eloquence of Hortensius, who also defended Flaccus, see Cicero *Epist. ad. Att.* II 25, 1. Flaccus's acquittal appears from the fact that in 57 he was legate of Piso in Macedonia (Cicero *in Pis.* 54).

8. For the Lex Julia de Repetundis see *Digesta* XLVIII 11: *Cod. Just.* IX 27: Cicero *pro Rab. Post.* 8 and 12; *in Pis.* 50 and 90; *Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 2 and 4; V 20, 2; VIII 8, 2f.; *ad Att.* V 10, 2; 16, 3; 21, 5; VI 7, 2; XV 11, 4: Horace *Sat.* I 5, 45f.: Suetonius *Jul.* 43, 1: Pliny *Epist.* IV 9, 6. See also G. Rotondi *Leges Publicae Pop. Rom.* (Milan 1912), p. 389f.: Tyrrell and Purser *Correspondence of Cicero* III[2] p. 327f.: R. O. Jolliffe *Phases of Corruption, etc.* p. 87f. The suggestion that the law permitted certain rations depends on the acceptance of the emendation *pransitans* (read by C. F. W. Müller) for the obviously corrupt *transitam* in *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 5. For Cicero's claim to have observed the provisions of the law see above p. 391f. For the abuse of the privilege of the *legatio libera* see Jolliffe, p. 81f.

9. For the Lex Gabinia see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 12 and VI 2, 7. It was presumably passed in 67, when Gabinius was tribunus Plebis; see Vonder Mühl in *R.E.* VII 425 and Last in *C.A.H.* IX p. 345. The connexion between this law and the embargo on the exportation of gold and silver in 63, on the one hand, and the cessation in the minting of cistophori, on the other, which was suggested by Broughton in *A.J.A.* XLI (1937), p. 248f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 556, was doubted by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 31.

10. *Pro Flacco* 66f. For the contributions, which were originally one third of a shekel (*Nehemiah* x 32) but later raised to a half shekel = one didrachmon (*Exodus* xxx 13), see *Matthew* xvii 24: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xviii 9, 1, §312; *Bell. Jud.* vii 6, 6, §218: Philo *de Special. Leg.* i 77 (v p. 19f. Cohn): Schürer *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes, etc.* II⁴ p. 314f.

11. *Pro Flacco* 68: *Apameae . . . expensum est auri pondo* $\bar{c}$ *paulo minus . . . , Laodiceae xx pondo paulo amplius . . . , Adramytii* ⟨$\bar{c}$⟩ (so Clark) . . . , *Pergami non multum.*

12. Cicero *pro Flacco* 33 and 49; *Epist. ad Fam.* II 15, 4; *ad Att.* VI 6, 3; *ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 1f. Cicero knew of his appointment on 15 Mar. 61 (*ad Att.* I 15, 1).

13. Cicero *ad Quint Fr.* I 1, 25f. The genuineness of this "letter" is suspect on the mere ground that it is inherently improbable that Cicero would give his brother such advice after the latter had been governor for two years; in fact, the writer himself seems to realize this improbability, for he twice makes a rhetorical pause (§§18 and 36) to apologize for the document. His pretext for writing (§1), namely, the wish to send Quintus the distasteful news of his reappointment for a third year, seems to have been suggested by Cicero's later repeatedly expressed desire to be relieved of his province of Cilicia after a year's incumbency. There is no reason to believe either that Quintus was unwilling to remain in Asia or that there was any necessity for his remaining there against his will; certainly the remark *deplorat* (*Quintus*) *primis versibus mansionem suam* in Cicero *ad Att.* II 16, 4 (59 B.C.) cannot be regarded as evidence. Moreover, except for §§25-26 and 33, the letter contains no definite statements of fact; the names of Caesius and Tuscenius in §§14 and 19 and the mention of Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia* in §23 appear to have been taken from *ad Quint. Fr.* I 2, 4, 6, and 7; the pointless allusion in §21 to Octavius's praetorship in Rome is evidently a bungling repetition of the pertinent citation of his merits as propraetor of Macedonia in §7 of the same letter; and this paragraph also supplies the theme of Quintus's *iracundia*, the fourth of the topics on which advice is given at length. The similarity of the precepts concerning government to those contained in the treatises *περὶ βασιλείας* addressed to monarchs by members of the various philosophical schools, which was noticed by Rostovtzeff (*Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 40 and Chap. VIII note 34), renders the genuineness of this "letter" all the more questionable as being perhaps a composition emanating from one of the later schools.

14. *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* II 9 (11), 2 (54 B.C.), where the Magnesian envoys in Rome are represented as making a *mentio honorifica* of Quintus because he *alone* (*i.e.* among the governors) had opposed Pansa's demands. A Lucius Sestius, *ταμίας*, honoured in two Pergamene inscriptions, *Ins. Perg.* 406 (= *O.G.I.* 452) and 407 = *I.G.R.* IV 435 and 436, was identified with this Pansa by Dittenberger and by Münzer in *R.E.* II A 1891, no. 10. The identi-

fication, however, is exceedingly doubtful, especially as it is difficult to understand how the same quaestor could have made demands under several governors.

15. *Ad Quint. Fr.* I 2, 8. His name appears as *T. Ampi T. f. procos.* on cistophori of the years *οϛ'* and *οζ'* (59/8 and 58/7 B.C.); see *C.I.L.* I² p. 762, no. 372. Waddington's dating in 57/6 (*Fastes*, p. 59f.), due to his incorrect dating of Fabius in 58/7, was corrected in *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 67 and by Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 79). The cistophori of Fabius and his successors (see below note 16) bear the title *procos.* although none of these men had advanced beyond the praetorship.

16. For the dated cistophori of *C. Fabi M. f. procos.* (*οζ'* and *οη'*=58/7 and 57/6 B.C.), *C. Septumi T. f. procos.* (*οη'*=57/6 B.C.) and *C. Pulchri Ap. f. procos.* (*πα'*=54/3 B.C.) see *C.I.L.* I² p. 762, nos. 373-375.

17. Caelius Rufus in Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* VIII 8, 2. Gaius Claudius was afterwards restored to his rights as citizen by Mark Antony (*ad Fam.* XI 22, 1).

18. For these three dioceses see Chap. VII note 41. They are described in Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 67, 1 as *τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticae* attributed to Cilicia. Under Fabius they were still attached to Asia, as is shown by the cistophori minted at Apameia and Laodiceia (see above note 16). Under Fabius's successor C. Septimius, cistophori of the year *οη'* (57/6 B.C.) were minted in Pergamum, Ephesus and Tralles, but none at either Apameia or Laodiceia. On the other hand, cistophori of these two cities (although without dates) were issued under the governors of Cilicia P. Lentulus Spinther (56-53 B.C.), Appius Claudius Pulcher (53-51) and Marcus Cicero (51/50), after whose proconsulship the dioceses were returned to Asia (see below note 77). For the mistaken view that Phrygia was incorporated in Cilicia at the close of the First Mithradatic War see Chap. XII note 15.

19. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 105f., the *conventus* of Cibyra-Laodiceia contained Hierapolis, in the valley of the Lycus, and Hydrela, near the junction of this river with the Maeander. In the *conventus* of Apameia were Dionysopolis, Peltae and Siblia, along the upper Maeander, and Acmonia, farther to the north. In the *conventus* of Synnada were Dorylaeum and Midaeum, in Phrygia Epictetus on the Tembris, Appia, near the source of the Tembris, and, in the south and southeast, Julia, on the Phrygian Caÿster, and the Lycaones. On the other hand, Cadi, in Abbaïtis about thirty miles west of Appia, was in the *conventus* of Sardis (Pliny V 111). According to the planimetric measurements of Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 223), the combined area of Pamphylia, Pisidia and the two Cilicias was 57,500 sq.km. (22,200 sq.mi.), while that of Phrygia and Cibyratis was 53,350 sq.km. (nearly 20,600 sq.mi.). From the latter a small deduction must be made for Cadi and probably also for the region of Aezanitis and western Phrygia

Epictetus, which may not have been in the *conventus* of Synnada. No estimate can be made of the size of that portion of Lycaonia which was included in the province of Cilicia.

20. Trogus *Prol.* XL. For these princes and for the Romans' claim to the dominions of Ptolemy Alexander II see Bouché-Leclercq *Hist. d. Lagides* (Paris 1903f.) II pp. 119f. and 125f.

21. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 107, 2: Cicero *pro Rab. Post.* 6; *Epist. ad Att.* II 16, 2: Suetonius *Jul.* 54, 3: Cassius Dio XXXIX 12, 1: Bouché-Leclercq II p. 135f.

22. For the annexation of Cyprus see Cicero *de Domo* 20, 52f. and 65; *pro Sest.* 57 and 59f.: *Scholia Bob.* p. 133 Stangl: Strabo XIV p. 684f.: Livy *Per.* CIV: Cassius Dio XXXVIII 30, 5; XXXIX 22, 2f.: Plutarch *Cat. Min.* 34f. and 38; *Brut.* 3: Valerius Maximus IV 1, 14; 3, 2; VIII 15, 10; IX 4, *Ext.* 1: Velleius Paterculus II 38, 6; 45, 4f.: Appian *B.C.* II 23 (where the episode is incorrectly placed in 52 B.C.): Florus I 44: *Liber de Vir. Ill.* 80, 2: Festus *Brev.* 13, 1: Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 8, 15. See also Bouché-Leclercq II p. 137f. and Chapot in *Mél. Cagnat* (Paris 1912), p. 65f. The explanation that the annexation was due to a plan to "round off" Rome's other acquisitions along the eastern Mediterranean was given by T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* II p. 53. The suggestion was made by Jolliffe *Phases of Corruption, etc.* p. 74f. that it was an act of revenge on the part of the Triumvirs for the King's failure to pay for an alliance and a recognition of his royal title.

23. For the copper from Cyprus see Polyaenus III 10, 14 and Pliny *N.H.* XI 119, and for the mines see Strabo XIV p. 684 and Galen Vol. XII pp. 214, 226, 234 and 239 Kühn. In the time of Alexander they apparently belonged to the local rulers; see Curtius Rufus X 3. Augustus leased them to Herod, King of Judaea, for one half of the annual yield; see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 4, 5, §128. Their antiquity is indicated by the tradition that the process of mining was discovered on the island; see Pliny *N.H.* VII 195 and XXXIV 2. See also Blümner in *R.E.* XI 2196: Orth in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 115f.: O. Davies in *B.S.A.* XXX (1928-30), p. 74f., who showed that during the Bronze Age the Cypriot mines were not of great importance. The ancient mines have recently been reopened by an American mining-engineering company; see J. L. Bruce in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* III (1937), p. 639f.

24. Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 6. See also *C.I.L.* III 6051 and 12101 (=*I.G.R.* III 965), both of unknown date.

25. For the Egyptian prefect see L.W. 2781=*O.G.I.* 155, where he is described as *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος*, and L.W. 2756, where he is called *ὁ γενόμεν[ο]ς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεω[ς στρατηγός]*. For Salamis as a *πόλις* see *O.G.I.* 108 and 156: L.W. 2756 and 2758.

26. For this incident see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* v 21, 10f.; vi 1, 5f.; 2, 7f.; 3, 5f. (Feb.-June, 50 B.C.): C. Bardt *Der Zinswucher d. M. Brutus* (Berlin 1898), p. 1f.: L. Gurlitt in *Berl. phil. Woch.* xx (1900), 1418f.: Tyrrell and Purser *Correspondence of Cicero* III² p. 337f.: T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* II p. 327f. The dating of the original loan in 56 is based on Cicero's ruling that the Salaminians should pay their debt *centesimis sexenii ductis* (*ad Att.* vi 1, 5) and on the statement (v 21, 12) that the senatus consulta legalizing the loan were passed in this year. The amount of the loan was reckoned at 53.6 talents by Bardt, followed by Gurlitt, who based this computation on the estimates of 200 and 106 talents presented, respectively, by Scaptius and the Salaminians at the beginning of 50 B.C. (*ad Att.* v 21, 12, see above p. 394). This computation, however, is highly uncertain, for it presupposes that no interest at all had been paid on the debt, an assumption which seems somewhat improbable. Bardt dated the last renewal of the bond of indebtedness (*proxima syngrapha, ad Att.* vi 2, 7) two and a quarter years before the matter was brought to Cicero's attention (at the beginning of 50) and estimated the amount agreed upon then as 82 talents, but this also is uncertain.

27. Cicero *ad Att.* vi 1, 5. Cato had become the *patronus* of the entire island; see Cicero *ad Fam.* xv 4, 15; *de Fin.* iv 56.

28. Cicero *ad Att.* v 21, 12. See Jolliffe *ibid.* p. 104f.

29. He had left Italy for his province when Cicero wrote to him (*ad Fam.* i 1) on 13 Jan. 56. His predecessor was T. Ampius Balbus, who was governor of Asia in 58/7 (see above note 15) and on the expiration of his term there was evidently transferred to Cilicia; see *Epist. ad Fam.* i 3, 2; iii 7, 5. Lentulus's cistophori, issued, but without date, in the dioceses transferred from Asia to Cilicia (see above note 18), bear the legend *P. Lentulus P. f. Imperator*; see *C.I.L.* i² p. 763, no. 379. For his title of *Imperator* see also Cicero *ad Fam.* i 9, 2 and for his triumph (at the end of 51 B.C.) see *ad Att.* v 21, 4.

30. For the intrigues connected with Lentulus's appointment to the mission of restoring Ptolemy Auletes see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* iv 1, 7 (Sept., 57); *ad Quint. Fr.* ii 2, 3; 3, 2f. (Jan.-Feb., 56); *ad Fam.* i 1-7: Cassius Dio xxxix 12f.: Plutarch *Pomp.* 49, 4f. For the attempt of Gaius Cato to have Lentulus recalled from Cilicia see Cicero *ad Quint. Fr.* ii 3, 1; *ad Fam.* i 5 a, 2; *pro Sest.* 144: Fenestella quoted in Nonius Marcellus iv p. 385 M.

31. Cicero *pro Rab. Post.* 20f.; in *Pis.* 48f.; *Epist. ad Att.* iv 10, 1 (22 April, 55): Livy *Per.* cv: Cassius Dio xxxix 55f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xiv 6, 2, §98 = *Bell. Jud.* i 8, 7, §175: Plutarch *Ant.* 3, 2f.: Appian *Syr.* 51. See also Jolliffe *ibid.* p. 25 (who accepted the statement of Dio that Gabinius acted on instructions from Pompey) and Tarn and Adcock in *C.A.H.* ix pp. 604 and 621.

32. He was present at the conference between Caesar and Pompey in Luca in April, 56; see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* II 4, 6; 13, 3: Plutarch *Caes.* 21, 2. For the connexion between this visit to Luca and his election to the consulship for 54 see L. A. Constans *Un Correspondant de Cic., Ap. Claudius Pulcher* (Paris 1921), p. 30. For the plan of Memmius to buy his support in the election for 53 see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* IV 17, 2; *ad Quint. Fr.* III 1, 16 (Sept.-Oct. 54). For the bribery practiced in this election by the four candidates see also *ad Quint. Fr.* II 14, 4 and 15, 2 (July-Aug. 54). Later, all of them were brought to trial for *ambitus* (*ad Quint. Fr.* III 2, 3). For Memmius as propraetor of Bithynia in 57/6 see below note 69.

33. Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* III 4, 2; 10, 10; *Brutus* 267 and 324. These marriages were dated by Constans (*ibid.* p. 47, note 1) between the beginning of 54 and Appius's departure for Cilicia in the spring of 53. Brutus and Claudia were divorced in 45 (*ad Att.* XIII 9, 2).

34. In describing the character of the administration of Cilicia by Appius Claudius the fact must be taken into consideration that for our information we are entirely dependent on the letters of Cicero, whose attitude toward him was none too friendly. Cicero, moreover, with the desire of glorifying his own administration tended to paint the sins of Appius in lurid colours. At the same time it must be remembered that his letters to Atticus, from which we derive most of our information about his predecessor, were intended solely for the perusal of the recipient, and even if due allowance is made for a desire to present his own achievements to his friend in a favourable light as well as for his attitude toward the arrogant Appius, enough remains to convict the latter of gross maladministration.

35. *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 5 (*venditio tributorum et illa acerbissima exactio, quam tu non ignoras, capitum atque ostiorum*); *ad Att.* V 16, 2 (*imperata ἐπικεφάλια . . . ὠνὰς omnium venditas*). It seems evident that the *venditio tributorum* and the *ὠναὶ venditae* refer to the same measure, *i.e.* the sale of the contracts for the collection of the local revenues of the communities; see V. Ivanov *De Societatibus Vect. publ. Pop. Rom.* p. 109: Broughton in *A.J.P.* LVII (1936), p. 173f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 797: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VII note 46: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 322, note 49. According to Cicero *pro Flacco* 20, the *tributum* and a *versura* were the two ways by which a city could obtain money. Since the *exactio capitum* (*ἐπικεφάλια*) *atque ostiorum* is mentioned together with the *venditio tributorum*, it seems more probable, as Broughton suggested (*A.J.P.* LVII p. 174 and *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 567f. and 798) that these special taxes were also levied by the cities to meet Appius's demands, rather than, as supposed by Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 962 and note 41), imposed by Appius directly. Cicero, in writing to Appius (*ad Fam.* III 8, 5) would hardly have described a levy made by him as *acerbissima*. For the imposition of *ἐπικεφάλια* by the community as an emergency-measure at Chalcedon, Lampsacus, Andros and Tenos see Chap. III note 39. As Laurent-Vibert observed (*Mél. d'Arch. et*

d'Hist. XXVIII [1908], p. 182f.), the *exactio ostiorum* was evidently a tax on property, estimated by the number of doors. For the indebtedness of the communities in the three Phrygian dioceses see *ad Att.* VI 2, 4 and *ad Fam.* XV 4, 2.

36. *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 2f. (where, among others, Midaeum, Laodiceia, Apameia, Synnada, Philomelium and Iconium are specifically mentioned); 9, 1; 10, 6.

37. *Liber de Vir Ill.* 82, 3f., accepted by P. Groebe in *Herm.* XLII (1907), p. 313f. and Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* IV p. 24.

38. The title appears on his cistophori (*C.I.L.* I^2 p. 763, no. 380) and in two inscriptions from Eleusis and Athens respectively (*C.I.L.* I^2 775 = III 547 = Dessau 4041 and *I.G.* II^2 4109). It also appears in the superscriptions of *Epist. ad Fam.* III 1 and 2. If the former of these, as was supposed with good reason by Constans (*ibid.* p. 123f.), was written before the murder of P. Clodius on 18 Jan. 52, Appius must have assumed the title during the first half-year of his governorship.

39. *Epist. ad Att.* V 15, 1; *ad Fam.* III 3, where it is said that the Senate, as a whole, was in favour of sending reinforcements to both Cilicia and Syria, but the Consul Ser. Sulpicius Rufus opposed it. The proposal seems to be mentioned also in *ad Att.* V 4, 2. Cicero, in writing to the magistrates and Senate in September, 51, emphasized the need of additional troops (*ad Fam.* XV 1, 5).

40. He has the surname Philopator on monuments erected to him and to his son in Athens (*I.G.* II^2 3426-3428 = *O.G.I.* 354-356) and on his coins (Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 61 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xxxiii and 41). For the murder of his enemies by Gabinius see Cicero *de Prov. Cons.* 9. His death, alluded to as a *casus acerbissimus* in *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 2, 6, was evidently a violent one. As no coins of his are known after his eighth year (56/5 B.C.), he was presumably killed soon after this time. The Senate's recognition of his son as King seems to have been on Cicero's motion or at least with his support (*Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 7). Ariobarzanes III had the surnames Eusebes Philoromaios; see *I.G.* II^2 3428 = *O.G.I.* 356: *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 2, 4: Reinach *ibid.* p. 62: *B.M. Cat. ibid.* p. 42.

41. *Epist. ad Att.* VI 1, 3; *ad Fam.* XV 1, 6 (*Cappadocia est inanis*). For Ariobarzanes's indebtedness to Pompey and to Brutus see *ad Att.* V 18, 4 (*Bruti res*); VI 1, 3f.; 2, 7; 3, 5. See also above p. 396 and Jolliffe *ibid.* p. 67f., who offered the not very convincing suggestion that the money which the King owed Pompey was in payment for the latter's support of the Senate's recognition of his royal title. Jolliffe pointed out (p. 68, note 89) that monthly interest-payments of 33 talents at the usual rate of 12% mean an indebtedness

of 3300 talents, and it is scarcely credible that so large a sum would have been paid for the usual formality of recognition. It was suggested by Frank (*Econ. Surv.* I pp. 325 and 389) that Pompey lent the money to Ariobarzanes II "to equip his bankrupt kingdom."

42. For Cicero's provincial edict see *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 11; VI 1, 15; *ad Fam.* III 8, 4. For the edict of Scaevola see above p. 173f.

43. For Cicero's visit to Samos on his way to Asia see *Epist. ad Att.* V 13, 1. A statue of him (*I.G.R.* IV 1713=*S.E.G.* I 381) erected near the Heraeum by the *demos* may date from this visit or it may have been set up together with one of Quintus, who is said to have restored the prosperity of Samos (see *ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 25 and above p. 382).

44. See above p. 252. After Cicero's departure from Rome a senatus consultum was passed establishing twelve per cent with simple interest as the legal rate; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 13.

45. *Epist. ad Att.* V 16, 3; 17, 2; 20, 6; 21, 5; VI 1, 2; 2, 4 (Aug., 51-May, 50). Similarly, he boasted that his journey through the province of Asia on his way to Cilicia did not entail any cost on that province (*ad Att.* V 14, 2). Before reaching Asia, he urged upon his legates the need of carrying out their duties *summa modestia et summa abstinentia*; see *ad Att.* V 9, 1; 10, 2; 11, 5. For his refusal to accept gifts see also Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 2.

46. In addition to Quintus, his legates were Gaius Pomptinus (who as praetor in 63 had aided Cicero in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy and afterwards held a military command in Gaul and in 54 triumphed over the Allobroges), Marcus Anneius and Lucius Tullius; see *Epist. ad Att.* V 4, 2; 11, 4; 14, 2; 21, 5 and 9; VI 3, 1; *ad Fam.* II 15, 4; III 10, 3; XIII 55, 1; 57, 1; XV 4, 2 and 8.

47. *Epist. ad Fam.* III 8, 3f.; 10, 6. In the latter passage Cicero, in an effort to appease Appius, conceals the fact that he had made the departure of the delegations dependent on his permission.

48. *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 10; VI 1, 6. Torquatus's agent was M. Laenius, who was also a friend of Atticus; he seems to have been in business in Laodiceia (*ad Att.* V 21, 4). He is probably to be identified with the M. Laenius to whom Cicero gave a letter of recommendation to Publius Silius, governor of Bithynia (*ad Fam.* XIII 63, see above p. 400), and perhaps also with M. Laenius Flaccus who entertained Cicero in Brundisium in 58 and again in 57; see *ad Fam.* XIV 4, 2; *pro Planc.* 97; *pro Sest.* 131. Gaius Vennonius, described as *meus familiaris*, to whom Cicero also refused a prefecture (*ad Att.* VI 3, 5), seems to have been Pompey's agent (see *ad Att.* VI 1, 25).

49. *Epist. ad Att.* VI 1, 21, as interpreted by Tyrrell and Purser. For money furnished by the communities in the provinces for the spectacles given by aediles see *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 26 and above p. 382.

50. *Epist. ad Att.* VI 1, 21; *ad Fam.* II 11, 2; VIII 2, 2; 4, 5; 6, 5; 8, 10; 9, 3: Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 5. Caelius's fellow-aedile, Marcus Octavius, also tried to get panthers from Cicero (*ad Att.* V 21, 5; VI 1, 21). The nature of the *syngrapha Sittiana* or *negotium Sittianum* mentioned by Caelius together with the panthers (and also in *ad Fam.* VIII 11, 4) is not known. Any connexion with the notorious Publius Sittius, as suggested by Münzer in *R.E.* III A 410, is exceedingly doubtful.

51. *Epist. ad Fam.* VIII 9, 4. The *agri quos fructuarios habent civitates* which Caelius's friend Feridius wished to have declared *immunes* were supposed by Tyrrell and Purser (III² p. 77) to have belonged to some Italian town which owned property in Cilicia. It seems much more probable, however, that, like Falcidius at Tralles (see Chap. X note 53), Feridius had bought up the revenues of some Cilician communities.

52. *Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 4. The suggestion of Mommsen (*Röm. Forsch.* II p. 434, note 42) that this Sallustius is to be identified with the historian C. Sallustius Crispus was regarded with reserve by Drumann-Groebe (*G.R.* II p. 92, note 2) but accepted as probable by Münzer in *R.E.* I A 1919.

53. *Epist. ad Att.* VII 1, 6, if the reading CIↃ is correct; this was in addition to an amount covering the expenses of the coming year given to the quaestor who was to take Cicero's place. For the depositing of copies of Cicero's accounts in Laodiceia and Apameia in obedience to the Lex Julia see *ad Att.* VI 7, 2; *ad Fam.* II 17, 4; V 20, 2. Bibulus, governor of Syria, on the contrary, refusing to recognize the validity of Caesar's law, authorized his quaestor not to deposit copies of his accounts (*ad Fam.* II 17, 2).

54. For L. Aemilius Paullus, Consul in 50, see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* I p. 4f., who maintained that he was the actual, and not the adopted, son of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the Consul of 78, and hence a brother of Marcus Lepidus (the later Triumvir), the husband of Brutus's half-sister Junia.

55. For the whole episode see *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 2, 4f.; 4, 6; 5, 1; *ad Att.* V 20, 6: Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 1: Jolliffe *Phases of Corruption, etc.* p. 65f. It was presumably because of Cato's motion that Cappadocia is called his *clientela* in *ad Fam.* XV 4, 15. Athenais bears the cognomen Philostorgos on the inscription of Ariobarzanes III at Athens (see above note 40); Reinach observed (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 63f.) that she may have been the daughter of Mithradates who seems to have been betrothed to the son of Ariobarzanes I in 81; see Chap X note 40.

56. *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 1, 1f.; 2, 1f.; 3, 1f.; 4, 3f.; *ad Att.* V 18, 1f.; 20, 2: Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 2. See also T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* II p. 260: N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* (Chicago 1938), p. 96f. News of the invasion sent by Cassius and Deiotarus was received in Rome before 17 Nov. 50; see Caelius Rufus in *Epist. ad Fam.* VIII 10, 1f.

57. For Antiochus see above p. 376. His messengers came to Cicero while in camp at Iconium; the date is varyingly given as *a.d. III Non. Sept.* in *ad Fam.* XV 3, 1 and *Kal. Sept.* in *ad Fam.* XV 4, 3; both passages are at variance with the statement in *ad. Fam.* III 6, 6, *castra movi ab Iconio pridie K. Septembres.* In order to remove the inconsistency, many editors, following Manutius, have altered the text of the first two passages to *a.d. III Kal. Sept.* As was pointed out, however, by H. Ten Cate Fennema *Quaestiones Parthicae* (Nijmegen 1882). p. 108f., the discrepancy between *ad Fam.* XV 3 and 4 is easily explained by the fact that the second of these letters was written at least three months after the first and Cicero's memory may well have been at fault. The suggestion of Constans (*ibid.* p. 68f.) that there were *two* messages from Antiochus, one on 1 Sept. and one on 3 Sept., seems scarcely probable. On the other hand, Fennema's emendation of *movi* in *ad Fam.* III 6, 6 to *movebo* is not convincing, for the preceding clause, *iter in Ciliciam facio per Cappadociam*, shows that Cicero had already left Iconium. Unless we are prepared to alter *K(alendas)* in this passage to *N(onas)*, we must accept the complicated explanation offered by L. W. Hunter in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 80f., namely, that Cicero, after leaving the camp near Iconium on 29 Aug., turned back in the hope of meeting Appius and so was again at the camp on 3 Sept., with the modification of this theory proposed by Constans (*ibid.* p. 68f.) that there were *two* camps, one northwest of Iconium, which Cicero left on 29 Aug., and one southeast, where he was on 3 Sept.

58. Cassius Dio XL 28, 1. See also H. Ten Cate Fennema, p. 80.

59. *Epist. ad Att.* V 15, 1: Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 1. Cicero commented on the weakness of the troops at his disposal in *ad Att.* V 18, 1 and *ad Fam.* XV 1, 4f.; see also above p. 389.

60. Artavasdes (sometimes spelled Artabazes), the son of Tigranes, succeeded his father before 54 B.C. He co-operated at first with Crassus in the latter's expedition against the Parthians, but when he was unable to persuade Crassus to advance against them through Armenia and the enemy's troops threatened the country, he refused to help Crassus further and was regarded by him as a traitor; see Plutarch *Crass.* 19 and 22 and Cassius Dio XL 16, 2. He afterward made peace with the Parthians and married his sister to Pacorus; see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XV 3, 1: Plutarch *Crass.* 33, 1. A daughter of his was betrothed to Deiotarus's son; see *Epist. ad Att.* V 21, 2.

61. All these preparations for the war must have taken some time. This would account for the interval between the receipt of the news from Antiochus of Commagene on 3 Sept. (see above note 57) and Cicero's arrival at Cybistra on 18 or 19 Sept. (*ad Fam.* XV 1, 2 and L. W. Hunter *ibid.* p. 90f.). The distance by the shortest route, *via* Barata, was about 94 Roman miles (see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 728), and by the longer route, *via* Derbe and Laranda, about 140 Roman miles (about 80 m.p. from Iconium *via* Derbe to Laranda, and 87 km.=60 m.p. from Laranda to Cybistra by the Bagdad Railway). If we may suppose that Cicero and his army travelled by the longer route, it seems highly probable, as Hunter suggested (p. 89), that he was entertained by Antipater, whom Pompey had made ruler of Derbe (see Chap. XV note 46) and between whom and Cicero there was *non solum hospitium verum etiam summa familiaritas* (*ad Fam.* XIII 73, 2). As Constans pointed out (*ibid.* p. 82, note 3), this was undoubtedly the *iter . . . per Isauros* of *ad Fam.* XV 2, 1. It is possible that at this time also Cicero attacked the territory of Moeragenes in the Taurus, to which he expected to go from Lycaonia, anticipating some resistance (*ad Att.* V 15, 3 on 3 Aug. 51); but since there is no mention of an actual invasion of Moeragenes's *possessio* until after Cicero's return to Laodiceia (*ad Att.* VI 1, 13 on 20 Feb. 50), it is probable that this did not take place until early in 50.

62. Cicero left Cybistra on 22 Sept. or soon thereafter; see L. W. Hunter *ibid.* p. 90f. He arrived in Tarsus on 5 Oct. (*ad Att.* V 20, 3), left on 7 Oct., arrived at Mopsuestia on 8 Oct. (*ad Fam.* III 8, 10), and reached Mt. Amanus not later than 10 Oct. (*ad Fam.* XV 4, 7f.). The length of time (twelve days) that Cicero took to go from Cybistra to Tarsus seems hardly consistent with his statement (*ad Att.* V 20, 2), *confestim iter in Ciliciam feci.*

63. The report of this victory sent by Cassius to the Senate was dated on 7 Oct.; see *ad Att.* V 21, 2 (reading *datae* with Hofmann, Tyrrell and Purser and most editors for the Mss. *id est*), where the victory is spoken of somewhat slightingly. Cicero was informed of it on his arrival at Mt. Amanus, probably on 10 Oct. (see note 62); see *ad Fam.* II 10, 2, where he wrote that the news gave him great pleasure. He had evidently not heard it on 8 Oct., when he wrote to Appius Claudius from Mopsuestia (*ad Fam.* III 8, 10) that the only Parthians in Syria were some Arabs, "who were partially equipped as Parthians," and that these had already left. He mentioned the victory briefly and without any indication of its real importance in *ad Att.* V 20, 3 (where he attributed the Parthians' retreat from Antioch to fear inspired by his own approach) and *ad Fam.* XV 4, 7, but in *ad Fam.* XV 14, 2f. he congratulated Cassius on his success and in 43 B.C. (*Phil.* XI 35) he spoke of it in glowing terms. For Cassius's victory see also Livy *Per.* CVIII: Frontinus *Strat.* II 5, 35: Cassius Dio XL 28, 3f.: Justin XLII 4, 5.

64. *Epist. ad Fam.* II 10, 2f.; XV 4, 8f.; *ad Att.* V 20, 3f.: Plutarch *Cic.* 36, 4. This attack took place on 13 Oct.

65. The title *Imp.* (as well as *Procos.*) appears on the cistophori of Cicero (*C.I.L.* I² p. 764, no. 381) as well as in the superscription of many of his formal letters written during the period immediately after its assumption. For the altars to Zeus, Athena and Heracles erected by Alexander on the bank of the Pinarus near Issus see Curtius Rufus III 33.

66. See Chap. XI note 38. As the possible site of Pindenissus, A. Janke in *Auf Alex. d. Gr. Pfaden* (Berlin 1904), p. 39 suggested a height six km. east of Osmaniye, but any identification is impossible. For the surrender of the town on the first day of the Saturnalia (17 Dec.), *septimo et quinquagesimo die postquam oppugnare eos coepimus* see *ad Att.* V 20, 1. The Eleutherocilices were evidently not included in the territory assigned by Pompey to Tarcondimotus (see Chap. XV note 53).

67. *Epist. ad Att.* VI 3, 1f.; 4, 1; 5, 3; 6, 3f.; *ad Fam.* II 15, 4 (June-Aug., 50). The new quaestor, C. Coelius Caldus, did not arrive until after 26 June, 50; see *ad Fam.* II 19, 1 and *ad Att.* VI 5, 3. Cicero left the province on 3 Aug., sailing from Side in Pamphylia (*ad Fam.* III 12, 4).

68. For coins bearing the name of Carbo see *Receuil* I p. 249, no. 28f. (Apameia Myrleia); p. 268, no. 1f. (Bithynium); p. 397f., no. 2f. (Nicaea); p. 514f., no. 1f. (Nicomedeia); p. 576, no. 1 (Prusa); p. 617, no. 5 (Tieium); I² p. 73, no. 45 (Amisus); p. 169*, no. 22 (Amastris). The coins issued at Nicaea bear the dates 222 and 224, those of the other Bithynian cities that of 224 (the coins of Amisus and Amastris are undated). It was shown by Mommsen in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XI (1884), p. 158f. and Reinach in *Trois Royaumes*, p. 143f., corrected in *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 182, note 1, that the era, different from the royal era of Bithynia, was reckoned from 282/1 B.C. (perhaps from the death of Lysimachus, who was killed in this year), and that, therefore, Carbo's term of office was in 61-59 B.C.

69. Memmius was praetor in 58; see Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 2, 16 and *in Vat.* 33. For his governorship in Bithynia see Catullus 10 and 28. Cornutus was praetor in 57 (Cicero *post Red. in Sen.* 23); a coin bearing his name, but without date, was issued at Amisus; see *Receuil* I² p. 73, no. 46.

70. This title appears on coins minted by his son, which bear a representation of a trophy and a kneeling captive; see Grueber *Coins of the Rom. Rep. in the Brit. Mus.* I p. 495 and F. Marx in *Bonn. Stud. . . . R. Kekulé z. Erin., etc.* (Berlin 1890), p. 119f.

71. *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 61 and 63. For Silius see above p. 399, and for Laenius in the province of Cilicia see above note 48. For Nero see *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 64, 2. The Nysa mentioned in §1 as being under his *patrocinium* can scarcely be the city of this name in the Maeander valley (see Chap. V note 27), as has sometimes been assumed (*e.g.* by Tyrrell and Purser III² p. 144 and Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 1635), for it is hard to see why Silius, the

propraetor of Bithynia, should have been asked to regard this place as "under his especial care"; it seems much more probable that it was some otherwise unknown Bithynian town, named after one of the Bithynian princesses called Nysa.

72. *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 9, 2 (51/50 B.C.), *Bithynica Societas, quae societas ordine ipso et hominum genere pars est maxima civitatis* (*constat enim ex ceteris societatibus*). The meaning of this passage is far from clear. Since, however, a distinction is made by Cicero between this *societas* and the *universus ordo publicanorum*, it is difficult to accept either the explanation offered by Laurent-Vibert in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* XXVIII (1908), p. 175f. that the general farming of the taxes of Asia Minor was in the hands of a combination of *societates* bearing the name *Societas Bithynica*, or the view held by Tyrrell and Purser (*Correspondence of Cicero* III[2] p. 147), Frank (*Econ. Surv.* I p. 346) and Broughton (*ibid.* IV p. 539, note 27) that this *societas* was made up of members of the other (Eastern) companies. It seems more probable, as suggested by Ivanov *De Societ. Vect. publ. P. R.* p. 24f., that it was a combination of the various *societates* which operated in Bithynia.

73. *Epist. ad Att.* VI 8, 5; VII 2, 6; *ad Fam.* XII 19, 2: Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 31. Bibulus himself refused to ask Cicero for help (*ad Fam.* II 17, 6), but his subordinates kept begging for assistance, which Cicero, because of the weakness of his forces, felt unable to send (*ad Att.* VI 5, 3 on 26 June, 50). For the withdrawal of the Parthians see *Epist. ad Fam.* II 17, 1, 3 and 5 (about 18 July, 50); *ad Att.* VI 6, 3; VII 1, 2; 2, 8. It evidently took place between 26 June (see above) and the middle of July, perhaps about 1 July; see F. W. Sanford in Univ. of Nebraska *Univ. Studies* XI (1911), p. 329 and T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* II p. 323. According to Cassius Dio XL 30, 2, Bibulus persuaded a satrap named Ornodapates to revolt against Orodes, setting up Pacorus as king. On the other hand, Justin (XLII 4, 5) attributed the defeat of the Parthians by Cassius in 51 (see above note 63) to the recall of Pacorus as the result of his father's suspicions.

74. Hirtius in Caesar *Bell. Gall.* VIII 54: Caesar *Bell. Civ.* I 4, 5; 9, 4: Appian *B.C.* II 29: Cassius Dio XL 65f.: Plutarch *Caes.* 29, 3; *Pomp.* 56, 3. Cicero, writing from Tarsus about 18 July (*ad Fam.* II 17, 5), knew of the plan to send the legions from Italy to Syria; the action of the Senate, therefore, must have been taken not later than May, more probably in April, for, as Sanford observed (*ibid.*), an allowance of some time must be made for the journey of the legions from Gaul to Italy.

75. Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* IX 15, 6: Caesar *Bell. Civ.* I 28 and III 6. The dates of Pompey's departure from Italy (17 March) and Caesar's arrival in Epirus (5 Jan.) are given according to the calendar in use at the time. They correspond, respectively, to 26 Jan. and 7 Nov. 49 of the corrected (Julian) calendar; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 812f.

76. Cistophori of Fannius, minted in Ephesus, Tralles, Laodiceia and Apameia, bear the legend *C. Fan. Pont. Pr.* and the date πϛ′ (49/8 B.C.); see *C.I.L.* I² p. 763, no. 376. He is apparently the Fannius ἀρχιστράτηγος (probably an error for ἀντιστράτηγος) who is mentioned in a letter (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 13, §230) attributed to the legatus T. Ampius Balbus on the subject of the exemption of the Jews from military service (see below). For the C. Fannius C. f. στρατηγὸς ὕπατος (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 15, §233) who was formerly identified with this propraetor but was probably C. Fannius Strabo, Consul in 161, see Chap. IV note 76. For Lucius Antonius see the letter of Balbus just cited (where he is called ἀντιταμίας) and another letter purporting to have been written by Antonius himself to the Council and People of Sardis, in which his title is given as ἀντιταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος (Josephus *ibid.* §235). It appears more correctly as ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος in two inscriptions from Pergamum, in which he is called πάτρων καὶ σωτήρ and praised as δικαιοδοτήσας τὴν ἐπαρχείαν καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ ὁσίως (*I.G.R.* IV 400 [=*O.G.I.* 448] and 401) and perhaps in *I.G.R.* IV 1346 as restored by Robert in *Hellenica* I (1940), p. 54f. As was observed by Klebs in *R.E.* I 2585, it was evidently Lucius Antonius (and not his brother Gaius) whom Thermus, on Cicero's advice, left as his substitute in the province of Asia (*Epist. ad Fam.* II 18, 2). For Lentulus Crus see Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 4. Proclamations attributed to him and to his legatus T. Ampius Balbus exempted from military service those Jews who were Roman citizens; see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 13, §§228, 230, 234 and 236f.

77. The transfer of the two *conventus* of Laodiceia and Apameia is shown by Fannius's cistophori (see above note 76). The *conventus* of Synnada was evidently transferred with them, see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam* XIII 67, 1 (46 B.C.), where Cicero speaks of the τρεῖς διοικήσεις *Asiaticas* as (formerly) *attributas* to Cilicia.

78. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 4: Velleius Paterculus II 51, 1: Florus II 13, 5: Appian *B.C.* II 49 and 71 (where Ariobarzanes is incorrectly called Ariarathes): Plutarch *Pomp.* 73, 6: Cassius Dio XLI 63, 1. See also Dolabella in Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* IX 9, 2. According to Appian *B.C.* II 71, forces of Armenians also came to Pompey, those from the western side of the Euphrates under the command of Taxiles and those from the eastern side under Megabates, the ὕπαρχος of King Artapates (evidently an error for Artavasdes, see above note 60), but this statement is not confirmed by any other author.

79. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 3, 1; 5, 3; 101, 1. Pompey had 600 ships according to Appian (*B.C.* II 49), 500 according to Plutarch (*Pomp.* 64, 1) and Cassius Dio (XLI 52, 2). Both numbers, although they include ships obtained from the whole eastern part of the Empire, are probably too large, but it is impossible to form any correct estimate; see T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III p. 432. For Cato and the Rhodians see Plutarch *Cat. Min.* 54. For the sixteen

ships that they sent to aid Pompey see Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 26f., where we are told they were all lost in a storm. The loss of the Rhodian fleet is mentioned also in Plutarch *Cic.* 38, 4, but according to Cicero *de Div.* I 68f., when the news of the defeat at Pharsalus was received, the Rhodian ships deserted the rest of Pompey's fleet and returned home.

80. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 31. His cistophori, minted in Pergamum (*C.I.L.* I^2 p. 763, no. 377), bear the legend *Q. Metellus Pius Scipio Imper.* The title *αὐτοκράτωρ* appears also in the inscriptions in his honour and his daughter's (Pompey's wife) at Pergamum; see *I.G.R.* IV 409 and 421 = *Syll.*^{3} 757 and 758.

81. Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 96 and 102f.: Cicero *Phil.* II 39: Livy *Per.* CXII: Plutarch *Pomp.* 73f.: Velleius Paterculus II 53, 2: Appian *B.C.* II 83f.: Cassius Dio XLII 2, 3f.: Lucan *Pharsalia* VIII 1f.: Valerius Maximus I 5, 6: Florus II 13, 51f.: Orosius VI 15, 27f. For Pompey's voyage to Egypt see also W. Judeich *Caesar im Orient*, p. 52f.: J. P. Postgate *Lucani de Bell. Civ. Lib. VIII* (Cambridge 1917), p. lxxi f.: T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III p. 173f. Judeich suggested dates for the events of the seven weeks which elapsed between the battle of Pharsalus on 9 Aug. (6 June) and Pompey's death on 28 Sept. (24 July), 48 B.C.

CHAPTER XVII

1. For Caesar at Ephesus see Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 105 and Appian *B.C.* II 89. For the devotion of the cities of Asia to Pompey after his defeat see Cassius Dio XLII 2, 1. For the portents at Tralles and Pergamum (as well as in various places in Greece and Syria) see Caesar *ibid.*: Valerius Maximus I 6, 12: Pliny *N.H.* XVII 244: Plutarch *Caes.* 47, 1: Cassius Dio XLI 61, 3f. The story of the portent at Tralles is said to have occurred in connexion with a statue of Caesar, but it is hard to understand why a statue of him should have been erected there before his victory at Pharsalus.

2. Judeich (*Caesar im Orient*, p. 58f.) suggested that Caesar was in Asia from the end of August (according to the calendar) until about 25 September (21 July). The *pauci dies*, therefore, which, according to *Bell. Civ.* III 106, he spent in the province were in reality about four weeks. It was shown by L. E. Lord in *J.R.S.* XXVIII (1938), p. 39f. that this expression, as used (eighteen times) by Caesar in the *Gallic War* and the *Civil War*, means a period varying in length from three days to one month.

3. For the *clementia* of Caesar see (most recently) L. Wickert in *Klio* XXX (1937), p. 232f., where it was connected with a plan, attributed to him by the author, of transforming the Roman state into a world-wide monarchy ruled by himself. For his treatment of the cities see Rostovtzeff in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 28f. and *Hellenist. World*, p. 996f. For Ilium see Strabo XIII pp. 594f. and 600 and *I.G.R.* IV 199, a fragmentary letter, attributed by the editor to Caesar, promising to make the city free and exempt from taxation. According to Lucan *Phars.* IX 961f., Caesar visited Ilium while on his way from Thessaly to Egypt. For Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 304 = 1677 = Robert in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 230, in which Caesar was honored as σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης for having restored to the gods τήν τε πόλιν [καὶ τὴ]ν χώραν οὖσαν ἱερὰ[ν....]. The description of Caesar as δικτάτωρ τὸ [β'], shows that the inscription cannot be dated before November, 48; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 739 and T. Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III p. 565. On the other hand, an inscription (*I.G.R.* IV 305) in which the *demos* of Pergamum honoured Caesar as "its patron and benefactor and the saviour and benefactor of all the Hellenes" must be dated not later than December, 48, since Caesar appears as ὕπατος τὸ δεύτερον. It may be supposed, therefore, that the "restoration" was granted when Caesar was in Asia in September, 48 and that the monument recording it was erected somewhat later. A fragmentary inscription found at Smyrna (together with a copy of the senatus consultum dealing with the dispute between Pergamum and the *publicani*, see Chap. VII note 25), which was published in *Athenaeum* XV (1937), p. 273, was regarded by Robert *ibid.* p. 227f. and Segre in *Athenaeum* XVI (1938), p. 119f. as a letter of Caesar's to Pergamum, containing an ἐπίκριμα confirming this restoration. This fragment mentions a Μιθ[ραδάτης]; this man, as Robert observed, was evidently Caesar's protégé Mithradates of Pergamum (see below note 4) who

was presumably instrumental in obtaining this grant. The significance of the "restoration to the gods" of "the city and the sacred territory" (also attributed to Mithradates, see below note 4) is obscure. Segre suggested (p. 122f.) that the territory may have been that which was originally bequeathed to the city by Attalus III (see Chap. I note 93); but there is little reason to suppose that the name of a deity, such as Dionysus Cathegemon, should be restored after ἱερά[ν]. For the grant of freedom by Servilius Isauricus in 47 or 46 see below note 42. The "restoration" was connected with it by Hepding in *A.M.* XXXIV (1909), pp. 336 and 339 and Segre (p. 125). Hepding supposed that the grant of freedom was actually made at this time and merely carried out by Servilius Isauricus. But such an action would hardly be described as a "restoration to the gods," and it is difficult to believe that several months elapsed between the grant and its execution.

4. For Mithradates, son of Menodotus, of Pergamum see Strabo XIII p. 625: *Bell. Alex.* 78: Hepding in *A.M.* XXXIV p. 329f.: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2205f. For his mother see Chap. XV note 40. If he may be identified, as was suggested by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 593, note 2 (accepted by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, Chap. VI note 98 but rejected by Münzer in *R.E.* XV 2215, no. 36), with the Mithradates who appears in Cicero *pro Flacco* 17 and 41, he was in Rome in 59 as a witness against L. Valerius Flaccus (see above p. 379f.). For his services to Caesar in Egypt see *Bell. Alex.* 26f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 8, 1f., § 127f. = *Bell. Jud.* I 9, 3, § 187f.: Cassius Dio XLII 41: Judeich *ibid.* p. 92f. For inscriptions at Pergamum honouring him as ἀποκαταστήσας τοῖς πατρῴοις θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν and as a "New Founder" see *I.G.R.* IV 1682 = *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 230 and *A.M.* XXXIV p. 331 = XXXV p. 471, no. 55. Since he appears in these inscriptions as Priest of Dionysus Cathegemon he was presumably in Pergamum at the time. The date, therefore, cannot be later than November, 48, for by this time Mithradates had gone to Alexandria and after the Egyptian campaign he accompanied Caesar to Pontus and never returned to his native city. For Caesar's bestowal on him of the tetrarchate of the Trocmi and a kingdom in southern Russia see below note 32.

5. For Theopompus and his friendship with Caesar see Strabo XIV p. 656: Plutarch *Caes.* 48, 1: G. Hirschfeld in *J.H.S.* VII (1886), p. 286f.: Bux in *R.E.* V A 2174. For the grant to Cnidus see Plutarch *l.c.* and *I.B.M.* 792 = *S.G.D.I.* 3504 in honour of a descendant of Theopompus, in which the latter is mentioned as having obtained [ἐλευ]θερία καὶ ἀνισφορία for the city. For honours to him at Cnidus see *I.B.M.* 801: L.W. 1572 = *S.G.D.I.* 3527: *B.C.H.* XXXIV (1910), p. 425, no. 1 = XXXVI (1912), p. 667 (erected by the resident Romans). For honours at Rhodes, Cos and Delphi see *I.G.* XII 1, 90 = *I.G.R.* IV 1120: *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 17, no. 13 = *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 91: *Syll.*[8] 761 c. For Caesar's visit to Cnidus, where he was entertained by Theopompus's son Artemidorus, see Appian *B.C.* II 116. For the sworn treaty of συμμαχία (ὅρκιον, see Chap. IV note 89) see Ἀθηνᾶ XI (1889), p. 283f., nos. 3 and 4 = Jardé in *Mél. Cagnat* (Paris 1912), p. 51f. =

Täubler *Imp. Rom.* I p. 450f., with a correction by Wilhelm in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXIV (1914), 894. The treaty is dated on the sixth day before the Ides of November, but the year is not recorded. It was probably 45 B.C., for Cichorius in *Rh. Mus.* LXXVI (1927), p. 327f. pointed out that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who seems to have been one of those who took the oath for Rome, was in the city in October, 45 (Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 32), and Theopompus, who (together with his son Artemidorus) represented Cnidus, was in Rome in June of this year (*Epist. ad Att.* XIII 7, 1). Theopompus seems to have returned to Asia before Caesar's death or soon afterward; see above p. 419. His son Artemidorus was presumably the man honoured at Cnidus as the founder of the festival called Artemidoreia; see L.W. 1572 *bis*=*I.B.M.* 787.

6. *Inschr. v. Olymp.* 53 (Cos): *I.G.R.* IV 928 and 929 of 48 B.C. (Chios): *I.G.R.* IV 970, corrected in *A.M.* XLIX (1924), p. 44 (Samos).

7. Cassius Dio XLI 63, 2; XLII 6, 3; 49, 1. For Deiotarus see *Bell. Alex.* 34, 1: Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 14 and 24f. According to Cicero *ibid.* 13, he went straight home after returning from Pharsalus. Lucan relates (*Phars.* VIII 209f.) that Deiotarus landed on the western coast of Asia, but his further statement that Pompey sent him as an envoy to ask help from the Parthians is evidently fictitious. For Pythodorus (see Chap. X note 60) see Strabo XIV p. 649. For his daughter Pythodoris see Chap. XX note 52.

8. Plutarch *Caes.* 48, 1: Cassius Dio XLII 6, 3: Appian *B.C.* V 4 (a speech attributed to Antony). See also O. Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 68f.: H. F. Pelham in *Transac. Oxford Philol. Soc.* 1881-2, p. 1: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 328f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III pp. 179f. and 482: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 538: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, pp. 997 and 1577: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* VII A 44. On the basis of land-registers from villages in the valley of the Lydian Caÿster, it was suggested by Keil and von Premerstein (III p. 69f.) that in the raising of taxes by a city the village-communities served as units, each contributing its quota toward the whole amount. Whether the amounts levied on the cities were based on the tithe-system or were fixed sums is not clear. The former view was held by Pelham, followed by Rostovtzeff, the latter by Chapot, followed by Rice Holmes and Schwahn. Pelham's view, however, was based only on the statement attributed to Antony by Appian that Caesar turned over to the cities the collection of the *phoroi* παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων, and this speech is too tendentious to serve as a secure basis for any argument. Chapot's view, on the other hand, founded on the statements of Appian *B.C.* IV 74-75 that Cassius and Brutus exacted lump sums from Asia, is hardly conclusive, for their demands were not necessarily based on any legal system of taxation. For the view that Caesar's method of taxing the communities had been introduced by Sulla but soon abandoned see Chap. X note 17. Hirschfeld pointed out that the statement in Tacitus *Ann.* IV 6, 4 shows that in A.D. 23 the grain-assessments, the indirect taxes and the other sources of revenue were still collected by *publicani*. For the *portorium* in the first century after Christ see Chap. XXIV note 4.

9. L.W. 142=*Syll.*³ 760, erected by αἱ πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κα(ὶ) ο[ἱ δῆμοι] καὶ τὰ ἔθνη and dated in 48 B.C. by Caesar's title of *Consul iterum*. For the significance of the epithet ἐπιφανής see Pfister in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 307f. For the honours paid by the association consisting of δῆμοι (*i.e. poleis*) and ἔθνη (*i.e.* tribal districts) see Chap. VII note 48. The δῆμοι in the present inscription—if, indeed, this is the correct restoration—were supposed by Keil (*Syll.*³ 760, note 2) to be those districts which had a political organization as opposed to the unorganized ἔθνη. For the mention of the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων of Asia in the letter of a Roman official of the time of Cicero see *Milet* I 2, p. 101f., no. 3=Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 22 (see Chap. VII note 41). For a letter of Antony addressed to this organization see Chap. XVIII note 4. For the Κοινόν of Asia under Augustus see Chap. XVIII note 54. Caesar's presence in Asia at this time was commemorated by the introduction of an era reckoned from 49/8 B.C., which was afterward used by communities in the basin of the Lydian Caÿster. This was first observed by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 202) in connexion with an inscription to M. Aurelius Antoninus, dated ἔτους σξα' (M.K.B. VI [1886], p. 87f., no. φοθ'), in which Ramsay pointed out that the emperor was probably Caracalla and the year A.D. 213. This was confirmed by Keil and von Premerstein (III pp. 65 and 87f.) from an inscription to Caracalla and Geta dated σνθ', *i.e.* A.D. 211/12.

10. For Caesar in Rhodes see Appian *B.C.* II 89 and Judeich *Caesar im Orient*, p. 59f. For the ships sent to Pompey by the Rhodians see Chap. XVI note 79. For their refusal to receive Pompey and his partisans see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XII 14, 3. For their envoy to Caesar see *I.G.* XII 1, 57=*I.G.R.* IV 1119. The date of the treaty made with the Rhodians διὰ Γαίου Καίσαρος (Appian *B.C.* IV 68 and 70 and perhaps Cassius Dio XLVII 33, 2) is unknown; this could hardly have been the treaty of 51 B.C. (*ad Fam.* XII 15, 2), when Caesar was in Gaul.

11. For the ten Rhodian warships together with *Asiaticis paucis* see Caesar *Bell. Civ.* III 106, 1 and Appian *B.C.* II 89. According to *Bell. Alex.* 13, 5, after the arrival in Egypt of the vessels sent by Calvinus with reinforcements, Caesar's fleet consisted of nine Rhodian ships (one of the original ten having been lost), eight from Pontus, five from Lycia and twelve from the province of Asia. It may be supposed that a certain Asclepiades and his comrades who fought "at Alexandria in the war against Ptolemy," who appear in an inscription probably from Cyzicus (*I.G.R.* IV 159), were part of this force.

12. Appian *B.C.* II 87f. The statement that Cassius and his ships, while in the Hellespont, surrendered to Caesar appears also in Suetonius *Jul.* 63 and Cassius Dio XLII 6, 2. This Cassius was confused by Appian (also in II 111) with the later conspirator against Caesar, Gaius Cassius Longinus, but in the narratives of both Suetonius and Dio his praenomen appears as Lucius. Since Lucius Cassius, the brother of Gaius, was fighting on the

side of Caesar, this man was evidently some otherwise unknown member of the *gens*; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* II p. 543f. and Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III p. 482. The statement that he was on his way to Pharnaces is found only in Appian. In view of Appian's other errors (seventy vessels as opposed to the ten recorded by Suetonius), this statement is open to suspicion, but it is difficult to explain otherwise why Cassius was in the Hellespont when he surrendered.

13. Cassius Dio XLII 9, 2f. and 45, 2 and Florus II 13, 62. Judeich (p. 64), although admitting that Colchis may have been conquered previously, supposed that Pharnaces did not advance into Armenia Minor until after he had received the news of Caesar's departure for Egypt, *i.e.* the beginning of October (in reality, the end of July). There seems to be little foundation for this view, but, in any case, Pharnaces's plans for the recovery of Pontus must have been made much earlier. For his invasion of Colchis, Armenia Minor and Cappadocia see Cassius Dio XLII 45, 3 and *Bell. Alex.* 34, 1. For Aristarchus see Chap. XV note 42.

14. For Calvinus's campaign against Pharnaces see *Bell. Alex.* 34f.: Livy *Per.* CXII: Cassius Dio XLII 46: Appian *B.C.* II 91 and *Mith.* 120: Plutarch *Caes.* 50, 1: Suetonius *Jul.* 36. For Deiotarus's army see *Bell. Alex.* 34, 4 and Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 14 and 24 and above p. 389. According to the manuscripts of *Bell. Alex. l.c.*, *equitesque c* were furnished to Calvinus by Deiotarus and by Ariobarzanes. This number seems so small that the emendations D or CD or DC have been suggested; see Rice Holmes III p. 506.

15. For Nicopolis (Pürk) and the route on which it lay see Chap. VIII note 33 and Chap. XV note 35. For the place in which the battle was fought see Kromayer-Veith *Schlachten-Atlas, Röm. Abt.* IV *Text* 102f. and *Blatt* 21, who adopted the view of F. and E. Cumont (*Stud. Pont.* II p. 306, note 2) that it was close to Pürk in preference to the previous view of Munro (*Roy. Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Pap.* III [1893], p. 726) that it was at Eskişehir, about two km. farther east (see Chap. XV note 7). Both Kromayer-Veith and Rice Holmes (*Rom. Rep.* III p. 506) pointed out that the low flat heights around Pürk suit the description of *Bell. Alex.* 36, 3 (*plano . . . loco montibus tamen altis ab duobus lateribus obiectis*) much better than does the situation of Eskişehir on "a steep rocky spur projecting into a small ravine." For the date see Judeich, p. 63, who, pointing out that Cassius Dio (XLII 46, 3), in relating that after the battle ὁ χειμὼν προσῄει, was using (as regularly) the unreformed (pre-Julian) calendar, dated the battle in the beginning of December according to the calendar, in reality in the end of September. Calvinus's line of march from Comana to Nicopolis is uncertain. According to *Bell. Alex.* 35, 5f., it was a *iugum editum silvestre pertinens in Armeniam Minorem, quo Cappadocia finitur ab Armenia*, and Calvinus chose it partly because on this high ground there was less danger of an ambush and partly because of the convenience of getting supplies from Cappadocia. The text suggests the top of a high ridge, such

as those which rise on both the north and the south banks of the Iris (on which Comana lay). Only that on the southern side, however, could be reached from Cappadocia. It seems extremely unlikely that Calvinus marched along the top of one of these ridges, and it is much more probable that he used the route from Comana which led along the upper Iris and then crossed the mountains to Nicopolis (see Chap. VIII note 25).

16. According to *Bell. Alex.* 38f., the despatch-bearers were intercepted by Pharnaces. How the message was conveyed to Calvinus does not appear. In fact, the story is open to suspicion, for Calvinus had already sent two legions to Caesar and, as far as Caesar knew, had only one left.

17. *Bell. Alex.* 41 and 70, 5f.: Appian *B.C.* II 91 and *Mith.* 120: Cassius Dio XLII 46, 3: Plutarch *Caes.* 50, 1: Strabo XII p. 547 (Amisus).

18. For Caesar's measures in eastern Asia Minor and his campaign against Pharnaces see *Bell. Alex.* 65f.: Livy *Per.* CXIII: Cassius Dio XLI 63 and XLII 47f.: Appian *B.C.* II 91 and *Mith.* 120: Suetonius *Jul.* 35, 2: Plutarch *Caes.* 50, 2: Florus II 13, 63: Orosius VI 16, 3: Eutropius VI 22, 3: Pliny *N.H.* VI 10. For various attempts to determine the chronology of Caesar's actions during the (uncorrected calendar) months March-July, 47 see Judeich, p. 106f.: O. E. Schmidt *Briefwechsel d. M. T. Cicero*, p. 224f.: Rice Holmes *Rom. Rep.* III p. 509f.: L. E. Lord in *J.R.S.* XXVIII (1938), p. 19f. The only definitely established dates are those of his occupation of Alexandria on 27 March (after his defeat of the elder Ptolemy on the Nile) and his victory over Pharnaces at Zela on 2 Aug. (14 Jan. and 20 May, according to the corrected calendar), which are known from the fragments of Roman calendars; see *C.I.L.* I^2 pp. 314 and 323. The date of his departure from Alexandria has been varyingly conjectured from "not later than 11 April" or "not later than 5 May" (Lord) to 20 June (Judeich). Since, according to Suetonius *Jul.* 35, 2, he reached Zela five days before the battle, his arrival must be dated on 29 July. The length of his march from Tarsus to Zela was estimated by Judeich (p. 113f.) as 14 days, by Schmidt (p. 225) as 20 days (including his two-day stop at Mazaca), by Rice Holmes (p. 510) as 23 or 24 days and by Lord as 34 days. Since the distance from Tarsus to Mazaca *via* the Cilician Gates and Tyana is probably about 160 miles (175 Roman miles, according to Judeich, 155 Roman miles, according to the ancient itineraries as corrected by K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 664f. and 728f., probably too short an estimate) and that from Mazaca to Zela by the shortest route (see below note 22) about 150 miles, and since allowance must be made for the two days spent at Mazaca, the estimates of Judeich and Schmidt seem too short, especially since Caesar had to traverse mountainous country. Lord's estimate, on the other hand, seems too long, especially as it presupposes a departure from Tarsus on 24 June (13 April), a time at which the Taurus might still be blocked by snow (see Chap. XI note 36). Holmes's estimate, presupposing a departure from Tarsus about 5 July (23 April), seems about correct. If Caesar had

spent four days in the city (a surmise on which Judeich and Lord agree) his arrival there may be dated about 1 July.

19. For Tarcondimotus see Cassius Dio XLI 63, 1. For the era of Aegaeae see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. cxiii and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 424.

20. For the conspiracy see Chap. XVI note 55. For the measures taken by Caesar for Ariarathes see *Bell. Alex.* 66, 6, where, however, there seems to be a lacuna in the manuscripts and we know only that Caesar (*Ariarathen*) *Ariobarzani attribuit, qui sub eius imperio ac dicione esset.* In May, 45 B.C. Ariarathes, according to Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* XIII 2 a, 2, was in Rome, wishing "to buy some kingdom from Caesar."

21. Strabo XII p. 558: Appian *Mith.* 121. According to *Bell. Alex.* 66, 5, Lycomedes was made priest of the Temple in the Cappadocian Comana. Not only is the author's testimony less reliable in this case than that of Strabo, a native of Pontus, but it is hard to see why Caesar should have appointed the priest of a temple in Cappadocia, at this time nominally, at least, an independent kingdom. It is evident, therefore, as observed by Drumann (see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 498, note 2), followed by other writers (most recently by H. Volkmann in *Philol.* XCII [1937], p. 298f.), that the author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* confused the two Comanas. The passage, as printed in most editions, tells us that Caesar went to Comana; for the editors, following Nipperdey, in order to make the text intelligible, have read in §4 *Comana venit*, where the *venit* has been inserted from two inferior manuscripts. Since the distance from Mazaca to Comana, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* (179-80 and 210-11) was 69 or 74 Roman miles, or, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 735), 77 Roman miles (there were apparently two routes, see Ruge in *R.E.* X 1914f., no. 7), the return-journey, with a stop at Comana, would have taken a week. In view of the haste with which Caesar was travelling, it is much more probable that *venit* must not be read and that the appointment was made at Mazaca; see Judeich, p. 117f.: Rice Holmes III p. 511: Lord, p. 30f.: H. Pötter *Untersuch. z. Bell. Alex. u. Bell. Afric.* (Leipzig 1932), p. 50f. For a gift of land to the Temple at Comana in Pontus by either Caesar or Antony see Chap. XVIII note 25. Lycomedes is described in *Bell. Alex.* as *homo nobilissimus Bithynius* and *regio Cappadocum genere ortus.* The unconvincing suggestion was made by Reinach (*Trois Royaumes*, p. 140f.) that he was the alleged son of Nicomedes IV of Bithynia whose claim to the throne was rejected by the Senate (see Chap. XIII note 50).

22. It was pointed out by Lord (*ibid.* p. 31f.) that there were three possible routes from Mazaca to Zela: "No. 1" (the most westerly and the longest), leading to Tavium *via* Yozgat, the route advocated by Judeich (p. 114); "No. 2," leading almost due north from Mazaca across the Çomak Dağ to the upper Scylax and thence northeast to Zela, a distance of 140-150 miles;

"No. 3," leading northeastward along the Halys to the later Sebasteia (Sıvas, see Chap. XXI note 3), thence northwestward along the great route (see Chap. VIII note 25) to Dazimon (Tokat), and from here west and south to Zela, a distance of about 220 miles. Despite the greater length of "No. 3," Lord, rightly rejecting "No. 1" entirely, gave it the preference over "No. 2" on the grounds that the latter (1) has never been a waggon-road, (2) had few villages on it, so that provisions would be hard to obtain, and (3) had no place in which Caesar's troops could assemble. It is true that "No. 2" crosses two mountain-ranges, the Çomak Dağ and the Deveci Dağ (north of the Scylax), but neither of these is much higher than the pass by which Caesar had crossed the Taurus and since, as "No. 3" leads over the pass of Çamlibel (between Sıvas and Tokat), nearly 6000 ft. in height, there is little advantage in the terrain to offset its greater length. Moreover, "No. 2" is an old and well-established route (see Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 31f.), and at least its northern section—between the Scylax and Zela—was used in Antiquity, as is shown by two late Roman milestones found, one at Kurupınar, the other at Kadışehri, respectively about five and twenty-five miles southwest of Zela; see *C.I.L.* III 14184[17] and Jalabert in *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] (1908), p. 452, no. 13. This route also corresponds to the statement that Caesar went *propius Pontum finesque Gallograeciae* (*Bell. Alex.* 67, 1), where Deiotarus met him, whereas "No. 3" leads far away from the border of Galatia. In fact, the modern road from Yozgat (which was in Galatia) to Sıvas crosses "No. 2" at Karamağara (north of the Çomak Dağ), and Deiotarus may have come by this route—a much shorter journey than any by which he could have met Caesar on "No. 3." For a possible assembling-place for the forces see below note 23.

23. For Caesar's reception of Deiotarus see *Bell. Alex.* 67: Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 8f., 14 and 24: Cassius Dio XLI 63, 1. Unless we are to suppose (which seems improbable) that Deiotarus's troops were with him at the time, they must have joined Caesar somewhat later on the march toward Zela. The meeting-place was perhaps in the neighbourhood of the Scylax, north of which (at Kadışehri, see above note 22) a road from Ancyra and Tavium to the later Sebastopolis crossed the probable route ("No. 2," see note 22) of Caesar; see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 672f. (where the proposed route from Ancyra to Tavium is highly questionable): Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 30f.: Jalabert in *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] (1908), p. 450: de Jerphanion in *Mél. Beyrouth* VII (1914-21), p. 9 and XIII (1928), p. 34. On the other hand, they may have come by a route which diverged from this one and led directly to Zela; see Miller *Itin. Rom.* 678f. and Anderson, p. 44f.

24. According to Cassius Dio XLII 46, 4f., Pharnaces had actually set out to quell Asander's revolt when he heard of Caesar's approach and turned back to meet him—a statement which it is difficult to reconcile with Pharnaces's attempts to negotiate instead of complying with Caesar's demand to evacuate Pontus. Asander's revolt is placed before the battle of Zela by Appian also (*Mith.* 120).

25. This is the version contained in *Bell. Alex.* 70f. According to Cassius Dio XLII 47, 4, Caesar, wishing to throw Pharnaces off his guard by encouraging his hope of peace, showed great friendliness to his first and second embassies but, on the arrival of a third, just before the battle, reproached Pharnaces on various grounds, among them his desertion of Pompey. The account of the negotiations in Appian *B.C.* II 91 is obviously fictitious.

26. See above p. 347f. The site of the battle was placed by Judeich (p. 141f.), in criticism of a view previously expressed by Perrot, on the southern side of a narrow valley "a little more than an hour" (corresponding to the *nec multo longius milibus passuum tribus* of *Bell. Alex.* 72, 2) northwest of Zela. This site was accepted by Rice Holmes (*Rom. Rep.* III p. 511f.) and Kromayer-Veith (*Schlachten-Atlas, Röm. Abt.* IV *Text* 104f. and *Blatt* 21).

27. Suetonius *Jul.* 37, 2. This is probably more correct than the version of Plutarch (*Caes.* 50, 2) and Appian (*B.C.* II 91), according to which the famous words were written to a friend in Rome. According to Florus II 13, 63, Caesar boasted *ante victum hostem esse quam visum.*

28. *Bell. Alex.* 77, 2: Cassius Dio XLII 49, 1. An altar, found at Zela, with the inscription Καλουείνῳ Θεῷ (*Stud. Pont.* III no. 260=*I.G.R.* III 108) is generally supposed to have been dedicated to Caesar's legate.

29. Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 15, 17 and 21. In the last two passages the manuscript-reading for the name of both castles (in which Caesar spent successive nights) is *Luceium.* The names Βλούκιον and Πήιον have been restored from Strabo XII p. 567, where both are said to have belonged to Deiotarus, the former being his *βασίλειον*, the latter his *γαζοφυλάκιον.* They were placed by Anderson in *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 94 on the road which led southwest from Ancyra to Germa and Dorylaeum and thence to Nicaea; see Chap. II note 21 and Chap. XIX note 9. Ruge, however, observed (*R.E.* XIX 68f.) that Caesar, travelling to Nicaea, would have passed farther to the north, presumably by the direct road from Ancyra to Nicaea; see Chap. XIII note 14 and Chap. XIX note 9. The discovery of the tomb of Deiotarus II Philopator (with two other tombs, probably royal) near Karalar, about twenty miles northwest of Ancyra (*R.A.* VI [1935], p. 133f.=*Ann. Ép.* 1936, 110, see Chap. XV note 40), seems to show that the territory of the Tolistobogii included this region and that, as suggested by Ruge, quoted by Coupry in *R.A.* IX (1937), p. 87, the country of the Tectosages, whose western boundary has never been determined (see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 173), may have extended only as far as the Mürted Ova immediately east of Karalar. It is not improbable, therefore, that the site of the tombs near Karalar was not Manegordus, as has often been supposed (see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text,* p. 13 and Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 1048), but Blucium or (less probably) Peium; see C. Picard in *C.R.A.I.* 1935, p. 44 and Coupry *ibid.* p. 88.

30. For Caesar's presence in Bithynia see *Bell. Alex.* 78. 1: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 29, 4: Cassius Dio XLII 49, 1. His stay in Nicaea is indicated by the speech which Brutus delivered before him there in behalf of Deiotarus; see Cicero *ad Att.* XIV 1, 2 and, for the speech itself, Cicero *Brut.* 21 and Tacitus *Dial.* 21. Judeich (pp. 147 and 149) dated his arrival in Nicaea about the middle of August (early June) and his departure at the end of the month. The probability that the various measures for the future of eastern Asia Minor were adopted in Nicaea was pointed out by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 592f. This seems much more likely than the view of Judeich (pp. 146f. and 156f.) that they were taken at Zela; for if it is true that Caesar left Zela on the day after the victory, there would not have been sufficient time for making all the necessary decisions.

31. For Deiotarus's retention of the title of King see Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 25, 36 and 41; *Phil.* XI 31 and 33. For the bestowal of the title on the younger Deiotarus by the Senate see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* V 17, 3. It has been restored in his tomb-inscription found at Karalar (see above note 29). For the partition of Armenia Minor see Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 35f.; *Phil.* II 94; *de Div.* I 27; II 79: Cassius Dio XLI 63, 3 and XLII 48, 3. Judeich seems hardly justified in supposing (p. 149f.) that there is a discrepancy among the sources.

32. For Mithradates see above note 4. For the grant of the tetrarchate and of the kingdom in the Crimea see *Bell. Alex.* 78, 2f.: Cicero *de Div.* I 27; II 79 (where Mithradates is contemptuously referred to as an *adsecula Pergamenus nescio quis*); *Phil.* II 94; Strabo XIII p. 625: Appian *Mith.* 121: Cassius Dio XLII 48, 4. For Mithradates's overthrow by Asander see Strabo *l.c.*

33. Strabo XII p. 546: Pliny *N.H.* VI 6: Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 91: Ulpian in *Digesta* L 15, 1, 10. It is called λαμπροτάτη (or λαμπρὰ) κολωνεία = *splendidissima* (or *splendida*) *colonia* in *C.I.G.* 4164 = *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 314, no. 43 and *R.A.* III (1916), p. 347f., no. 8 = *Ann. Ép.* 1916, 121 = *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 357f., no. *b*. Its name appears as *C(olonia) I(ulia) F(elix)* in *C.I.L.* III 239 = 6978 and, with or without the addition of *S(inopensis)*, on coins from the time of Mark Antony onward; see *Receuil* I² p. 201*f. According to Strabo (*l.c.*), the colony of Romans received only a part of the *polis* and its territory, and this statement seems to be borne out by two inscriptions showing that the colony, for a time at least, was a separate organization existing alongside of the Greek community, see *R.A.* III p. 338, no. 5, in which the δῆμος καὶ βουλή honoured C. Sestyllius (Sextilius ?) Maximus, γυμνασιαρχήσας καὶ ξυσταρχήσας τῆς κολωνείας, and *ibid.* p. 335, no. 4 = *I.G.R.* III 94, in which the δῆμος honoured the elder Agrippina. The colony, while probably planned at the time of Caesar's stay in Nicaea, was evidently sent to Sinope in 46/5, for the new era which appears on the coins seems to begin in this year; see *Receuil* I² p. 200 and p. 201*f., no. 75f. See also M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946), p. 251, who connected a coin of P. Sulpicius Rufus *procos.* with the founding of the colony. For monuments of duumvirs see *C.I.L.* III 6980 and *R.A.* III p. 339f., no. 6 = *Ann.*

Ép. 1916, 120. The latter, honouring a man who went at his own expense as the colony's envoy to Hadrian and to Antoninus Pius, was erected by a *vicus*, which shows that the city was divided into precincts like those in Rome; for *vici* in the colonies at Alexandria Troas and Antioch-near-Pisidia see Chap. XX note 15 and Chap. XIX note 32.

34. For Apameia Myrleia see Strabo XII p. 564; Pliny *N.H.* V 149: Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 47, 1: Ulpian in *Digesta* L 15, 1, 10: Marquardt *R. St. V.*² I p. 357. Its official name appears in two inscriptions, *C.I.L.* III 335 = 14188¹ (= *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 108f., no. 88) and 6992 (= Dessau 314), the former of the time of Vespasian, the latter of A.D. 129, as well as on its coins from Caesar (or Augustus) onward; see *Receuil* I p. 250f. Since the legend Ἀπαμέων Μυρλεανῶν appears on a coin (*Receuil* I p. 250, no. 30) minted under the propraetor C. Vibius Pansa in 47/6 B.C. (see below note 40), it is evident that the colony was not founded before 45. It was supposed by Grant (*ibid.* p. 255f.), who assigned to Apameia a colonial coin bearing the portrait of Augustus and the name *C(olonia) I(ulia) C(oncordia)*, that the colony was originally founded by Antony and refounded by Augustus. For Parium see Pliny *N.H.* IV 48 and V 141: Paulus in *Digesta* L 15, 8, 9: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 582. Its name appears as *Col(onia) Iul(ia) Pariana* in *C.I.L.* III 386 and as *C(olonia) G(emella) I(ulia) P(ariana)* on coins from Augustus onward; see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 102f. A colonial coin bearing the name of M. Turius *legatus* was assigned to Parium by Grant (p. 248f.), who dated the foundation in 42/1. The suggestion was made by Broughton (*ibid.* note 23) that the word *Gemella* signified an addition to the colony under Augustus. For honours conferred by the *colonia* see *C.I.L.* III 375. For a possible refounding under Hadrian see Chap. XXVI note 12.

35. The only evidence for the existence of a colony at Heracleia is contained in Strabo XII p. 542f., where the statement is made that it received an ἀποικία of Romans in part of the city and its territory and that these Romans were afterward slaughtered by Adiatorix the Galatian, to whom Antony gave the Hellenic *polis* (see Chap. XVIII note 27). It is similarly reported in Appian *B.C.* V 137 that Caesar sent many Italian settlers to Lampsacus. The settlers sent to Heracleia were regarded by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 163) as constituting a regular colony, and Grant (pp. 246f. and 254f.) assigned certain colonial coins to Lampsacus and Heracleia. In the lack, however, of more definite evidence of the existence of a regular colony in either place, it seems probable that groups of emigrants were sent by Caesar to both Heracleia and Lampsacus, as was later done in several cases by Augustus, without giving either city the official status of a colony; see Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXVI (1935), p. 20f. and *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 582, note 23.

36. The possession of *Ius Italicum* is stated explicitly for Parium in *Digesta* L 15, 8, 9, and by implication for Sinope and Apameia in *Digesta* L 15, 1, 10. For the rights involved see Mommsen *R. St. R.* III p. 807f.: Marquardt *R. St. V.*² I p. 90f.: von Premerstein in *R.E.* X 1240f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek*

City, p. 133. Coins of Parium of Valerian and Gallienus and of Apameia of Julia Domna show the figure of a "Marsyas," *i.e.* a naked Silenus, with a wine-skin on his shoulder; see Mionnet *Suppl.* v p. 393, no. 689 and p. 407f., nos. 782 and 808 and *Receuil* I p. 256, no. 64. This figure, a copy of a statue in the Roman Forum (see Ad. Reinach in *Klio* XIV [1914], p. 321f. and Platner-Ashby *Topogr. Dict.* p. 499), was set up in various communities of Roman citizens in the provinces as the symbol of the rights of the city; it signified the possession, not merely of *Ius Italicum*, but of the full liberty possessed by a citizen-community; see Mommsen *R. St. R.* III p. 809f.: Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 580f.: von Premerstein *ibid.* 1250f.: J. Paoli in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* LV (1938), p. 96f. It was pointed out by Jones (*ibid.* p. 173) that in general in the earlier colonies the Roman settlers formed a distinct body (as at Sinope, see above note 33), in which the original inhabitants were not enrolled but continued to exist as a separate community; this was evidently the case in Antioch-near-Pisidia, where about A.D. 92 the inhabitants were divided into two categories; see Chap. XIX note 30. For the officials of a colony see Marquardt *R. St. V.*^{2} I pp. 152f. and 183f.

37. See Gellius XVI 13, 9, *Cuius (i.e. Populi Romani) istae coloniae quasi effigies parvae simulacraque esse quaedam videntur.* A view somewhat different from that in the text was presented by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 60f.), namely, that the founding of colonies in the East was not an attempt to Romanize the population, since they were "too few and far between seriously to modify the predominantly Greek culture of the regions in which they were planted," but a "strictly practical" measure, intended in the case of Caesar "to restore regions rendered desolate by war" and "to provide land for certain classes of Roman citizens."

38. According to *Bell. Alex.* 78, 1 and Appian *B.C.* II 92, Caesar travelled by way of the province of Asia, but in Cassius Dio XLII 49, 1 it is said that he went directly from Bithynia to Greece and thence to Italy. For his presence in Corinth see Diodorus XXXII 27, 3. For his arrival in Tarentum (from Patrae) about 24 or 26 Sept. (so O. E. Schmidt *Briefwechsel d. M.T. Cicero*, p. 226 and Judeich, p. 147) see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* XI 20, 2 and 21, 2. As Judeich pointed out (p. 149), if he entered the province of Asia at all, it must have been only to sail from one of the ports of the Troad or Mysia, for since he arrived in Italy only seven weeks after the battle of Zela, he could not have spent much time on his journey from Bithynia.

39. Our knowledge of this embassy is derived from one of a series of documents inscribed on the monument of Potamo, who headed the delegation sent to Caesar at this time and again in 46 B.C. (see below note 43); see Cichorius *Rom u. Mytilene* (Leipzig 1888), p. 62f. and *P.I.R.* III p. 92, no. 675 and, for the inscriptions, *I.G.* XII 2, 23-34 (=*I.G.R.* IV 26-31) and XII *Suppl.* nos. 7-10 and Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gött. Gel. Nachr., phil.-hist. Kl.*, I *Fachgruppe* I (1934-36), p. 121f. For him see also *I.G.* XII 2, 160-162 and *Suppl.* 43-45. The inscription in question, *I.G.* XII 2, 30=*I.G.R.* IV 30, if the

restoration is correct, describes Potamo as [πρ]εσβε[ύ]σαις δὲ [πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα. . . . ἀνερχόμενον ἐκ τ]ῶ ἐν Καππαδ[οκίᾳ πολέμω]. Since Caesar left Rome for Africa only two months after his return to Italy from Bithynia, it is highly probable that this embassy met him while still in the East. For Caesar's letter accepting the submission of Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 35 a = *I.G.R.* IV 33 a, to be dated, on account of the mention of his second dictatorship, not later than April, 46 B.C. (see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 739). Caesar has the titles of εὐεργέτης καὶ σωτήρ in *I.G.* XII 2, 151 = *I.G.R.* IV 57, and Potamo is called εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ κτίστας τᾶς πόλιος in *I.G.* XII 2, 159-162 and 163 = *I.G.R.* IV 55. The motive assigned to Caesar by Brutus for refraining from stopping at Mitylene, namely, unwillingness to meet his former enemy Marcus Marcellus (Seneca *Cons. ad Helv.* 9, 6), was hardly the real one.

40. For Pansa see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* VI 12, 2f. For the coins bearing his name and the date 236 = 47/6 B.C. (see Chap. XVI note 68), which were issued at Apameia Myrleia, Nicaea and Nicomedeia, see *Receuil* I pp. 250, 398 and 515. He was perhaps on his way to Bithynia when he wrote to Cicero, then at Brundisium, in April, 47 (*ad Att.* XI 14, 3). He was again in Rome in the autumn of 46; see Cicero *ad Fam.* VI 12, 2f.; *pro Lig.* I and 7. For Philippus, addressed as *proconsul* in Cicero *ad Fam.* XIII 73 and 74, see Syme in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 306f., who made it highly probable that he was governor of Cilicia in 47/6 B.C., rather than, as frequently supposed, about 44, and showed definitely that he was not, as has sometimes been asserted, proconsul of Asia about 54. Bithynia seems to have been governed in 45/4 by Quintus Marcius Crispus, one of Caesar's officers in the African war (*Bell. Afric.* 77, 2), described as ἡγούμενος Βιθυνίας in Appian *B.C.* III 77 (where, as also in IV 58, his *nomen* appears incorrectly in the manuscripts as Minucius). In 44 B.C. he went to Syria to aid L. Staius Murcus against Q. Caecilius Bassus with three legions, which were afterward taken over by Cassius; see Appian *ll. cc.*: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XII 11, 1; *ad Brut.* II 3, 3; *Phil.* XI 30: Velleius Paterculus II 69, 2: Cassius Dio XLVII 27, 5. The suggestion was made by Münzer in *R.E.* XIV 1556 that he had been made governor of Cilicia. It was admitted by Syme (p. 322) that he may have followed Q. Cornificius (in 46/5) and L. Volcatius Tullus (in 45/4) as the last governor of the province before its dismemberment (see below note 44).

41. For Servilius Isauricus see Münzer *Röm. Adelsparteien u. Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart 1920), p. 355f. and in *R.E.* II A 1798f. For the senatus consultum of 60 B.C., in which the section *de populis liberis*, proposed by Servilius, affected adversely Atticus's business-dealings with the Sicyonians, see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* I 19, 9; 20, 4; II 1, 10. For Servilius in Asia and Cicero's letters of recommendation to him see *ad Fam.* XIII 66-72, dated by O. E. Schmidt (*Briefwechsel*, p. 270) in 46 B.C. (no. 66 in 45 B.C.).

42. For Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 433 (= *O.G.I.* 449 = Dessau 8779 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 23) and 434 (in honour of Servilius's daughter). The men-

tion of the restoration of the *demos* "to its ancestral democracy" in *O.G.I.* 337 probably refers to this grant of freedom rather than, as supposed by many editors, to the original grant under the will of Attalus III; see Foucart in *Mém. Acad. Inscrs.* XXXVII (1904), p. 317, note 3. For the ἐπίκριμα περὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας of the Asclepieium, addressed by Servilius to "the Magistrates, Council and People" of Pergamum see *Abh. Berl. Acad.* 1932 V p. 32, no. 1 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 260 = *Il Mondo Classico* III (1933), p. 485 and IV (1934), p. 71. The γράμματα of Servilius to Pergamum, of which only the title is extant (*I.G.R.* IV 301 = *O.G.I.* 435), probably conferred a privilege of some kind. For Ephesus see *Ephesos* I p. 49, note 3 = III p. 148f., no. 66 and *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 281f. For Aegae see *I.G.R.* IV 1178 = *O.G.I.* 450: *C.I.L.* I² 784 and 785 = III 7097 and 7098. An inscription now in London, recording a restoration by Servilius (*C.I.L.* I² 786 = Dessau 40), is perhaps from Aegae, but its provenience is unknown. For Magnesia see *Ins. Magn.* 142. For Hierocaesareia (Hiera Come, see Chap. V note 65) see Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 4. For Mitylene and Cos see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 60 and Paton-Hicks no. 206 and *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 3, no. 1 = *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 84, and for Junia's dedication to Asclepius see Münzer in *R.E.* X 1110 and *Röm. Adelsparteien* p. 356f., note 2 (an unpublished inscription). For Tenos see *I.G.* XII 5, 917 = *C.I.L.* I² 783 = Dessau 8889. For Calymnos see Münzer *Röm. Adelsparteien, l.c.* (two incompletely published inscriptions) and *Mem. Ist. stor.-arch. F.E.R.T. Rodi* III (1938), p. 43 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 129. See also Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 38f.

43. *I.G.* XII 2, 35 *b* = *I.G.R.* IV 33 *b* = *Syll.*³ 764 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 25, dated, because of the mention of Caesar's third dictatorship and appointment to a fourth, between the late autumn of 46 and April, 45 (see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* III p. 569, note 3 and Rice Holmes III p. 566), and, since Caesar was absent in Spain from November, 46 to early in September, 45, presumably to be placed at the beginning of this period. For Aphrodisias see *C.I.G.* 2737 = *O.G.I.* 454, where only the superscription Γράμματα Καίσαρος is preserved. This document, inscribed with a senatus consultum of 39 and a covering-letter from Antony (see Chap. XVIII note 15), was presumably the edict of Caesar's on which in A.D. 22 envoys of Aphrodisias based their claim to ἀσυλία; see Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 2f. For Didyma see *O.G.I.* 473 = *Milet* I 3, p. 251f., where it is shown that the correct date is 45/4 B.C. and not the time of the emperor Gaius, as supposed by Haussoullier in *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 158f. and *Études*, p. 274f. See also Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939, 8, p. 11. For Samos see *I.G.R.* IV 1715 = *S.E.G.* I 382 (46 B.C.). If the anecdote in Macrobius *Sat.* II 3, 12 may be believed, a certain Andron came from Laodiceia to Caesar as a *legatus de libertate patriae*; this man may have been the Andron of Laodiceia-on-Lycus whom Cicero recommended to Servilius Isauricus (*ad Fam.* XIII 67).

44. See Syme in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 323f., who, while pointing out that the first actual mention of a united Syria and Cilicia is in their assignment to C. Sosius in 38 B.C. (Cassius Dio XLIX 22, 3), inferred from the lack

of any mention of Cilicia among the provinces (Syria, Asia, Bithynia and Pontus) over which Cicero proposed in March, 43 to give *maius imperium* to Cassius (*Phil.* XI 30) that the province was no longer in existence. For a view that Cilicia Campestris was not attached to Syria until after A.D. 18 see Bickerman in *A.J.P.* LXVIII (1947), p. 353f. For the transfer of the Phrygian dioceses to Asia see Chap. XVI note 77. For the inclusion of Pamphylia in Asia in May-June, 43 B.C. see Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XII 14, 8 and 15, 5 and 7, in which the younger Lentulus, the quaestor of Asia, writing from Perge, mentions Side as in his province. For the Egyptian *strategos* in Cyprus in 43 see Appian *B.C.* IV 61 and V 9. The diocese of Philomelium was perhaps attached to Asia somewhat later; see Chap. XIX note 17. If Philippus was governor of Cilicia in 47/6 (see above note 40), this could hardly have taken place at the time of the transfer of the Phrygian dioceses; for the fact that Oppius, the agent of L. Egnatius Rufus, whose interests Cicero commended to Philippus (*Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 73 and 74), was engaged in business at Philomelium seems to show that the place was still attached to Cilicia. It is not known what was done with Cilicia Aspera at this time. Antony may perhaps have given part of it to Polemo of Laodiceia in 39 and he gave the coast to Cleopatra in 36 (see Chap. XVIII notes 17 and 22).

45. Appian *B.C.* III 2: Plutarch *Brut.* 19, 2. Trebonius left Italy for Asia before 19 April, 44 (Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* XIV 10, 1) and reached Athens on 22 May (*ad Fam.* XII 16, 1). See also W. Sternkopf in *Herm.* XLVII (1912), pp. 330 and 338f.

46. Brutus seems to have left Italy in late August, 44 and Cassius, probably, in October; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* I p. 431 and IV p. 34, note 13 and Rice Holmes *Architect of the Roman Empire* I p. 44, note 7. For their *imperium maius* granted in 43 B.C. see Velleius Paterculus II 62, 2 and Last in *J.R.S.* XXXVII (1947), p. 162. The version of Florus (II 17, 4) and Appian (*B.C.* III 2, 7f. and 24; IV 57), according to which Macedonia and Syria were assigned by Caesar to Brutus and Cassius but taken from them by Antony and Dolabella, is wholly incorrect; see Drumann-Groebe I p. 434: Sternkopf *ibid.* p. 341f.: Rice Holmes *ibid.* p. 189, note 1. For the troops in Syria under the command of Marcius Crispus and Staius Murcus see above note 40.

47. Dolabella was appointed governor of Syria before 18 April, 44; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* XIV 9, 3. Schwartz in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 187 supposed that he and Antony received their provincial appointments from Caesar, but Sternkopf (*ibid.* pp. 354f. and 379f.) and Rice Holmes (p. 189f.) made it highly probable that these provinces were assigned to them in the usual way during the month which followed Caesar's assassination, and that about 1 June the plebiscitum which authorized Antony to take the two Gallic provinces in exchange for Macedonia extended the provincial commands of both Consuls to five years.

48. Dolabella was still in Italy on 25 October, 44 (Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* xv 13, 5), but he seems to have left before the middle of November (*ad Fam.* xvi 24, 2 and *ad Att.* xvi 15, 1f.). His departure from Rome while still in office is mentioned also by Cassius Dio xlv 15, 2 and xlvii 29, 1. For his journey to Asia see Appian *B.C.* iii 24. According to Cicero *Phil.* xi 4, his legate M. Octavius Marsus preceded him, plundering the country-districts and extorting money from the cities. For Dolabella's actions in Asia see Cicero *Phil.* xi 5f.; *Epist. ad Fam.* xii 12, 1; 14, 5; 15, 4; *ad Brut.* ii 3, 1: Livy *Per.* cxix: Appian *B.C.* iii 26: Cassius Dio xlvii 29, 2f.: Strabo xiv p. 646: Velleius Paterculus ii 69, 1: Orosius vi 18, 6. The account of the slow torture of Trebonius as given in the Eleventh Philippic was accepted by Münzer in *R.E.* vi A 2280f. in preference to the version of Appian and Dio, according to which Trebonius was killed immediately. The murder seems to have been committed about the middle or latter part of January, 43, for the Senate declared Dolabella a public enemy (Cicero *Phil.* xi 9, 15f. and 29; xiii 23 and 36f.; *ad Fam.* xii 15, 2: Livy *Per.* cxix and cxxi: Appian *B.C.* iii 61; iv 58) at a meeting held in the second half of February or early in March; see Drumann-Groebe *G.R.* i p. 445f. and ii p. 568f. and Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* i p. 206. A letter of Dolabella to the *βουλὴ καὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ δῆμος* of Ephesus, exempting the Jews from military service (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xiv 10, 12, § 225f.) and dated on the first of Lenaion, *i.e.* 24 January (see Bischoff in *R.E.* xii 1941), shows, if genuine, that he had become master of the province before this time.

49. For Dolabella's exactions see Cicero *Phil.* xi 6 and 25: *Epist. ad Fam.* xii 12, 1; 15, 1; *ad Brut.* ii 3, 5; 4, 3: Appian *B.C.* iv 60: Cassius Dio xlvii 29, 3. According to the "Letters" of Brutus (see below note 54) nos. 1 (=Plutarch *Brut.* 2) and 9, the Pergamenes gave him money amounting to fifty talents. For his troops see Appian *B.C.* iv 60 and Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* xii 15, 7. For his title of *Imperator* (*αὐτοκράτωρ*) see his letter to Ephesus cited in note 48 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 324f., an inscription from Tabae in honour of a man who had been his *σύνεδρος* (*i.e.* a member of his *consilium*). For his fleet and its failure to reach Syria see Lentulus Spinther in Cicero *ad Fam.* xii 14, 1f. and 15, 2f., addressed to Cicero and the Senate, respectively: Cassius Parmensis in *ad Fam.* xii 13, 3: Appian *B.C.* iv 60. It is evident that Lentulus, in his desire to serve as acting governor until the arrival in Asia of that one of the two Consuls of 43 who was to govern the province (*ad Fam.* xii 14, 4f.), magnified the importance of his own achievements. It was pointed out by R. E. Smith in *Class. Quart.* xxx (1936), p. 197 that the statement in *ad Brut.* ii 4, 3 that the Rhodians had refused to allow Dolabella to come to Rhodes is not necessarily untrue, as supposed by Tyrrell and Purser, since it is not irreconcilable with their sending envoys to him or even lending him ships.

50. For the defeat of Dolabella by Tillius Cimber see Cicero *Epist. ad Brut.* i 6, 3 (19 May, 43). For his journey to Syria see Appian *B.C.* iv 60. For his arrival in Tarsus and capture of Aegaeae see Cicero *ad Fam.* xii 12, 5

and 13, 4: Cassius Dio XLVII 30, 1 = Zonaras X 18. For his defeat by Cassius and his death see Cicero *ad Fam.* XII 13, 4; 14, 4; 15, 7: Livy *Per.* CXXI: Strabo XVI p. 752: Velleius Paterculus II 69, 2: Appian *B.C.* IV 60f.: Cassius Dio XLVII 30, 2f. The rumour of his defeat which reached Rome early in July, 43 was probably premature, for it is improbable that definite news of it had been received in late August, when Octavian brought about the repeal of the measure declaring Dolabella a public enemy (Appian *B.C.* III 95).

51. Velleius Paterculus II 62, 3: Appian *B.C.* IV 5. For Appuleius see Cicero *Phil.* X 24 and XIII 32: Appian *B.C.* III 63 and IV 75. Only the last of these passages records that the money had been brought from Asia, but in Plutarch *Brut.* 24 there is mention of ships laden with money brought to Brutus from Asia by an unnamed στρατηγός, who was evidently Appuleius. None of the sources quoted above tells us that Appuleius was a quaestor, but it is difficult to see how he could otherwise have had the revenues from the province, and he is probably to be identified (so the editor, as well as Münzer in *R.E. Suppl.* I 112) with the Marcus Appuleius Sex. f. ὁ ταμίας mentioned in *I.B.M.* 547 (from Ephesus).

52. The general supposition, based on Cassius Dio XLVII 24, 2 = Zonaras X 18, that Brutus crossed over from Macedonia to Asia in the spring of 43 was doubted by R. E. Smith in *Class. Quart.* XXX p. 196, note 7, and indeed it may be questioned whether Dio's ὕστερον does not refer to Brutus's expedition in the autumn.

53. Plutarch *Brut.* 27, 1; 28, 3. He held court at Clazomenae and presumably other places as well; see Horace *Sat.* I 7. He condemned to death Theodotus of Chios, who had advised the Egyptians to kill Pompey; see Plutarch *Pomp.* 80, 6 and *Brut.* 33. His friendly relations with the Cyzicenes are shown by the fact that he entrusted to their care the young son of the Thracian prince Sadala, who had been placed by his mother under Brutus's protection (Appian *B.C.* IV 75).

54. See R. Hercher *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris 1873), p. 177-191 and, for the contents of the collection, Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 584f. The collection, with a preface by someone calling himself Μιθριδάτης βασιλεύς, contains 35 letters attributed to Brutus, together with 35 replies acknowledged by "Mithridates" to be compositions of his own. The following communities are addressed: Pergamum, Cyzicus, Smyrna, Miletus, Tralles, Samos, Rhodes, Cos, Caunus, the Lycians, Patara, Myra, the Bithynians and a dynast (?) named Damas. The authenticity of the collection was defended by F. Rühl in *Rh. Mus.* LXX (1915), p. 315f. and accepted by Gelzer in *R.E.* X 1008f., Herzog in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 211, note 1 and Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1579, but denied by R. E. Smith (*ibid.* p. 194f.), who pointed out the inconsistencies among the letters and the difficulty of reconciling them with the known facts of chronology (*e.g.* the connexion of

Pergamum and Tralles with Dolabella, who had left Asia long before Brutus arrived in it). To his arguments may be added the improbability that Brutus addressed the Bithynian cities as *Βιθυνοί*, since there is no reason to suppose that any such collective association as the later *Κοινόν* (see Chap. XVIII note 62) existed at this time. On the other hand, nos. 1, 25 and 69 are quoted in Plutarch *Brut.* 2 as actual letters of Brutus, which suggests that a collection of his letters may have served as a nucleus for a larger group of later compositions.

55. This man was perhaps the Menodorus of Tralles, priest of Zeus Larasius, who was put to death by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, probably in 32 B.C. (see Chap. XVIII note 35).

56. Livy *Per.* CXXII: Plutarch *Brut.* 28 and 30: Cassius Dio XLVII 25, 2; 32, 1: Appian *B.C.* IV 65. The only clue to the time of this meeting is the order of events given by Plutarch and Dio, both of whom place it after the formation of the Second Triumvirate and the ensuing proscription.

57. For Cassius's campaign against the Rhodians see Appian *B.C.* IV 65f.: Cassius Dio XLVII 33, 3f. = Zonaras X 18: Velleius Paterculus II 69, 6: Plutarch *Brut.* 30, 2; 32, 2: Valerius Maximus I 5, 8: Orosius VI 18, 13. See also van Gelder *Gesch. d. Alt. Rhodier*, p. 170f.: Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 806: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 78. For coins struck in Asia by Cassius in commemoration of his victory see H. A. Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 450f. and p. 483f. nos. 82-84.

58. Cicero *pro Rege Deiot.* 38 and 41. Deiotarus's attempt (after Caesar's return to Rome from Zela) to obtain "a part of his kingdom" is also mentioned by Scholiasta Gronovianus (p. 268 Stangl). His envoys were still in Rome in July, 44 B.C.; see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* XVI 3, 6. According to the rhetorical and somewhat vague account of the granting of Deiotarus's request by Antony after Caesar's death which is given by Cicero in *Phil.* II 93f. (alluded to also in *Epist. ad Att.* XIV 12, 1 and 19, 2), Antony restored to him the possessions which had been taken from him by Caesar in 47 (see above p. 413f.) but "recovered" by him *suo Marte* after the Dictator's death. This may refer to a recovery of that part of Armenia Minor which had been given to Ariobarzanes. It is much more probable, however, as was supposed by Niese (*R.E.* IV 2403) and Stähelin (*Galater*,[2] p. 95), that Deiotarus, having seized the tetrarchate of the Trocmi, which he had held before Caesar gave it to Mithradates of Pergamum (see above note 32), now obtained recognition as tetrarch of this tribe. Both he and his son are described in the tomb-inscription of the latter (*R.A.* VI [1935], p. 140f., see above note 29) as tetrarch of the Trocmi as well as of the Tolistobogii, and, as Stähelin pointed out, we know of no other occasion after the death of Mithradates of Pergamum (see above note 32) when Deiotarus could have received this office.

59. For Tarcondarius see Chap. XV note 40. According to Scholiasta Gronovianus (p. 298 Stangl) and Suidas *s.v.* Κάστωρ Ῥόδιος, he instigated his son's accusation. Cicero's speech *pro Rege Deiotaro* is described in *Epist. ad Fam.* IX 12, 2 as *causa tenuis et inops nec scriptione magno opere digna.* It was dated in November, 45 by O. E. Schmidt (*Briefwechsel,* p. 362).

60. Strabo XII p. 568 = Suidas *s.v.* Κάστωρ Ῥόδιος, where Deiotarus's murder of Tarcondarius is attributed to anger at the latter's instigation of Castor's accusation (see above note 59). The attack on Gorbeus (Beynam, see Chap. XV note 40) was dated by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 591, note 3 and *R.E.* IV 2402 (followed by Adcock in *C.A.H.* IX p. 679) in 48/7 during the period between Deiotarus's return from Pharsalus and Caesar's campaign against Pharnaces. This view, however, is not only at variance with the available chronological information, but, in view of the difficult position in which Deiotarus, by supporting Pompey, had placed himself, highly improbable. The general consensus of opinion, therefore, places this event after 44; see A. Zwintscher *de Galatarum Tetrarchis, etc.* (Leipzig 1892), p. 20: Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies,* p. 157, note 1: Stähelin *ibid.* p. 95, note 2: Kubitschek in *R.E.* X 2348f.: Ruge in *R.E.* V A 172. If we may suppose (which is far from certain, see Chap. XV note 40) that Tarcondarius was tetrarch of the Tectosages and that after his death Deiotarus seized the rule of this tribe also, the attack on Gorbeus may be dated after February, 43; for, as Coupry pointed out (*R.A.* VI [1935], p. 147f. and IX [1937], p. 86f.), the fact that Deiotarus and his son do not bear in the latter's grave-inscription the title of tetrarch of the Tectosages indicates that, if taken at all by the elder monarch, it was not until after the death of his son, who was still alive in February, 43 (Cicero *Phil.* XI 31 and 33). According to Strabo XII p. 567, the power over Galatia came in his time to three rulers, then to two, and then to one, namely Deiotarus. The *two* were supposed by Niese (*ibid.* p. 598) to have been Deiotarus and Mithradates of Pergamum. They may, however, have been Deiotarus and Tarcondarius, after whose death Deiotarus was the only ruler in Galatia.

61. Cassius Dio XLVII 48, 2 and Appian *B.C.* IV 88. Amyntas is described as the γραμματεύς of Deiotarus in Cassius Dio XLIX 32, 3. His name suggests that he was a Macedonian, but Stähelin pointed out (*ibid.* p. 98, note 2) that, since two tetrarchs were named Amyntas (*I.G.R.* III 173 = *O.G.I.* 544), he may well have been a native Galatian. For his appointment by Antony as King of Galatia see Chap. XVIII note 21.

62. Plutarch *Brut.* 35. The Roman ἐστρατηγηκώς charged with peculation is called in the manuscripts of Plutarch Λεύκιον Πέλλαν, but it was shown by Cichorius in *Röm. Studien* (Leipzig 1922), p. 254f., followed by Münzer in *R.E.* XIII 887, that the cognomen should be read as Ὀκέλλαν and that he is the man called in Nepos *Atticus* 11, 2 *L. Iulium Mocillum praetorium i.e.* L. Livius Ocella. In view of the tendency of Plutarch to eulogize Brutus,

frequently at the expense of Cassius, the account of his severity toward Ocella and Cassius's indifference toward the offences of his φίλοι should perhaps be regarded with some scepticism.

63. For the conference at Sardis see Plutarch *Brut.* 34f.: Cassius Dio XLVII 35, 1. For the leaders' title of *Imperator* see Plutarch 34, 1; it appears on coins issued by them in Asia Minor; see above note 57 (Cassius) and Chap. XXII note 43 (Brutus). For their troops at Philippi—80,000 legionaries, 12,000 horsemen and archers of various nationalities and a force of 5000 horse and a "large" number of foot-soldiers supplied by the "allied kings and Galatian tetrarchs"—see Appian *B.C.* IV 88, an estimate which has found general acceptance; see *e.g.* Gelzer in *R.E.* X 1013: Kromayer-Veith *Schlachten-Atlas, Röm. Abt.* IV 115: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 82: M. P. Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 23. For the date of the second battle of Philippi (23 October, 42) see Charlesworth, p. 24, note 1.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Plutarch *Ant.* 24: Appian *B.C.* v 4f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 12, 2, §301f.: Cassius Dio XLVIII 24, 1. See also Gardthausen *Augustus u. s. Zeit* I p. 182f.: L. Craven *Antony's Oriental Policy until the Defeat of the Parthian Exp.* = *Univ. of Missouri Studies, Soc. Sc. Ser.* III 2 (1920), p. 21f.: T. Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 90f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 585f.: Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1005f. The statement of Josephus that Antony, while in Bithynia, received envoys "from all sides" suggests that he crossed over from Thrace to this province. Craven, however, pointed out that it is much more probable that he went from Athens to Ephesus, and that the meeting in Bithynia was held later, perhaps during his progress through Asia Minor (see below note 6). For Antony as Νέος Διόνυσος at Athens (in 39/8 B.C.) see A. E. Raubitschek in *T.A.P.A.* LXXVII (1946), p. 146f. For his coins with the ivy-wreath of Dionysus see Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 502f. According to Appian *B.C.* V 3 and 5 and Cassius Dio XLVIII 2, 2f. and 30, 2, Antony went to Asia for the express purpose of collecting money with which to pay his soldiers, but in 40 B.C. they had not received their arrears of pay. For Anaxenor see Strabo XIV p. 648, Plutarch *Ant.* 24, 2 and *Ins. Magn.* 129 = *Syll.*[3] 766. For Antony's favourites see Plutarch *Ant.* 24, 2, where besides Anaxenor, Xanthus, a flute-player, and Metrodorus, a dancer, are mentioned. It is possible, however, as Broughton suggested (p. 586, note 40), that this account, like the story of his gift of the house of a Magnesian to a cook whose skill had pleased him (*ibid.* §4), were taken from the later propaganda against him. Little credence can be given to the anecdote (*ibid.* §5) which relates that, when Antony was about to demand a second contribution from Asia, the orator Hybreas of Mylasa dissuaded him by the statement that he had already collected 200,000 talents. As Broughton observed (p. 585), it is doubtful whether the province was able to give Antony all that he demanded.

2. For Nicias, described as τυραννήσας Κῴων and dated καθ' ἡμᾶς, see Strabo XIV p. 658. See also Herzog in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 190f. and Stein in *R.E.* XVII 334. Herzog, followed by Rostovtzeff *Hellenist. World*, p. 1007f., identified him with Curtius Nicias, *grammaticus*, who is listed in Suetonius *de Gram.* 14 and appears in several of Cicero's letters. Nicias is honoured in several inscriptions from Cos as τοῦ δάμου υἱός, φιλόπατρις, ἥρως, εὐεργέτας τᾶς πόλιος; see Paton-Hicks 76-80: Herzog *K.F.* nos. 17-20 and 192 and *Hist. Ztschr.* p. 208, note 3: Maiuri *N.S.* 479-481. His coins, bearing his portrait and, on the reverse, the names of eight different magistrates of Cos, suggest that he remained in power for eight years; see *B.M. Cat. Caria, etc.* p. 213, nos. 196-200: Paton-Hicks, p. 319: Herzog *Hist. Ztschr.* p. 208: Rostovtzeff, p. 936. His death, mentioned in an epigram of Crinagoras (*Anth. Pal.* IX 81), was dated about 30 B.C. by Herzog in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1901, p. 487 and *Hist. Ztschr.* p. 213f.

3. Appian *B.C.* v 7, where it is also related that "not long afterward" the Rhodians were deprived of these possessions "on the ground that they ruled them too harshly." Naxos remained under Rhodian rule for at least four years; see *I.G.* XII 5, 38, where the years are dated according to the ἱερεὺς τῆς Ῥόδου. But since it is necessary to presuppose a period long enough to demonstrate the Rhodians' "harshness," it is probable that Myndus and the three islands were not taken from them until after Octavian's victory at Actium (see above p. 441).

4. See Kenyon in *Cl. Rev.* VII (1893), p. 477 and Brandis in *Herm.* XXXII (1897), p. 509f., a papyrus containing a letter of Antony to the Κοινὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων announcing the bestowal of privileges on the σύνοδος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερονικῶν καὶ στεφανειτῶν. The grant of privileges to this society and a letter of Antony to the πρόεδροι (whether of the σύνοδος or the κοινόν is uncertain) appear also in a fragmentary inscription from Tralles; see *J.O.A.I.* XIV (1911), *Beibl.* 123f. For the Society and especially the Ionian branch and the privileges granted by Sulla see Chap. III note 114. The present "world-wide" σύνοδος, including, as Brandis pointed out, all those who had won victories in contests that were ἱεροὶ καὶ στεφανεῖται, was evidently a much larger organization. In the second century after Christ its headquarters were in Rome; see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 124f. Its relationship to the Ionian *Technitae* is not clear; the latter society was still in existence in the late second century after Christ; see *C.I.G.* 2933=*O.G.I.* 501 and *I.B.M.* 618. It was supposed by Brandis (p. 520f.) and by Poland in *R.E.* V A 2515 that this "world-wide" organization of ἱερονῖκαι καὶ στεφανεῖται included the previously independent society of athletes. This view, however, is rendered questionable by a monument from Erythrae (*J.O.A.I.* XIII [1910], *Beibl.* 70, no. 54) of the late Hellenistic period, which contains (*inter alia*) two wreaths inscribed, respectively, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] οἰκουμένης ἀθλῆται and οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἱερονεῖκαι showing that the "world-wide" athletes and ἱερονεῖκαι were different organizations; this is confirmed, moreover, by the fact that in a letter of the Emperor Claudius (see Chap. XXIII note 12) the "world-wide" ἱερονεῖκαι στεφανεῖται are described as περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. Antony's grant was connected with his visit to Ephesus in 33/2 (see below note 35) by Brandis (p. 516), but only on the ground that the privileges would have had greater value at that time. It seems more probable that these exemptions were granted at a time when war was not imminent and that the date assigned by Kenyon, 42/1 B.C., is correct. For the *Koinon* of the Greeks in Asia see Chap. VII notes 41 and 48, Chap. XVII note 9 and below note 54.

5. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV 4, 1, §89: Cassius Dio XLVIII 24, 2: Appian *B.C.* V 9, where it is related that Arsinoe had fled to the Temple of Artemis Leucophryene in Miletus (*sic*), but the statement that Antony summoned the priest of the Ephesian Artemis, whose official name was Megabyzos (see Chap. III note 86), shows the author's error.

6. Appian *B.C.* v 7: Cassius Dio XLVII 31, 4; XLVIII 24, 1: Strabo XIV p. 674 (Boethus). Craven (*ibid.* p. 26f.) likened this journey to the usual tour of a proconsul, supposing that Antony visited the centres of the judiciary districts of the northern part of the province of Asia and then advanced through Bithynia and Galatia to the East.

7. Plutarch *Ant.* 25f.: Appian *B.C.* v 8 and 11: Cassius Dio XLVIII 24, 2: Socrates Rhodius quoted in Athenaeus IV 29, p. 147 F-148 B (*F.H.G.* III p. 326).

8. Livy *Per.* CXXVII: Strabo XIV p. 660: Velleius Paterculus II 78, 1: Justin XLII 4, 7: Plutarch *Ant.* 28, 1; 30, 1; 33, 1 and 4: Appian *B.C.* IV 63; V 65; *Syr.* 51: Cassius Dio XLVIII 24, 3f. and 39f.: Frontinus *Strat.* II 5, 36: Florus II 19, 3f. See also Gardthausen *Aug. u. s. Zeit* I pp. 224f. and 230: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 121: Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 47f.: N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* (Chicago 1938), p. 108f.

9. Cassius Dio XLVIII 26, 3. Plancus's appointment as proconsul of Asia by Antony, before leaving for Egypt in the autumn of 41, is mentioned in Dio XLVIII 24, 3. In both passages only his cognomen is recorded. It is generally supposed that he was L. Munatius Plancus, Consul in 42; see *P.I.R.* II p. 391 and R. Hanslik in *R.E.* XVI 549. Groebe, however, observed (*G.R.* IV p. 226, note 5) that, since Lucius Plancus was engaged in the Perusian War during the winter of 41-40 and did not go to the East until after the fall of Perusia in February, 40 (Velleius Paterculus II 76, 2 and Appian *B.C.* V 50), either Dio is mistaken in the time of his appointment as proconsul of Asia or it was some other member of the family, perhaps a younger brother, who held the office. The former explanation is probably the correct one, for Lucius Plancus remained in the East until the summer of 40, when he returned with Antony to Italy (Appian *B.C.* V 55), and he may have held the office of proconsul of Asia for a few months prior to his return. His proconsulship of some province is attested by coins bearing the legend *L. Plancus pro Cos.*; see Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 406f. A ἱερεὺς Λουκίου Μουνατίου . . . in an inscription from Mylasa (*B.C.H.* XII [1888], p. 15, no. 4) is perhaps to be connected with Plancus, if it may be supposed that this priesthood was created during the brief time which elapsed between his assumption of the proconsulship and the capture of Mylasa by the Parthians in the summer of 40 (see below note 10). Since the inscription contains mention of Gaius and Lucius Caesar as *Principes Iuventutis* and should therefore probably be dated between 2 B.C. and A.D. 2, it can hardly be connected, as suggested in *P.I.R.* II p. 392 and *R.E.* XVI 550 and 551, with Lucius Plancus, Consul in A.D. 13.

10. For Gordiucome (afterward Juliopolis) see Chap. XIII note 14. For Cleon see Strabo XII p. 574. Labienus's title appears on his coins (Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 500) and is mentioned also in Strabo XIV p. 660, Plutarch *Ant.* 28, 1 and Cassius Dio XLVIII 26, 5. It was pointed out

by Münzer in *R.E.* XII 259 that Dio's explanation of *Parthicus* as a cognomen is incorrect and that the word is to be construed as an adjective with *Imperator*. The resistance of Aphrodisias may be inferred from the senatus consultum granting freedom to the city (see below note 15). It is possible that this resistance is referred to in a fragmentary inscription from Aphrodisias honouring a man who had been an envoy to Rome and is described as ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς διατηρήσας [τὰ] κοινά and ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρχὰς ἀνυπευθύνους τελ[έσας]; see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 74f., no. 5, restored by Robert in *Ét. Anat.* p. 312f. For Alabanda, Mylasa and Stratoniceia see Cassius Dio XLVIII 26, 3f. For Mylasa see also Strabo XIV p. 660 and especially L.W. 441 (=*Syll.*[3] 768) and 442-3, letters written, respectively, by Octavian in 31 B.C. and by a Roman official about the same time (see below note 39). For Stratoniceia see also Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 2f. A fragment apparently of a senatus consultum or an imperial edict, granting certain privileges to Stratoniceia because of the dangers suffered "in the war," is perhaps to be connected with Labienus's invasion; see *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 59f., no. 3=*S.E.G.* IV 246. A decree expressing thanks to the gods for preservation "from many, great and continuous dangers" (*C.I.G.* 2715 a=L.W. 519), which was formerly supposed to refer to this invasion, was dated in the second or third century after Christ by Roussel in *B.C.H.* LV (1931), p. 93, note 5. For the profanation of the sacred territory at Lagina see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 151f., no. 56, a fragment of an inscription of Augustus (see below note 39). The profanation of "sacred and inviolable territory" is mentioned also in a fragmentary inscription from Lagina (*B.C.H.* XI p. 161f., no. 71), perhaps part of a decree recording that the city was "saved from the dangers which surrounded it" and "became free and autonomous" (*B.C.H.* XLIV [1920], p. 70, no. 1), which was connected by the editor with the liberation of Stratoniceia from Rhodes in 167 B.C. but may have to do with Labienus's invasion; see Chap. V note 35. For the description of a performance of the festival at Lagina as ἡ ἀχθεῖσα μετὰ [τ]οὺς πολέμους πρώτη see *B.C.H.* XI p. 10, no. 4. For the "miracle" at Panamara see Roussel in *B.C.H.* LV p. 70f.

11. For the chronology of 40 B.C. see Kromayer in *Herm.* XXIX (1894), p. 556f. and for the Compact of Brundisium see Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 216f.: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 103f.: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 43f.

12. Livy *Per.* CXXVII: Cassius Dio XLVIII 39, 2f.: Plutarch *Ant.* 33, 4: Velleius Paterculus II 78, 1: Appian *B.C.* V 65: Frontinus *Strat.* II 5, 36. For the date see Gardthausen *Aug.* II p. 112.

13. Livy *Per.* CXXVIII: Strabo XVI p. 751: Cassius Dio XLVIII 41, 1f. and XLIX 19f.: Justin XLII 4, 7f.: Plutarch *Ant.* 34, 1: Frontinus *Strat.* I 1, 6; II 2, 5; 5, 37: Florus II 19, 5f.: Orosius VI 18, 23: Eutropius VII 5. See also Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 231f.

14. Cassius Dio XLVIII 41, 5; XLIX 20, 5f.: Plutarch *Ant.* 34, 2f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 15, 9, §447=*Bell. Jud.* I 16, 7, §322 (the surrender of Samosata):

Orosius VI 18, 23 (Antony's capture of one *castellum*). The narrative of Plutarch, relating that Antony displaced Ventidius out of jealousy and afterward, "in shame and repentance," was glad to make peace with Antiochus for the price of 300 talents, was characterized by Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 53, note 3 as an "absurd story." This narrative, however, is in agreement with that of Dio, who also ascribed the removal of Ventidius to Antony's jealousy and related that the latter made a pretended agreement with Antiochus in order that he might have a pretext for withdrawing.

15. For Stratoniceia see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 225f. = Viereck, p. 41, no. XX, a fragment of a senatus consultum dated 15 Aug. 39. The restoration of the city's freedom (under Antony) is mentioned in Dessau 8780. For Miletus see *O.G.I.* 193 = *Herm.* LV (1920), p. 178f.: *Herm. ibid.* p. 177: *Milet* I 3, p. 269f., no. 126, l. 23f. and, for the date, p. 252f. and Rehm in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939, 8, p. 11f. For the union of Aphrodisias and Plarasa see Chap. V note 38. For the recognition of the freedom of the united communities see *C.I.G.* 2737 = Bruns *Fontes*[7], no. 43 = *O.G.I.* 453 and 455 (a fragment in *R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 102f., no. 16) = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 29, a letter of Antony and a senatus consultum. The former is dated by Antony's title of *Consul designatus* for the second and the third time as not earlier than 39, when, in a revision of the Compact of Brundisium, it was agreed that he should hold the consulship in 34 and 31 (see Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 46, note 1), and not later than 35; since this letter was evidently written from Rome, the date cannot be later than the autumn of 39, when Antony left the Capital for Athens, never to return. For an envoy sent to Rome, who may have secured the senatus consultum, see above note 10. This is presumably the decree to which allusion is made in the title assumed by the city, probably in the second century after Christ, ἡ λαμπροτάτη φ[ι]λοσέβαστος ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος κ[α]τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱ[ε]ρωτάτης συγκλήτο[υ] καὶ τὰ ὅρκια (treaties) καὶ τὰς θ[ε]ίας ἀντιγραφὰς (imperial rescripts) Ἀφροδ[ι]σιέων πόλις ἄσυλος (*J.H.S.* XX [1900], p. 77f., no. 6, see Chap. XXVII note 22). For Cos see Herzog in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 212, note 3 and *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1928 VI, p. 51 (an unpublished inscription), dated [πρὸ ἡμερῶν . . . καλ]ανδῶν Ἰουλίων, perhaps of 39 B.C. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 116) that in spite of grants of independence made by Caesar and Antony, "the free communities remained henceforth in a very small minority."

16. For Antony's power in 40/39 and his appointment of client-princes (Darius in Pontus, Amyntas in Pisidia and Polemo in "part of Cilicia") see Appian *B.C.* V 75: J. Raillard *Die Anordnungen d. M. Antonius im Orient* (Zurich 1894), p. 15f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* X pp. 34 and 51f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 588f. For the death of Attalus of Paphlagonia (see Chap. XV note 37) and of Deiotarus and the succession of Castor see Cassius Dio XLVIII 33, 5.

17. Appian *B.C.* V 75 (see above note 16). According to Strabo XII p. 569, Amyntas held Antioch-near-Pisidia and the country "as far as" Apollonia

(see Chap. XIX notes 21 and 20), his possession of which perhaps dates from this time, but his capture of Cremna (see Chap. XIX note 25) was evidently much later. He may also have received Termessus, whose autonomous coins seem to end in 39 B.C.; see Chap. XII note 34. Polemo is mentioned as holding Iconium in Strabo XII p. 568, where, although no patronymic or characterizing phrase is given, it may be assumed that he was Polemo, the son of Zeno of Laodiceia, who appears often in Strabo's work and later became king of Pontus (see below note 23). On the basis of Appian's statement, however, that he obtained a "part of Cilicia" this Polemo was identified by A. von Sallet in *Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Num. d. Könige d. Cimm. Bosporos u. Pontos* (Berlin 1866), p. 49f. and Waddington in *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 434 with M. Antonius Polemo, chief priest and dynast of Olba, whose name appears on a coin of Olba. This view was accepted by Raillard (p. 34f.), who suggested that Polemo may have ruled in Cilicia before Antony's arrival in Asia and obtained from him confirmation of the power he had previously held. Since the coin in question, however, appears to have been issued in the first century after Christ, probably under Claudius (see Chap. XXIII note 26), there is no ground for this identification, and the view of Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 269) that the ruler of Iconium and part of Cilicia was the later King of Pontus is clearly the correct one.

18. His coins are inscribed Βασιλέως Ταρκονδιμότου Φιλαντωνίου; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4714 and p. 469: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. cxxx and 237: Raillard, p. 29f.

19. For Antony's arrangements in Asia Minor in 37/6 see Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 242f.: Raillard, pp. 15f. and 26f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 69f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 588f.: R. Syme *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939), p. 260f.

20. For Deiotarus Philadelphus see Strabo XII p. 562. He is mentioned also (in connexion with the battle of Actium) in Plutarch *Ant.* 61, 1 and 63, 3 and Cassius Dio L 13, 5. For his coins inscribed Βασιλέως [Φι]λαδέλφου and Βασιλέως Δηιοτά[ρου Φιλα]δέλφου see Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, pp. 151 and 162f. and *Receuil* I² p. 164*. On the reverse, the former coin has the legend Βασιλίσσης [Ἀδοβο]γιώνας (with her portrait), the latter, Βασιλέως Δηιο[τάρου Φιλοπ]άτορος. According to Strabo, Deiotarus ruled in Gangra. Since under the emperors Gangra used an era beginning in 6/5 B.C. and this is found also at Pompeiopolis and Neoclaudiopolis (Neapolis, see Chap. VIII note 6) in Phazimonitis, where it was evidently reckoned from the date of these cities' annexation to the Empire (see Chap. XIX note 47), it seems evident that both the valley of the Amnias and western Phazimonitis, subsequently obtained by Deiotarus (see below note 23), were taken by Rome at the same time as Gangra as part of Deiotarus's kingdom. It is probable that the Paphlagonian coast was not assigned to Deiotarus but continued to be a part of the province of Bithynia; for Abonuteichus in the

time of Septimius Severus was still using the era of Pompey, reckoned from 64/3 B.C.; see *I.G.R.* III 91.

21. For the grant of Galatia and Lycaonia to Amyntas see Cassius Dio XLIX 32, 3; LIII 26, 3: Strabo XII pp. 567-569: Plutarch *Ant.* 61, 2. According to Dio (*ll. cc.*), he also received from Antony "some places in Pamphylia." This was supposed by Raillard, p. 15f. and by Syme in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 123 to refer to his dominions in Pisidia and not to Pamphylia proper. The fact, however, that Amyntas issued silver tetradrachms at Side indicates that he received at least one city on the Pamphylian coast. For his coins inscribed Βασιλέως Ἀμύντου see *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xviii and 2f. For the additional possessions given him by Augustus see below note 41, and for his kingdom in general see A. Zwintscher *De Galat. Tetrarchis et Amynta Rege Quaest.* (Leipzig 1892), p. 36f.

22. Strabo XIV p. 671. In XIV p. 669 there is specific mention of Hamaxia, near the western end of the coast of Cilicia Aspera, from which ship-timber, especially cedar, was exported. "Much" of Cilicia, as well as Cyprus, is included in the list of Antony's gifts to Cleopatra in Plutarch *Ant.* 36, 2. Cyprus is mentioned also as a gift to her from Antony in Strabo XIV p. 685 and Cassius Dio XLIX 32, 5; but since at least part of the island was presented to her by Caesar (see Chap. XVII note 44), Antony's action may have been merely a confirmation of this earlier gift. For the occasion and date of Antony's gifts to her see below note 29.

23. Strabo XII p. 578: Cassius Dio XLIX 25, 4, where Polemo's capture by the Parthians (also in Plutarch *Ant.* 38, 3) and subsequent release on the payment of a ransom are recorded. For his coins inscribed Βασιλέως Πολέμωνος Εὐσεβοῦς see *Receuil* 1^2 p. 21. For the extent of his kingdom see Raillard, p. 19f. For Arsaces in Phazimonitis see Strabo XII p. 560, with the correction [*ὑπὸ*] *τῶν Φαρνάκου τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων*, adopted by Ed. Meyer in *Gesch. d. Königr. Pontos*, p. 109, note 1 and Munro in *Cl. Rev.* XIV (1900), p. 442f. For Lycomedes see Chap. XVII note 21. For Deiotarus's possession of western Phazimonitis see above note 20. The statement in Strabo XII p. 561 that it was given to "kings" suggests a division between him and Polemo. For the gift of Armenia Minor in 33 see Cassius Dio XLIX 33, 2 and 44, 3 and for Colchis see Strabo XI p. 499.

24. According to Strabo XII p. 561, Amaseia was given to "kings," and while the donor is not named, it may be assumed that he was Antony; see Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII (1883), p. 582 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 427. It was supposed by Raillard (*ibid.* p. 22f.) that by these "kings" a succession of monarchs was meant, namely, Deiotarus, Castor and Deiotarus Philadelphus. It seems improbable, however, that this part of Pontus was held by these rulers. The suggestion of Jones (*l.c.*) that some local tyrant, like Strato of Amisus (see below), was meant is also hard to accept, for a tyrant of this kind would scarcely have been called by Strabo a "king." Amisus is

likewise said by Strabo (XII p. 547) to have been given to "kings," but here Antony is specifically named as the donor. As Jones observed (*l.c.*), this statement also is "curiously obscure"; presumably, however, Polemo is meant. Amisus was subsequently ruled by a tyrant, Strato, who was deposed by Octavian (see below note 44), but how he obtained his power is unknown.

25. Strabo XII p. 560, where it is recorded that after Pompey's time οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ῥωμαίων divided the πολιτεύματα of Culupene and Camisene among the priests of Comana and Zela and Ateporix, a "dynast of tetrarchal birth." Unfortunately, the vague expression of Strabo does not make it clear whether this division was made by Caesar or by Antony, but the action seems more in keeping with the general policy of the latter and it is usually attributed to him; see (most recently) Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 8: Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 69: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 168 and *Greek City*, p. 70: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 589. The priest of Comana was evidently Lycomedes, but it is also not clear whether this addition to the temple-domain was the τετράσχοινος χώρα which, according to Strabo XII p. 558, was given to him. For Culupene, which included the later Sebastopolis near the headwaters of the Scylax, and Camisene, the valley of the upper Halys, see Anderson *ibid.* p. 7f. and *Stud. Pont.* I p. 34f. On the basis of the statement of Strabo (p. 560) that Carana (apparently after Ateporix's death) was combined with his holdings and the supposition that it was the later Sebastopolis, it was suggested by Ramsay (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 252) and Reinach (*L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 158), followed by Anderson (*ibid.* p. 8) and Jones (*ll. cc.*), that this was the portion of Ateporix. Support for this view was found in the fact that the era of Sebastopolis began in October, 3 B.C. (*I.G.R.* III 111 [= Dessau 8801] and 114: *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] [1908], p. 453f., no. 16: *Receuil* I[2] p. 141), when it was supposed that Ateporix died and his dominions were incorporated in the Roman province. But, apart from the uncertainty of the identification of Carana with Sebastopolis (see Ruge in *R.E.* II A 956), there is no indication in Strabo that it ever actually belonged to Ateporix, and since the year of his death is unknown, there are no grounds for connecting this event with the era of Sebastopolis. It seems more probable that this western part of the regions in question was assigned to the two priests and that Ateporix's portion was farther east and included the valley of the upper Halys and the region on the north. It may have included also the later city of Sebasteia (Sivas), whose coins show an era beginning between 2/1 B.C. and A.D. 1/2 (*Receuil* I[2] p. 140), evidently the year in which it was added to the Roman province of Galatia (see Chap. XIX notes 47 and 49). Since it is recorded in Strabo XII p. 560 that on Ateporix's death a part of his dominions was given to Pythodoris and in pp. 557 and 559 that Megalopolitis belonged to the Queen, Ruge (who believed that Ateporix had held Sebasteia) maintained in *R.E.* XV 144 that Sebasteia was not, as has been generally supposed, the city of Megalopolis founded by Pompey (see Chap. XV note 35). It is no more possible, however, to draw from these coins than from those of Sebastopolis any inference as to the time of Ateporix's death; and since this

part of Strabo's work seems to have been written before 2 B.C. (see Anderson *ibid.* p. 9f.), there seems to be no good reason why it should not be supposed that at the death of Ateporix Megalopolitis was given to Pythodoris and held by her for some time but afterward (between 2 B.C. and A.D. 2) taken from her by Augustus and incorporated in the province of Galatia, when the city was renamed Sebasteia and the new era instituted (see Chap. XX note 52).

26. Strabo XII p. 540; XVII p. 796: Appian *B.C.* V 7: Cassius Dio XLIX 32, 3: Valerius Maximus IX 15, *Ext.* 2 (where it is said that Antony put Ariarathes to death). According to the order of events in Appian's narrative, the appointment of Sisines (Archelaus) in place of Ariarathes occurred during Antony's progress through Asia Minor in 41. In Dio, however, the expulsion of Ariarathes and the appointment of Archelaus are placed in 36, a date which is in accord with the statement in Tacitus *Ann.* II 42, 2 that (at the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14) Archelaus had ruled Cappadocia for fifty years. Raillard, who rejected the identification of Sisines with Archelaus, supposed (p. 26f.) that the former was a rival of Ariarathes (confused with Archelaus by Appian), to whom Antony granted a small portion of territory between Cappadocia and Lycaonia. The discrepancy in dates between Appian and Dio is usually explained by the supposition that the original appointment was made in 41 but that Archelaus did not succeed in overcoming his rival until 36; see Gardthausen *Aug.* I pp. 184 and 243: Wilcken in *R.E.* II 451: Craven *Antony's Oriental Policy*, p. 29, note 77: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I pp. 91 and 128. Niese (*R.E.* II 820f.), accepting Appian's chronology in preference to Dio's, dated Ariarathes's death in 41 but failed to explain why Archelaus did not become king until 36. Tarn, however, pointed out (*C.A.H.* X pp. 34 and 69) that in 41 Antony would not have "staged a civil war in Cappadocia" and that the appointment of Archelaus should be dated in 36. Ariarathes must have been on the throne for a few years if the coins with the legend Βασιλέως Ἀριαράθου Εὐσεβοῦς καὶ Φιλαδέλφου and the years 5 and 6 have been correctly attributed to him; see Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 64f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 43. For Archelaus's grandfather Archelaus see Chap. XV note 36. The statements of Appian and Dio that his mother Glaphyra was a courtesan may have some foundation, but the further statement that her charms caused Antony to appoint Archelaus as king probably originated in propaganda, like the epigram, attributed to Augustus, in which Antony is taunted with relations with her (Martial XI 20). Glaphyra has the title Βασίλισσα in an inscription in her honour from Magnesia-on-Maeander (*Ins. Magn.* 138 = *O.G.I.* 361). For inscriptions of Archelaus bearing the title of Βασιλεύς and the cognomen Φιλόπατρις see *I.G.* II² 3430 and 3431 = *O.G.I.* 357 and 360: *O.G.I.* 358 and 359. For his coins marked Βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου Φιλοπάτριδος τοῦ (or καὶ) Κτίστου and probably struck (after 18/17 B.C.) on the island of Elaeussa see Reinach *Trois Royaumes*, p. 67f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* VIII (1898), p. 28, no. 12: *B.M.Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xxxiii and 44.

27. For Adiatorix see Strabo XII p. 543. For Domnilaus see above p. 403 and Chap. XV note 40. As Reinach observed (*L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 157f.), Adiatorix was probably the man of this name whom Caelius Rufus's friend Diogenes and his freedman Philo visited in 50 B.C. (Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* II 12, 2). For Cleon see Strabo XII p. 574. For the Abretteni see Chap. V note 68. It was suggested by Munro that the Zeus Pandemos who appears in an inscription found in the mountains north of Simav (*J.H.S.* XVII [1897], p. 289, no. 64) was Zeus Abrettenus. For Octavian's appointment of Cleon to the priesthood of Comana in Pontus see below note 43.

28. This view was expressed by Syme in *The Roman Revolution*, p. 271f. For Pontus see also Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 6f.

29. See Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 66. For Antony's marriage to Cleopatra, his acknowledgement of the twins, Alexander Helius and Cleopatra Selene (born probably in 40), and his first "donations" to the Queen see Plutarch *Ant.* 36, 2f.: Cassius Dio XLIX 32, 4f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV 4, 1f., §92f. and *Bell. Jud.* I 18, 4, §360f.: Eusebius Chron. I p. 170 Schöne = p. 79 Karst = Porphyrius frg. 2, 17 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1202f.). See also Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 292f. and II p. 170f.: Kromayer in *Herm.* XXIX (1894), p. 571f.: Raillard *Anordnungen d. M. Ant.* p. 54f.: Stähelin in *R.E.* XI 759f.: Syme *ibid.* p. 260f.: Lederer in *Num. Chron.* XVIII (1938), p. 66f.: M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 368f. In Plutarch the marriage and the donations are recorded immediately after Antony's meeting with Octavian at Tarentum, *i.e.* in the winter of 37/6, and in Dio, although mentioned after Antony's return from the Parthian expedition, they are included among the events of 36. In Josephus, on the other hand, they are placed in 35/4. The dating of the acknowledgement of the twins and of the donations, given by Plutarch and Dio and accepted by Raillard and Kromayer (followed by Otto in *R.E. Suppl.* II 43f.), who showed that these events took place early in 36, has been generally adopted. That of the marriage with Cleopatra was disputed by Gardthausen in *N. Jahrbb. f. d. Kl. Alt.* XXXIX (1917), p. 158f. and Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I p. 227f., who placed it in 32. An attempt to defend the chronology of Josephus in at least one particular was made by J. Dobiáš in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Orient.* II (1934) = *Mél. Bidez*, p. 287f., who, while admitting that Chalcis in northern Syria was given to Cleopatra in 37/6, dated the gift of Coele Syria in the spring of 34 and that of Phoenicia, Jericho and the Nabataean territory a little later in the same spring. According to Eusebius, a new era beginning in Sept., 37 B.C. was introduced by Cleopatra, and this appears in inscriptions having a double date; see M. L. Strack *Dynastie d. Ptol.* p. 211f.: *O.G.I.* 195, note 4: Gardthausen *Aug.* II p. 169 and *N. Jahrbb. f. d. Kl. Alt.* XXXIX p. 161f.: Wilcken in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1933 VI, p. 41f. This era was presumably instituted for the purpose of reckoning Cleopatra's years as queen of the possessions which she received by these gifts. For the donations of 34 B.C. see below note 33.

30. For the Parthian expedition see Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 292f.: Kromayer in *Herm.* XXXI (1896), p. 70f.: L. Craven *Antony's Oriental Policy,* p. 70f.: Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* I pp. 123f. and 223f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 71f.: Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia,* p. 121f.: Syme *ibid.* p. 263f. For the seizure of Artavasdes see Cassius Dio XLIX 39, 3f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV 4, 3, §104: Tacitus *Ann.* II 3, 2: Plutarch *Ant.* 50, 4. For Artaxias see Chap. XX note 25.

31. Antony, before setting out against the Parthians, sent Octavian a fleet of 120 ships; see Plutarch *Ant.* 35, 4 and Appian *B.C.* V 95 and M. Hadas *Sextus Pompey* (New York 1930), p. 121. Antony's ships are mentioned also in Appian *B.C.* V 98, where it is recorded that out of the original number of 130 (*sic*), 102 put to sea under the command of Statilius Taurus but were forced by a storm to return to Tarentum. They were presumably used by Taurus in his operations along the Sicilian coast before the battle of Naulochus (Appian V 118), and after the battle they returned to Antony (Cassius Dio XLIX 14, 6). One of these ships may have been commanded by Seleucus, a *ναύαρχος* from Rhosus on the coast of northern Syria, who received citizenship and various privileges in an edict of Octavian accompanied by a letter to the city of Rhosus written in 35 or 34 B.C.; see Roussel in *Syria* XV (1934), p. 34f. and Chap. X note 10. Roussel, who dated the edict in 41 B.C., supposed that the war in which Seleucus served was the campaign ended by the battle of Philippi. But it was pointed out by M. A. Levi in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 113f. that the date of the edict is to be determined by that of the letter, and, since there is no reason why honours won in 42 should not have been granted more promptly, it is highly probable that the service in question was rendered in the campaign ending in the battle of Naulochus.

32. Livy *Per.* CXXXI: Appian *B.C.* V 133f.: Cassius Dio XLIX 17f.: Strabo III p. 141: Velleius Paterculus II 79, 5: Orosius VI 19, 2. See also Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 306f. and Hadas *ibid.* p. 150f., and for Furnius see Groag in *R.E.* VII 376f.

33. Cassius Dio XLIX 40, 3f.: Plutarch *Ant.* 54, 3f. See also Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 335f. and Tarn in *C.A.H.* X p. 80f., who pointed out the significance of the legend *Cleopatrae Reginae Regum Filiorum Regum* on coins struck by Antony at this time (Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 525) and observed that to the Greeks and Asiatics Antony was now a divine Hellenistic monarch, the "supreme ruler of the inhabited world, of the East and of Rome alike." For Antony's use of Caesarion for the purpose of propaganda see K. W. Meiklejohn in *J.R.S.* XXIV (1934), p. 191f.

34. See Kromayer in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 30f., who showed that, while Octavian's enmity toward Antony dated from the latter's repulse of Octavia at Athens in the summer of 35, the celebration at Alexandria in the autumn of 34 led to the open expression of that enmity and served Octavian as a pretext for war. For his subsequent propaganda against Antony see Gardthausen

Aug. I p. 348f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 28f. and 494: Tarn and Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 90f.: Syme *Roman Revolution*, p. 276f.

35. Plutarch *Ant.* 56, 1. For Antony's forces at this time see Kromayer in *Herm.* XXXIII pp. 23f. and 68, who showed that in addition to the fourteen much-depleted legions which survived the Parthian campaign, the three legions which had garrisoned Syria and the three which had been recruited by Sextus Pompey, Antony had raised two additional legions in the East before the spring of 34, and eight more before the autumn of 32, with a total of thirty. For a coin of Antony's inscribed *Leg. XXX* see Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 530, no. 221. For Antony's wide recruiting in the eastern provinces see O. Cuntz in *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), p. 70f., who observed that among the gravestones of soldiers from the provinces of Asia Minor found in Illyricum and antedating the time of Claudius, several show the *gentilicia* of prominent partisans of Antony, such as Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius, L. Munatius Plancus and M. Titius. Of Antony's thirty legions, nineteen took part in the Actian campaign (Plutarch *Ant.* 68, 2), having a total of only 60,000 to 63,000 men, with the addition of at the most 12,000 light-armed troops and 12,000 horsemen; see Tarn in *Cl. Quart.* XXVI (1932), p. 78f. and *C.A.H.* X p. 100. For Antony's fleet see Plutarch *Ant.* 61, 1 and Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 355. The incident of Menodorus, priest of Zeus Larasius at Tralles, who, according to Strabo XIV p. 649, was killed by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus on the charge of tampering with the loyalty of the men in the fleet, was connected by Gardthausen (I p. 356 and note 9) with the mobilization in Ephesus. For the destruction of the grove of Asclepius see Valerius Maximus I 1, 19: Cassius Dio LI 8, 3: Lactantius *Div. Inst.* II 7, 17.

36. Suetonius *Aug.* 17, 3 and 26, 3: Cassius Dio LI 4, 1; 18, 1; 21, 1: Orosius VI 19, 21: Appian *B.C.* IV 42. The statement of Suetonius that Octavian entered upon his fifth consulship (29 B.C.) at Samos was regarded as an error by Mommsen in *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*[2] (Berlin 1883), p. 136, but, as Gardthausen observed (*Aug.* II p. 211), there is no reason why it should be rejected. For his visit to Ephesus see *Syria* XV (1934), p. 36, a letter written to the city of Rhosus (see also above note 31) by Octavian as Consul for the third time, designate for the fourth time, *i.e.* before 1 Jan. 30 B.C.

37. For this era, reckoned from September, 31 B.C., see O. Kaestner *de Aeris quae ab Imperio Caes. Octaviani, etc.* (Leipzig 1890), p. 35: Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 20f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 385f.: Kolbe in *A.M.* XLVI (1921), p. 115f. It appears at Samos as ἔτος τῆς Καίσαρος νίκης in *I.G.R.* IV 991 = 1706, where the earliest date is ἔτους γ', *i.e.* 29/8 B.C. For its use in Philadelpheia and the basin of the upper Cogamis see *I.G.R.* IV 1615 (ἔτους ο' καὶ α' τῆς Καίσαρος νείκης = A.D. 40), 1619 (= *Syll.*[3] 883, a rescript of Caracalla in A.D. 214) and 1653 and Keil-Premerstein III no. 54 (A.D. 42/3). A double dating, [ἔτ]ους ξζ' (era of Actium) τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ ρκα' (era of Sulla, see Chap. X note 26) *i.e.* A.D. 36/7, is found in Buresch, no. 29 (from Daldis in Lydia). Another instance of its use appears in an inscription from

Trajanopolis (*I.G.R.* IV 626), dated ἔτους σπβ′, where, although the name of the emperor Trebonianus Gallus has been restored in the erasure, the restoration seems certain for the reason that, were the date reckoned by the era of Sulla, as in other inscriptions from Trajanopolis (*I.G.R.* IV 623-625), the year 282 would be A.D. 197/8 and the name of Septimius Severus was not ordinarily erased. This use of the era of Actium in Lydia necessitates a modification of the statement of Kaestner (p. 41) that it is not found on the mainland of Asia Minor.

38. Strabo XIV p. 657. The painting was taken to Rome and placed in the temple of Divus Julius; see also Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 91.

39. For Stratoniceia see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 151f., no. 56, a fragment of an inscription which perhaps commemorated the *decretum* of Augustus mentioned in Tacitus *Ann.* III 62, 2. For Mylasa see L. W. 441 = *Syll.*³ 768 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 30, written in 31 B.C. For Hybreas see Strabo XIV p. 660 and above p. 431. Coins with the legend Ὑβρέου γραμματεύοντος are probably to be ascribed to him; see *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 130, no. 22f. and Head *H.N.*² p. 622. For the letter of the Roman official see L. W. 442-3 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 32, with corrections in *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 543f., an inscription the precise meaning of which, in the present condition of the text, is not wholly clear.

40. For the coins of Antony minted in Asia Minor about 39 B.C. see Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II pp. 502f. For those of Octavian see Grueber, p. 537f.: Sydenham in *Num. Chron.* XX (1920), p. 27f.: Mattingly-Sydenham *Rom. Imp. Coinage* I pp. 49f. and 60f.: Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* I pp. xxv, cxviii f. and 112f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 882f. His earliest dated coins were issued in 28/7 B.C., but the undated coins (without his portrait) were probably earlier. For the coins of the cistophoric standard issued under the emperors see Pinder in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1855, pp. 555 and 572f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde* (Geneva 1908), p. 1f. For those of Claudius, Vespasian and Titus see Mattingly-Sydenham I p. 127 and II p. 125, and for those of Trajan and Hadrian see Chap. XXVI note 50. The *cista mystica* regularly found on the cistophori of the Pergamene kings (see Chap. I note 81) and of the Roman Republic (see Chap. X note 63) appears only on the coins of Antony and those minted by Augustus in 28/7. Like the older series, which were nominally tetradrachms but actually three-drachma pieces, these coins were equated to three denarii. The usual valuation of the denarius or Attic drachma at sixteen asses (see Hultsch in *R.E.* V 212f.) was current at Cibyra under Vespasian, but the Rhodian drachma, ordinarily worth twelve asses, was valued at ten; see *I.G.R.* IV 915 and Chap. XXIV note 38. At Ephesus in A.D. 103/4 the denarius was worth eighteen asses (see *Ephesos* II p. 127f., no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 250 and 535 and Hicks in *I.B.M.* III p. 141), and at Pergamum, probably under Hadrian, it was sold for seventeen asses but the purchase-price was eighteen (see *I.G.R.* IV 352 = *O.G.I.* 484 and Chap. XXVI note 51).

41. The statement in Cassius Dio LI 2, 1 that Octavian deprived all the dynasts and kings except Amyntas and Archelaus of the territories they had received from Antony is far from accurate. As specific examples (in Asia Minor), Dio was able to cite only the cases of Lycomedes (see below note 43) and Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus (see below note 45). For Amyntas's acquisition of the territory of Antipater (see Chap. XV note 46) with the neighbouring district of Isauria and the gift of Cilicia Aspera see Strabo XII p. 569 and XIV p. 671. With regard to Deiotarus Philadelphus there is no positive information. It is possible that the territory which he had in Phazimonitis (see above note 20) was given to him at this time.

42. Cassius Dio LIII 25, 1. For the bestowal of Armenia Minor on Artavasdes of Media see Cassius Dio LIV 9, 2 and Mommsen *Res Gestae Divi Aug.*[2] p. 111. For Artavasdes's reconciliation with Antony, to whose son by Cleopatra, Alexander Helius, he betrothed his daughter Iotape, and his expulsion from his kingdom by the Parthians see Cassius Dio XLIX 33, 1f.; 40, 2; 44, 1f.: Plutarch *Ant.* 52 and 53, 6. Iotape was given back to her father by Octavian in 30; see Cassius Dio LI 16, 2. For the enmity of Artaxias toward Rome see Chap. XX note 25.

43. Cassius Dio LI 2, 3, where the new priest is called Medeius and his appointment is attributed to his success in detaching the Mysians from Antony's cause. His identity with Cleon (see above notes 10 and 27) was suggested by Gardthausen (*Aug.* II p. 193), followed by Kromayer in *Herm.* XXXIII (1898), p. 64, note 1 and Stein in *R.E.* XI 718. For Cleon's appointment to the priesthood at Comana and his death see Strabo XII p. 574f. Since it is related here that, deserting Antony, he attached himself to Octavian's generals, his identity with "Medeius" seems highly probable. Since Octavian subsequently appointed Dyteutus to this priesthood (see Strabo XII p. 558f. and below note 44), probably, as observed by Niese in *Rh. Mus.* XXXVIII p. 599, note 2, as successor to Cleon, it must be supposed that, if "Medeius" was not Cleon, he held office for only a short time. For the *tabu* on pork in eastern Asia Minor see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 32.

44. Strabo XII p. 547. See also Pliny *N.H.* VI 7 (*Amisum liberum*) and Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 92 (*civitas libera et foederata*). For Antony's gift of Amisus to Polemo see above note 24. For the era of Amisus, reckoned from 32/1 B.C., see *Receuil* I[2] p. 53 and note 4 and *I.G.R.* IV 1586 = *O.G.I.* 530, dated ἔτους ρξγ′ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. See also O. Kaestner *De Aeris, etc.* p. 41f. A statue of Octavian (as Augustus, *i.e.* after 27 B.C.) and as "saviour and founder" was erected at Pergamum by the *demos* of Amisus and οἱ συμπολιτευό[μενοι]Ῥωμαῖοι (*I.G.R.* IV 314). These Romans, if the distinction drawn by Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXVI (1935), p. 23 between them and those who are called by the usual term of κατοικοῦντες or πραγματευόμενοι (see Chap. VII note 6) is valid, were Roman settlers sharing in the civic life of Amisus. They appear also in *S.E.G.* VI 646 (from Attaleia) and *I.G.R.* III 292

and 294 (Isaura). For Adiatorix see above note 27. For his death and the priesthood of Dyteutus see Strabo XII pp. 543, 558-9 and 560.

45. For Philopator and the gladiators see Cassius Dio LI 2, 2 and 7, 3f. For the restoration of the kingdom of the Amanus in 20 B.C. see Chap. XX note 22.

46. Cassius Dio LII 43, 1. Mommsen expressed the view (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 87) that Mithradates II, because he had sided with Antony, was deposed in favour of Antiochus, who thereupon murdered his brother and was himself condemned to death. It was pointed out, however, by Wilcken in *R.E.* I 2489f., followed by Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2213f., that this cannot be inferred from Dio's account. Mithradates died or was deposed before 20 B.C., when Augustus gave the kingdom to a child who reigned as Mithradates III (see Chap. XX note 23). The trial and condemnation of Antiochus in Rome were explained by O. Bohn *Qua Condicione Iur. Reges Soc. P. R. fuerint* (Berlin 1876), p. 67, note 142 b as a case of *laesa maiestas*, since the murdered man was the duly accredited envoy to the Roman government, and it was pointed out by A. O'Brien-Moore in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 786 that punishment could be inflicted by the emperor as having supreme authority over foreign affairs. For the trial of Archelaus see Chap. XXI note 1.

47. Strabo XVII p. 840: Cassius Dio LIII 12f.: Suetonius *Aug.* 47. See also Mommsen *R.St.R.* II^{3} p. 244f.: Marquardt *R.St.V.*^{2} I p. 544f.: G. H. Stevenson in *C.A.H.* X p. 210f. (where it is pointed out that the principle that the senatorial provinces were unarmed is not altogether valid): Syme *Roman Revolution*, p. 326f.: M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 424f. (who maintained that Augustus never exercised an *imperium maius* over the senatorial pro-consuls, but see Last in *J.R.S.* XXXVII [1947], p. 163).

48. Cassius Dio LI 20, 7: Tacitus *Ann.* IV 37, 4; 55, 6: Suetonius *Aug.* 52. For the worship of the Roman emperors in the provinces see O. Hirschfeld in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 833f.=*Kl. Schriften*, p. 471f.: E. Beurlier *Le Culte Impérial* (Paris 1891), pp. 17f. and 99f.: E. Kornemann in *Klio* I (1901), p. 95f.: Heinen in *Klio* XI (1911), p. 129f.: G. Herzog-Hauser in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 823f.: L. R. Taylor *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown 1931), p. 142f.: M. Grant *ibid.* p. 356f. For the deification of Alexander and the Hellenistic monarchs see Herzog-Hauser *ibid.* 806f.: Tarn in *C.A.H.* VI p. 419: Ferguson in *C.A.H.* VII p. 15f.: Wilcken in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1938, p. 302f.: De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LXVIII (1940), p. 1f.: C. A. Robinson, Jr. in *A.J.P.* LXIV (1943), p. 286f.

49. For the city cults of the Seleucids see Bikerman *Inst. d. Séleucides*, p. 242f. For their dynastic cults see Bikerman, p. 247f.: Rostovtzeff in *J.H.S.* LV (1935), p. 59f.: Wilcken *ibid.* p. 318f. An empire-wide cult of a living Seleucid ruler is known from the edict of Antiochus III ordering the appointment of a priestess for his wife Laodice; see *O.G.I.* 224=Welles, nos. 36-7

and Chap. IV note 48. Both Rostovtzeff and Wilcken, pointing out that this edict does not prove that the cult did not exist previously, supposed that it had been founded by Antiochus I. Cults of the Pergamene rulers, apparently while still living, were founded in various cities, as for Attalus I at Athens (see Chap. I note 32), for Eumenes II at Miletus and Cos and for his mother and wife at Teos (Chap. I notes 67 and 68), and for Attalus II (or III) at Sestus (*O.G.I.* 339); see also Hansen *Attalids*, p. 410f. At Pergamum itself, however, there seems to have been no official cult of the living ruler until Attalus III, who became the σύνναος of Asclepius (*O.G.I.* 332, see Chap. I note 88 and, for the term, A. D. Nock in *Harv. Stud. in Cl. Philol.* XLI [1930], p. 22f.) and perhaps had a priest of his own; see *A.M.* XXXIII (1908), p. 375f., no. 1, a list of the priests of the dead, deified monarchs, but apparently including also a [ἱερεὺς Βασιλέως Ἀττάλου Φιλομή]τορος καὶ Εὐεργέτου.

50. For Aquilius see above p. 158. For Diodorus see Chap. VII note 4. For Servilius Isauricus see Chap. XVII note 42. For the priest of a Lucius Munatius . . . , perhaps Plancus, governor of Asia about 40 B.C., see above note 9. For a list of Roman officials to whom divine honours were paid see Seyrig in *R.A.* XXIX (1929), p. 95, note 4. For a general statement of temples built for proconsuls see Suetonius *Aug.* 52. On the other hand, the passage in Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 26, frequently cited as evidence for the existence of such temples (see *e.g.* Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 475, note 2 and F. Richter in Roscher *Lexikon* IV 136), is perhaps of little value (see Chap. XVI note 13). For Caesar at Ephesus see Chap. XVII note 9. For his priest at Cos see Chap. XVII note 6. He was honoured at Carthaea on the island of Ceos as θεὸς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ σωτὴρ τῆς οἰκουμένης (*I.G.* XII 5, 557).

51. It was pointed out by Mommsen in *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 756f. that although Augustus resolutely refused deification in Rome (Suetonius *Aug.* 52), he nevertheless permitted the Italian communities to confer divine honours on him.

52. The temple at Pergamum appears on a coin of 19 B.C., bearing on the obverse a portrait of Augustus and on the reverse the front of a temple with six columns, on the architrave of which is inscribed *Rom. et August.*, and the legend *Com. Asiae, i.e.* the *Koinon* of Asia; see Mattingly-Sydenham I p. 61, no. 15. Coins with a temple-front similarly inscribed *Rom. et Aug.*, but with only two columns, showing two figures (Augustus and Roma as Fortune) between them, and usually with the legend *Com. Asi.* were issued under Claudius, Domitian, Nerva and Trajan; see Mattingly-Sydenham I p. 127, no. 52; II p. 182, no. 224 (without *Com. Asi.* and assigned by the editors to Ephesus); p. 231, no. 122: B. Pick in *Festschr. W. Judeich . . . ueberreicht* (Weimar 1929), p. 29f. The temple-front without any inscription, showing sometimes six columns but usually four, with the figure of Augustus in the centre appears on coins of Pergamum under Augustus and his successors during the first century; see *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 137f., nos. 236f. and 252f., and Pick *l.c.* For coins with the head of Augustus and the legend *C(om-*

mune) A(siae) see *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* I p. 115f. A decree of the *Koinon* of Asia concerning the new provincial calendar introduced about 9 B.C. (*O.G.I.* 458, see Chap. XX note 39) ordered that both the proconsul's letter and the decree itself should be inscribed *ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τεμένει* (l. 63f.), evidently the provincial sanctuary in Pergamum, and in 4 B.C. the official title of the Chief Priest of the *Koinon* (see below note 59) was *Ἀρχιερεὺς Θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; see *Ins. Sardis* 8 = *I.G.R.* IV 1756, l. 75. The statement of Suetonius *Aug.* 52 that Augustus *templa . . . in nulla . . . provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit* was doubted by W. Otto in *Herm.* XLV (1910), p. 458f., who, while admitting that the speech attributed to Tiberius in Tacitus *Ann.* IV 37, 4 shows that at Pergamum the cult of Roma was combined with that of Augustus, contended that this combination was not effected at the beginning but Roma was added later. The examples which Otto cited, however, to show that a priest of Augustus without Roma existed in several places were all taken from local cults and had nothing to do with those carried on by the provincial organizations. Only two of them, moreover, are from Asia Minor, from Assus and Prusa respectively (*I.G.R.* IV 256 and *B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 410, no. 410), and the latter, at least, is evidently much later than the principate of Augustus. It was pointed out, moreover, by Heinen (*Klio* XI p. 147, note 5) not only that the tendency, in the development of the cult of the emperor, was to drop Roma from the combination, not to add her, but also that Otto's argument based on the fact that the decree of Mitylene honouring Augustus soon after 27 B.C. (*I.G.* XII 2, 58 = *I.G.R.* IV 39 = *O.G.I.* 456) mentions a *[ναὸς κατασ]κευαζόμενος α[ὐ]τῷ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμῳ* without including Roma, is invalid, since Roma would have no place in this decree. While the statement of Dio (LI 20, 7) that the Bithynians were permitted to build a temple to Roma and Augustus in Nicomedeia is explicit, there is no evidence for its existence before the time of Hadrian, when a coin was issued bearing the legend *Com. Bit.* and a temple-front inscribed *Rom. S. P. Aug.*; see Pinder in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1855, p. 615f. and Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 396, no. 459f.

53. Cassius Dio LI 20, 6f. The colonies, of course, had their own cults; at Sinope C. Nummius Sp. f. Qui(r). Primus, in addition to holding local civic offices, was *Sacerd(os) Imp. Caesaris Aug.* (*C.I.L.* III 6980).

54. For the provincial *κοινά* in western Asia Minor in their developed form and for their officials see P. Monceaux *De Communi Asiae Prov.* (Paris 1885), p. 27f.: P. Guiraud *Assemblées prov. dans l'Emp. Rom.* (Paris 1887), p. 61f.: Brandis in *R.E.* II 473f. and 1556f. and III 533f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 454f.: H. Gaebler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV (1904), p. 271f.: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 931 and 935f. In Asia the name of this organization appears in inscriptions of the time of Augustus and later as *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες*; see *O.G.I.* 458, ll. 31 and 78 (ca. 9 B.C.): *Ins. Sardis* 8 = *I.G.R.* IV 1756, ll. 77, 85, 96f. and 99 (4-2 B.C.): *I.G.R.* IV 1611 = *O.G.I.* 470, l. 9 (2 B.C.-A.D. 14): *I.G.R.* IV 1608 *c* = *S.E.G.* IV 641 = *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 181f. (A.D. 40): *I.G.R.*

IV 1410 = *R. Phil.* LXI p. 181 (under Nero): *I.G.R.* IV 1236 (late first or early second century): *I.G.R.* IV 576 = *O.G.I.* 507 (A.D. 158): *I.B.M.* 493 (A.D. 145-161): *I.G.R.* IV 819 and 908 (second century). It is found in conjunction with the resident Romans (and the *demos* of Laodiceia) as οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες (*I.G.R.* IV 860, probably of the first century). The fuller form τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἑλλήνων occurs in *Ins. Sardis* 8, ll. 40 and 77 (τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων in ll. 32 and 104) and *T.A.M.* II 422 and 495 = *I.G.R.* III 671 and 603, and as τὸ Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας in *O.G.I.* 458, l. 26. The abbreviated form ἡ Ἀσιά is also found, not only in documents where the fuller form had been used previously (*Ins. Sardis* 8, ll. 82, 88, 94 and 106 and *O.G.I.* 458, l. 41) but also in inscriptions mentioning the bestowal of honours by the *Koinon*; see *O.G.I.* 472, l. 14: *R.A.* XII (1888), p. 224, no. 12 = *R.E.G.* II (1889), p. 27f.: *I.G.R.* IV 140 = *Anth. Pal. App.* III 92 (about A.D. 150-155, see B. Keil in *Herm.* XXXII [1897], p. 505f.).

55. The meeting is called ἐκκλησία ἀρχαιρετική or ἀρχαιρεσίαι (apparently for the election of officers) in *Ins. Sardis* 8, ll. 76, 85 and 107 and κοιν(ο)βούλιον in *I.G.R.* IV 780 = *O.G.I.* 490 = Dessau 8820. For the session at Smyrna (before the adoption of the new calendar about 9 B.C.) see *O.G.I.* 458, l. 41. For the temple at Smyrna see Tacitus *Ann.* IV 55f. For the possibility of a provincial temple at Miletus under Gaius see Chap. XXI note 46, and for the temple at Ephesus (perhaps under Vespasian) see Chap. XXIV note 18. For the meetings of the *Koinon* and the celebrations of its festival at Sardis, Cyzicus, Philadelpheia and Laodiceia see Gaebler, p. 271f. For a meeting at Miletus in the second century see *I.G.R.* IV 780 = *O.G.I.* 490 = Dessau 8820, and for a celebration of the festival at Tralles in the early third century see *I.G.R.* IV 1519. The theory that there was a regular four-year cycle, during three years of which the festival was held in Pergamum, Smyrna and Ephesus, while in the fourth year it was held in turn by the other cities, which was propounded by Gaebler (p. 271, followed by Kornemann *ibid.* 931) on slight evidence, is supported by an inscription from Naples (*I.G.* XIV 746 = *I.G.R.* I 445), honouring an athlete who won victories in two provincial contests at Smyrna, held at an interval of four years (see below note 57).

56. For the method used by the cities of the Lycian Federation see Strabo XIV p. 664 and Chap. XXII note 34. The suggestion presented in the text finds a certain support in a letter of Antoninus Pius to the *Koinon* of Asia in which the member-cities are divided into three classes, αἱ ἐλάττους πόλεις, αἱ μείζους πόλεις and αἱ μέγισται πόλεις, the last two being also characterized, respectively, as αἱ ἔχουσαι ἀγορὰς δικῶν (*i.e.* the centres of the judiciary dioceses) and αἱ μητροπόλεις τῶν ἐθνῶν; see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 2. For a meeting of 150 deputies see *Ins. Sardis* 8, l. 76f.

57. Cassius Dio LI 20, 9. The festival of the Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστά (or Σεβαστὰ Ῥωμαῖα) held by the *Koinon* of Asia appears in the following inscriptions, all dating from Augustus's lifetime or soon thereafter: *Milet*

I 9, p. 185f., no. 369 (about 20 B.C.): *O.G.I.* 458, l. 58f. (about 9 B.C.): *I.G.R.* IV 1064=*Syll.*³ 1065 (soon after I B.C.): *I.G.R.* IV 454 (see below) and 498. In *Ins. Sardis* 8, l. 100 (a decree of the *Koinon* of 2/1 B.C.) it is called *τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Καισάρεια*, perhaps, as the editors suggested (p. 26), as a compliment to the young Gaius Caesar, who was in Asia in I B.C. Under the emperors Gaius and Nero the festival was still celebrated in honour of Roma and Augustus (see *I.G.R.* IV 1608 *c* and 1410 as restored in *R. Phil.* LXI [1935], p. 181), and as late as A.D. 113-116 it was held *in honorem Romae [et Divi A]ug.* (*C.I.L.* III 7086=*I.G.R.* IV 336). The *Αὐγούστεια ἐν Περγάμῳ*, on the other hand, mentioned in several inscriptions (*e.g. I.G.R.* IV 1432, 1442 and 1519: *A.M.* VII [1882], p. 255, no. 26: *I.G.* II² 3169-70: *I.G.* XIV 738, 739 and 1102=*I.G.R.* I 443, 444 and 153) was evidently not the provincial festival but a local one, since inscriptions in which it appears contain also specific mention of festivals of the *Koinon* of Asia. The provincial *ἀγών* is described as *ἱερός* not only in Cassius Dio (*l.c.*) but also in *I.G.R.* IV 496 and 1441 and *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 182f., no. 25. The view that it was pentaeteric, propounded by Monceaux (*de Com. Asiae Prov.* p. 56f.) on insufficient evidence has had wide acceptance; see *e.g.* Kornemann in *Klio* I p. 100: Gaebler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV p. 270: Schulten in *J.O.A.I.* IX (1906), p. 65f.: Heinen in *Klio* XI p. 147, note 5: Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* XVIII (1914), p. 358f. On the other hand, it was rejected by Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 503), who believed that the festival was held annually. His argument, however, was based solely on the item *Ζμύρναν ε' Κοινὰ Ἀσίας δίς* in a list of victories in *I.G.* XIV 1102=*I.G.R.* I 153, l. 26f. Supposing that this referred to two provincial contests won at Smyrna, he pointed out that two such victories, were the cycle pentaeteric, would be impossible, since the athlete in question was active for only six years (l. 36f.). Chapot failed to observe, however, that *Ζμύρναν ε'* refers not to the festival of the *Koinon* but to a local contest held at Smyrna; there is no reason, therefore, why this athlete should not, within six years, have won two pentaeteric provincial contests. There is, however, much better evidence for Chapot's view. In addition to *I.G.* XIV 746= *I.G.R.* I 445 (see above note 55) in honour of an athlete who won a victory at a festival held in Smyrna and a second *τῇ ἑξῆς πενταετηρίδι*, evidently also in Smyrna, an inscription from Iasus (*Cl. Rev.* III [1889], p. 333) honours an athlete who won the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δίς, ἐν Περγάμῳ Κοινὰ Ἀσίας τρίς, ἐν Σμύρνῃ δίς, ἐν Σάρδεσι Κοινὰ Ἀσίας δίς, ἐν Μειλήτῳ [δίς]*; and an inscription from Sinope (*R.A.* III [1916], p. 254f., no. 10) records that a certain boxer won the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας* (if the reading and the interpretation are correct) in Smyrna, Pergamum, Ephesus and Sardis and perhaps in other places as well. It is very difficult to suppose that the athletic activity of these men could have continued long enough to participate in so many contests, were these held only once in four years. This difficulty appears also in the case of another boxer (*I.B.M.* 605), who won both the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀγενείων πυγμή* and the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμή*; for it seems improbable that he remained in the class of the *ἀγένειοι* for four years, since the age of this class seems to have been from 17 to 20; see Th. Klee *Zur Gesch. d. gymn. Agone*, p. 48. There is perhaps further evidence

for a short cycle in *I.G.R.* IV 454, honouring C. Julius Sacerdos, who, besides being *νεωκόρος* of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum, was *ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος καὶ γυμνασίαρχος τῶν δωδεκάτων Σεβαστῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν πέντε γυμνασίων*. On the basis of a four-year cycle, the editor dated the twelfth celebration of the Romaia Sebasta in A.D. 16. Although a priest of Tiberius at Nysa (*Syll.*[3] 781) was called *ἱερεὺς Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος* in 1 B.C. (during Tiberius's stay in Rhodes from 6 B.C. to A.D. 2), it is hardly likely that in A.D. 16, after his adoption by Augustus (in A.D. 4) and his succession to the principate, Tiberius would still have been called by his original name. On the other hand, if the festival was biennial, the twelfth celebration (if the first took place in 29/8 B.C.) would occur in 7/6; if it was annual, this celebration would have been in 18/17, and the latter date accords with the fact that Tiberius was in the East in 20 B.C., at which time the Pergamenes may well have founded this priesthood in his honour.

58. For the *ὑμνῳδοί* in the provincial sanctuary at Pergamum see *Ephesos* II p. 115f., no. 21 = F. K. Dörner *Erlass d. Statthalters v. Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Greifswald 1935), p. 37f. VIII (about A.D. 45): *I.G.R.* IV 318 and 1608 (= *S.E.G.* IV 641, under Claudius, see Chap. XXIII note 12). See also Fränkel in *Ins. Perg.* II p. 262f.: Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 101f.: Ziebarth in *R.E.* IX 2520f.: F. Poland in *Festschr. z. Jubelfeier d. Kreuzschule z. Dresden* (1926), p. 46f.: Ziehen in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 279f. For these *hymnodoi* in the second century see *I.G.R.* IV 353 (= 1679) and 460 and Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 437f. For those of Hadrian at Smyrna see Chap. XXVI note 15.

59. He is called *Ἀρχιερεὺς Θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* in the decrees of the *Koinon* passed under Augustus and during the first century (see above note 54). In general, however, he was known by the shorter form *Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας*, where the addition of *Ἀσίας* distinguishes him from the *archiereus* of a local cult (see Chap. XX note 11). The following cities are known to have been the native places of *archiereis* of Asia during the principate of Augustus: Aezani (*O.G.I.* 458 II, ca. 9 B.C.); Pergamum (*Ins. Sardis* 8 VII, 4 B.C.); Mastaura (*Ins. Sardis* 8 VIII, 3 B.C.); Smyrna (*Ins. Sardis* 8 IX, 2 B.C.); Thyateira (*Ins. Sardis* 8 X, 2/1 B.C.); Sardis (*I.G.R.* IV 1611 = *O.G.I.* 470, between 2 B.C. and A.D. 14). For the *archiereus* as *ἀγωνοθέτης* see above note 57. For lists of the known *ἀρχιερεῖς* and *ἀρχιέρειαι* of Asia see Appendix no. II A 1. In certain cases the *archiereus* appears to be connected with the provincial temples in specified cities with the title of *Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ* (or *ναῶν τῶν*) *ἐν κ.τ.λ.* The cities in question are Pergamum (Appendix II A 1, nos. 10, 13, 15, 19, 31, 33, 39, 43 and 66); Ephesus (nos. 9, 14, 26, 41, 42, 58 and 62 and *Ἀρχιέρειαι* nos. 11 and 22); Smyrna (nos. 24, 28 and 61 and *Ἀρχιέρειαι* nos. 5 and 20); Cyzicus (nos. 1, 56 and 68); Sardis (no. 49). According to the generally accepted view, these "special" *archiereis* were elected annually in addition to the Chief Priest of the whole province (who officiated in Pergamum) to serve as assistants in the provincial temples in Ephesus and Smyrna and, after a second temple was erected (under Trajan), at Pergamum, and every fourth year,

when the *Koinon* met in Cyzicus or Sardis (see above note 55), in these cities also; see Brandis in *R.E.* II 476f.: Gaebler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV p. 273f.: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 931. This view, however, is open to several objections. (1) The "special" *archiereus* in Pergamum appears during the period in which the city had only one temple (Appendix no. 33) and therefore before an "assistant" was required. (2) The two titles were used interchangeably, as in no. 13 and Ἀρχιέρειαι no. 4; no. 33; no. 61; Ἀρχιέρειαι no. 20; in no. 61 the man in question is described as Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποδεδειγμένος Ἀσίας under M. Aurelius and Verus, but as Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένος ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ β′ under Commodus; were the latter post one of an "assistant" he would have held the lower office after the higher one. (3) If, during the second and third centuries, four *archiereis* were elected annually, it might be supposed that approximately as many names of the "special" *archiereis* of Pergamum, Ephesus and Smyrna would have been preserved as of the *archiereis* of Asia; but, in fact, out of sixty-nine apparently assured names of *archiereis* (largely from these two centuries) only nineteen are connected with these three cities (in addition to two connected with Cyzicus and one with Sardis). (4) Besides the γραμματεὺς Ἀσίας (the secretary of the *Koinon,* see below note 60) mentioned in *Ephesos* III no. 40 and the γραμματεὺς ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ (*I.G.R.* IV 821 and 822), there was also a γραμματεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (*Ephesos* III no. 80); if the theory that there was a "special" *archiereus* for Ephesus be accepted, it must be supposed that there was also a "special" *grammateus* for the city, and not for Ephesus only but also for Pergamum and Smyrna, officials of whom there is no record. Since no definite distinction seems to have been drawn between the ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας and the ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ, κ.τ.λ., it seems probable that these were one and the same office and that (perhaps not before the beginning of the second century) the Chief Priest of the province sometimes attached to his title the name of the city in which the Assembly met during his term of office, calling himself ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ (or ναῶν) in Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyzicus or Sardis, according to the place of meeting in that year.

60. For the ἔκδικος see *O.G.I.* 458, l. 64 (ca. 9 B.C., τοὺς καθ' ἔτος ἐκδίκους): *Ins. Sardis* 8 IV (5 B.C.), VII (4 B.C.), IX (3/2 B.C.), X (2 B.C.), XI (1 B.C.) and XII (1 B.C.), recording that Menogenes held the office three times. For the γραμματεύς see above note 59. The γραμματεύων mentioned in *O.G.I.* 458, l. 43 was also evidently an official of the *Koinon*. See also Schulthess in *R.E.* VII 1770. For the ἀργυροταμίας τῆς Ἀσίας see *C.I.G.* 2782 and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 348f., no. 5. For the coins see Gaebler *ibid.* 256f., who observed that only those inscribed Κοινοῦ Ἀσίας were issued by the *Koinon* and that those with the legend Κοινὸν Ἀσίας and the name of a city, *e.g.* Ἐφεσίων, were issued by that city when the Assembly met in it.

61. For the Ἀσιάρχαι see Strabo XIV p. 649 and *Acta Apost.* XIX 31. For Pythodorus see Chap. X note 60. For a list of known Asiarchs see Appendix II A 2. For the view that the title was an alternative, less formal, designation

for the *archiereus* of the province see *e.g.* Marquardt *R.St.V.*² I p. 513, note 5: Lightfoot *Apostolic Fathers* II 2 (London 1885), *Appendix* p. 987f.: Ramsay in *Cl. Rev.* III (1889), p. 175: Beurlier *Culte Impérial*, p. 131f.: Mommsen in *J.O.A.I.* III (1900), p. 8: Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 498, note 3. For the view that the Asiarch was the official in charge of the provincial festival, who bore the cost and presided over the contests see Waddington, note on L.W. 885: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 35f. and *Mél. Arch.* p. 170f.: C. Babington in *Num. Chron.* VI (1866), p. 104f., who supposed that he also exercised "a general control over the temples" of the *Koinon*: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 936f., who likened the position to that of the Lyciarch (see Chap. XXII notes 37 and 54). A compromise theory that the Asiarch was the *archiereus* who held office in the year of the provincial festival (regarded as pentaeteric, see above note 57), provided the necessary funds and presided over the contests, which was propounded by Monceaux (*De Com. Asiae Prov.* p. 55f.), has also had wide acceptance; see Schulten in *J.O.A.I.* IX (1906), p. 66f.: Groag in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 292: Keil in *Ephesos* III p. 146f. and *C.A.H.* XI p. 581: Stein in *Epitymbion H. Swoboda dargebr.* (Reichenberg 1927), p. 301: Nock in *C.A.H.* X p. 485, note 4. Another suggestion was made by Guiraud (*Assemblées prov.* p. 105), namely, that the Asiarchs were a class of "notables" consisting of those who had held the Chief Priesthood. This was accepted—with a variation—by L. R. Taylor in Jackson-Lake *Beginnings of Christianity, Acts of the Apostles* V (1933), p. 258f., who suggested that after the cult of Roma and Augustus was founded, one of "the Asiarchs designated in each year as the foremost men of Asia" was chosen as *archiereus* and that later, as the number of provincial temples increased, one was selected to serve in each, with the result that there was "a priesthood for every Asiarch, and the two terms would thus come to be synonymous." For the view of Brandis that the Asiarchs were the deputies sent by the cities to the Assembly see *R.E.* II 1564f., where it is also observed that there is no evidence of any connexion between this office and the provincial festival. Chapot, while emphasizing this lack of connexion (*Prov. Procons.* p. 473f.), rejected Brandis's theory on the ground that the statement of Strabo (*l.c.*) that some of the citizens of Tralles were Asiarchs would be pointless, since the city, like the others, must have had its representatives in the Assembly. The belief that the Asiarchate and the Chief Priesthood were identical seems to rest partly on the statement in *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 14, which exempted from the necessity of acting as guardian during their term of office those who held an *ἔθνους ἱεραρχία, οἷον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυναρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία*, where, although *ἱεραρχία* was restored by Mommsen to fill a lacuna, the sense seems clear from the corresponding passage in the *Basilica*, *οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἀσιάρχαι καὶ οἱ λοιποί*. As Brandis observed (*ibid.* 1575), however, these examples, which omit any mention of the provincial priests of the western provinces, are ill chosen, and the list may well be a later addition. Another ground for this belief has been found in the fact that while the title of Asiarch was never borne by a woman (save in Appendix II A 2, no. 41, where husband and wife are called *Ἀσιάρχαι*), the wife of an Asiarch has in three instances (nos. 24, 27 and 66) the title of *Ἀρχιέρεια τῆς Ἀσίας* (Ap-

pendix II A 1, Ἀρχιέρειαι nos. 14, 4 and 18). In the first two of these cases, however, the husbands are called elsewhere ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας (Appendix II A 1, nos. 12 and 13), and it is highly probable that it was because they held this office that their wives bore the title of Chief Priestess. In the third case, it may be merely an accident that her husband is not known to have been an *archiereus* of the province.

Arguments both for the identity of the two offices and for a connexion between the Asiarch and the provincial festival have been sought in the case of C. Julius Philippus of Tralles (no. 91), Asiarch in A.D. 149. He appears also as *archiereus* of Asia (Appendix II A 1, no. 52) in the Trallian Olympiad 53. The date of this Olympiad, however, cannot be definitely determined (see Robert in *R. Phil.* LVI [1930], p. 33f. and Chap. XXVI note 33). This man has usually been identified with the Asiarch Philippus who presided over the spectacle at the time of the martyrdom of Polycarp, generally dated in Feb., 155, which is described in the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans* concerning this martyrdom (Ruinart *Acta prim. Martyrum*[2] p. 37f. = Th. Zahn *Patr. Apost. Op.* II [1876], p. 132f.) and in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 15, 27, as well as with the Philippus who appears as the eponymous ἀρχιερεύς in the date appended to the Smyrnaeans' Letter. But, apart from the difference in the dates 149 and 155, which renders the identity of C. Julius Philippus the Asiarch and Philippus the Asiarch questionable, the *archiereus* mentioned in the Letter does not bear the title Ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας and it may be presumed, as Robert pointed out (*ibid.* p. 34, note 4), that he was only the chief priest of a local cult; this is borne out by the fact that the spectacle in question, as Brandis observed (*ibid.* 1570), took place in February, whereas the festival of the *Koinon* was celebrated in the autumn. Another argument for the identity of the Asiarch and the provincial *archiereus* has been found in the apparent connexion of the former with the provincial temples at Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum. In seven instances (nos. 36, 67, 72, 76, 92, 113 and 119) he appears as Ἀσιάρχης ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, in two (nos. 37 and 63) as Ἀσιάρχης ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ and in one (no. 29) as Ἀσιάρχης ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ, offices which seem analogous to those of the *archiereis* who took their titles from these temples (see above note 59). These cases, it must be admitted, are hard to explain. But since, in the case of Ephesus, the temples of the city had an ἀρχιερεύς of their own (see *I.B.M.* 605 and 611: Wood *Disc. at Ephesus, Appendix Great Theatre*, no. 9: *B.C.H.* XV [1891], p. 202f., no. 144), who, because of the lack of the word Ἀσίας was evidently not the *archiereus* of the province, it may be supposed that these Asiarchs also were in some way connected with the administration of the local temples in the three cities. On the other hand, the fact that out of at least 116 known Asiarchs eleven (at the most) appear in the list of known *archiereis* strongly suggests that the two offices were not identical. The latter list contains 68 names. If allowance be made for the eleven which appear in both lists, there remain 173 different names, and if it be supposed that all these held the office of provincial *archiereus*, it would mean that of those who held office during the period of somewhat less than 320 years which elapsed between the foundation of the cult of Roma and Augustus and Diocletian's change in the ad-

ministration of the provinces we know the names of more than half, a proportion which seems scarcely credible.

For the title of Ἀσιάρχης δίς or τὸ β′ see nos. 1, 8, 30, 41, 53, 75, 77 and 92(?); for Ἀσιάρχης τρίς or γ′ see nos. 3, 6, 48, 98 and 119; for Ἀσιάρχης δ′(?) see no. 68. For an Ἀσιάρχης ἔνδοξος ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων see no. 85. For the Ἀσιάρχης τῆς Ἀσίας see no. 62; the title is difficult to explain, and it is possible that, since this man appears also as ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας (Appendix II A 1, no. 32), it is an error. For Asiarchs of Pergamum and Ephesus see nos. 89 and 82. For the restoration of the Baths of Faustina at Miletus ἀντ' Ἀσιαρχίας see *Milet* I 9, no. 339. Coins bearing Asiarchs' names were issued at Abydus, Acmonia, Aezani, Alia, Apameia, Attuda, Cyzicus, Hieropolis, Hypaepa, Laodiceia, Ococlia, Otrus, Pergamum, Saittae, Sardis, Smyrna, Stectoricum, Synaus, Temenothyrae. For the Asiarch as agonothete see nos. 34 (ἀγόμενος ἀγῶνος), 35, 72, 89 and 90. For the thirteen-day spectacle with the slaughter of ζῶα Λιβυκά (*i.e. bestiae Africanae*, see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms*[10] IV p. 269) see no. 119. The man who was Asiarch for four days (see above) may have held the title for the duration of a festival. For monuments of a φαμιλία μονομάχων see nos. 44 (καὶ κυνηγεσίων), 64, 92, 99 and 110, and for an explanation see Robert *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris 1940), p. 55f. For the letter of Valens and his colleagues (A.D. 372) see *J.O.A.I.* IX (1906), p. 61f.

62. For the *Koinon* of Bithynia see Brandis in *R.E.* III 533f., to whose *testimonia* should be added *Digesta* XLIX 1, 25 = *Pap. Oxy.* XVII 2104 (Robert in *R. Phil.* LXIX [1943], p. 186, note 3). For the Σεβαστοφάντης [καὶ] τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ κοινοῦ τῆς Βειθυ[νίας να]οῦ τῶν μυστηρίων ἱεροφάντης see *I.G.R.* III 63 (= *O.G.I.* 528) and 69 = 1419. For the ἄρχων (ἄρξας) of the "*Koinon* of the Hellenes in Bithynia" see Appendix II B 1. For the festival see *C.I.G.* 1720: *I.G.* II² 3169: *I.G.R.* I 802; III 370; IV 1645. For the Bithyniarch see Brandis in *R.E.* III 539f., where the view is expressed that the title was held by the deputies sent to the provincial Assembly. M. Aurelius Mindius Matidianus Pollio, who was *archiereus* of Asia and Asiarch (see Appendix II A 1, no. 14 and Appendix II A 2, no. 36) was also Βιθυνιάρχης δίς and τρίς; see *O.G.I.* 525 = Dessau 8858 and *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97. The fact that in *I.G.R.* III 63 = *O.G.I.* 528 the titles of *archon* of the province (*i.e.* of the *Koinon*), Sebastophantes and Bithyniarch are listed separately seems to show that these offices were not identical. For the combination Βειθυνιάρχης καὶ Ποντάρχης see *I.G.R.* III 69 (= 1419), 90 (= 1435 = *O.G.I.* 531) and 1427: *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 410, no. 410 (?). In the second of these cases the man appears also as *archiereus* of Pontus. For Bithyniarchs and Pontarchs see also Appendix II B. For the customary πρόοδος (*i.e.* ceremonial procession) of the Bithyniarch in Nicaea under Valentinian and Valens see *Conc. Chal. Actio* XIV 27 (Schwartz *Acta Conc. Oecum.* II 1, p. 420).

63. For the prosecutions of C. Junius Silanus and Cn. Lucilius Capito see Chap. XXI notes 33 and 34. Conversely, a monument was erected in Rome about the time of Augustus by *provincia Asia* to P. Numicius Pica Caesianus

who had been quaestor pro praetore of the province; see *C.I.L.* VI 3835 = 31742 = Dessau 911. The following proconsuls of Bithynia were prosecuted: C. Cadius Rufus, convicted, A.D. 49 (Tacitus *Ann.* XII 22, 4): M. Tarquitius Priscus, convicted, A.D. 62 (Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 46, 1): C. Julius Bassus, acquitted, about A.D. 103/4 (Pliny *Epist.* IV 9, 2; V 20, 1): Varenus Rufus, prosecution dropped, about A.D. 105 (Pliny *Epist.* V 20, 1f.; VI 13, 1f.; VII 6, 1). For the edict of Domitian about A.D. 92 see Chap. XXIV note 36. For the remission of the εἰκοστή, probably the *vicesima libertatis* (see Brandis in *R.E.* II 1550), see *I.G.R.* IV 1236.

64. See L. Hahn in *Festgabe z. 400-Jahrfeier d. Alt. Gymn. Nürnberg* (Nuremberg 1926), p. 15f. and A. Stein in *Epitymbion H. Swoboda*, p. 300f. The former work contains a list, from the beginning of the second century onward, of men from the eastern provinces who were admitted to the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders (see Chap. XXVI note 56). The latter, which deals with families of the provincial Chief Priests, is somewhat confused by the author's identification of the *archiereus* of Asia with the Asiarch, as well as by his failure to distinguish between the *archiereus* of the province and the local *archiereis* (see above note 59). The great importance of the imperial cult in creating a spirit of loyalty to Rome was also observed by A. N. Sherwin-White in *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1939), p. 236f. and by Ramsay in *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor* (Aberdeen 1941), p. 5.

CHAPTER XIX

1. Strabo XII p. 569. For the situation of Isaura Vetus and its capture by Servilius Isauricus see above p. 289. For the wall apparently built by Amyntas see Hamilton *Researches* II p. 332f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 119f., where it is described as 4 km. in length, with an average thickness of 3¼ m., and protected by fourteen towers.

2. For the region of the Homonadeis see Strabo XII p. 569f. and XIV pp. 668 and 679, where it is described as a "hollowed, fertile plain running back into several narrow valleys (*αὐλῶνες*) in the high parts of the Taurus, craggy, steep and for the most part inaccessible," adjacent to the territories of Selge and Cotenna and (like the Isaurians) bordering on Cilicia Aspera. According to Pliny *N.H.* v 94, they bordered on the Isaurians and had an *oppidum* named Omana and forty-four *castella*. Their region was supposed by Ramsay to have been the northern and eastern sides of Lake Suğla, including the town of Sedasa; see *H.G.* pp. 335 and 419: *B.S.A.* IX (1902-03), p. 268f.: *J.R.S.* VII (1917), pp. 247f. and 263. This view, based on the theory that the long narrow river-valleys of this neighbourhood were Strabo's *αὐλῶνες*, was accepted by Calder (*Cl. Rev.* XXIV [1910], p. 76), by Broughton (*A.J.P.* LIV [1933], p. 134f.) and by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 138). Broughton observed that the country of the tribe did not include the northern shore of the Lake and extended as far as the range of Haydar Dağ on the southwest. The region east of the Lake, however, is not in "the high parts of the Taurus" and it is far from Selge and Cotenna (see Chap. XI note 18). On the other hand, Jüthner and his associates in the Prague Expedition, in an effort to place the Homonadeis near Selge, proposed (*Vorl. Ber.* p. 32f.) as their region the basin of Kembus Göl (around Göynem), southwest of Lake Beyşehir. This was accepted by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10 B) and by Ruge (*R.E.* VIII 2265), but it was shown both by Calder and by Broughton to be too far to the west and it was retracted in *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 47. The region which best suits Strabo's description is the country south of Lake Suğla, which is separated from Pisidia by the Haydar Dağ and from Cilicia Aspera by the main chain of the Taurus. In this neighbourhood, south of the mountain of Kabuklu Bel, Sterrett (*P.A.S.* III p. 135) found a broad valley, watered by a stream which disappears in an underground channel. Somewhat farther south, the Prague Expedition reported another broad valley called Sarot Yayla, with evidences of a large population in Antiquity; see *Vorl. Ber.* p. 43f. and *Denkmäler*, p. 54. One of the valleys in this mountain-region, separated from Cotenna by the Haydar Dağ and adjacent to Cilicia Aspera (on the southeast), may well be the "fertile plain" mentioned by Strabo. The route leading through Sarot Yayla and over the pass of Susam Bel to the Pamphylian coast, which was perhaps that used by Servilius Isauricus (see Chap. XII note 23), was the most direct means of communication between Isaura and Amyntas's port of Side (see Chap. XVIII note 21). If the

Homonadeis lived close enough to this route to render it dangerous, this might account for Amyntas's expedition against them.

3. Cassius Dio LIII 26, 3: Strabo XII pp. 567 and 569: Eutropius VII 10, 2. Pylaemenes, **Βασιλέως Ἀμύντου υἱός**, who appears in a list of donors of banquets and spectacles at Ancyra, was evidently one of his sons; see *I.G.R.* III 157 = *O.G.I.* 533 II = Krencker-Schede *Der Tempel in Ankara* (Berlin 1936), p. 52f. He was identified by Cichorius (*Röm. Stud.* p. 329) with the Pylaemenes mentioned in *Anth. Pal.* VI 241. It has sometimes been maintained, *e.g.* by Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 234f. and *Klio* XXIII (1930), p. 250, that Amyntas made a will in which he bequeathed his kingdom to Augustus. This was based on Strabo XII p. 577, where it is related that after Amyntas's death, the priesthood of Men near Antioch-near-Pisidia (see below note 22) was abolished **ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κληρονομίαν.** But, as both Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 611, note 5) and Anderson (*C.A.H.* X p. 271, note 1) observed, this does not prove that Augustus was made heir to Amyntas's kingdom. It is also highly questionable whether this may be inferred from the names of M. Livius Aug. l. Anteros Amyntianus and Epinicus Caesar(is) ser. Amyntianus in two inscriptions from Rome (*C.I.L.* VI 4035 and 8894), although the fact that a freedman of Livia and a slave of Augustus were called Amyntianus suggests that these men were part of the monarch's bequest. Other inscriptions from Rome, however, mention various persons with Greek names who also bore the cognomen Amyntianus (or Amyntiana) but without any indication that they were slaves or freedmen of Augustus; see *C.I.L.* VI 4715; 8738 = Dessau 7866 (I B.C.); 10395 (I B.C.-A.D. I).

4. The disposal of the portion of Pamphylia which belonged to Amyntas presents a difficult question, partly because it is unknown how much of it besides Side (see Chap. XVIII note 21) he held and partly because it is uncertain whether a province of Pamphylia existed at this time. It has already been observed that the district seems to have been attached to Asia under Julius Caesar (see Chap. XVII note 44), but there is no information as to its status under Augustus or, in fact, until A.D. 43, when it was combined with Lycia into a single province (see Chap. XXII note 48). The statement in Cassius Dio LIII 26, 3 that the **χωρία** of Pamphylia given to Amyntas **τῷ ἰδίῳ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη**, where the verb may mean either "restored" or "assigned," does, indeed, suggest that a province of Pamphylia either existed or was created at this time. Its existence is also implied in Dio LIV 34, 6 (II B.C.), where it is related that Lucius Piso (evidently the Consul of 15 B.C., see *P.I.R.*^{2} II p. 61f., no. 289) was ordered to go to Thrace "from Pamphylia, of which he was in command." This evidence was rejected, independently of each other, by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LIV (1933), p. 139f. and by Syme in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 122f. and XXX (1937), p. 227 (followed by A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 413) and, with a slight modification, in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 331f. Broughton, with Cichorius (*Röm. Stud.* p. 327) and Groag (*R.E.* IV A 832), regarded Piso as a legate of Agrippa, not, to

be sure, "ohne bestimmte Kompetenz" (so Groag), but, with Anderson (*J.R.S.* VII [1917], p. 235, note 2), charged with the preparations for a war against the Homonadeis, which his transfer to Thrace prevented him from waging. Syme, regarding the statement in Dio LIII 26, 3 as a blunder, supposed that the plain of Pamphylia was included in the province of Galatia-Pisidia and that Piso was the governor of this province. See also the forthcoming dissertation by W. F. Shaffer, *The Administration of the Rom. Prov. of Galatia from 25 B.C. to A.D. 72* (Princeton 1951), who, although (with Broughton) regarding Piso as a special legate, supposes that Pamphylia was attached to the Galatian province, if not in 25 B.C., at least soon afterward. The title Legatus pro Praetore, borne by Piso in an inscription from Castabala-Hieropolis (*J.O.A.I.* XVIII [1915], *Beibl.* 51), was connected by Groag in *P.I.R.*² II p. 63 with either this special command or the governorship of Syria. It seems clear that under Augustus Pamphylia was not attached to the province of Asia; for an inscription found at Attaleia honours M. Plautius Silvanus, evidently the Consul of 2 B.C. (*P.I.R.* III p. 46, no. 361), as *πρεσβευτὴς ἀντιστράτηγος αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, i.e.* governor of an imperial province; see V. Viale in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VIII-IX (1925-6), p. 363f., no. 2 = *S.E.G.* VI 646 = *Ann. Ép.* 1941, 147 and Robert in *R.E.G.* LII (1939), p. 519, no. 462. The inference of Viale, however, that Pamphylia was a separate, imperial, province was shown by Syme (*Klio* XXVII p. 139f.) to be invalid, since Silvanus may equally well have been governor of Galatia. It is, indeed, difficult to believe in the existence of a province as small as Pamphylia must have been. But as Broughton admitted (p. 140), it is not altogether impossible that, in view of a war with the tribes of the Taurus, the district, in spite of its small area, was made a separate province and placed under the command of a consular. It can be said only that the existing evidence seems insufficient to justify any positive conclusion with regard to the status of Pamphylia at this time.

5. The official name of the province is not wholly certain. It was maintained by Brandis in *R.E.* VII 555f. that the correct form was not *Galatia* but *Galatia, Lycaonia, Pisidia* and other component parts, as found in the inscriptions of imperial legates of the late first (after the incorporation of Cappadocia) and the second centuries. Brandis believed, accordingly, that both the title of L. Pupius Praesens, *ἐπίτρο[π]ος [Γ]αλα[τ]ικῆς ἐ[π]αρχεία[ς]* under Claudius and Nero (*I.G.R.* III 263 = Dessau 8848), and that of an unknown *ἐπί[τροπος] ἐπα[ρ]χείας Γαλατίας καὶ τ[ῶν] συνεργὸς ἐθνῶν* (*I.G.R.* III 70 = Dessau 8855) refer only to the district of Galatia and not to the province as a whole. Ramsay, on the other hand, arguing (*J.R.S.* VI [1916], p. 102f.) that the province was a unit and not "a mere congeries of distinct countries," maintained that both titles refer to the whole province, citing as an analogy to the second the title of a procurator [*per*] *Asiam e*[*t adhae*]*rentes p*[*rovin*]*cias* (*C.I.L.* III 6994) to show that the *ἐπίτροπος* in question officiated both in the province of Galatia and in the adjoining provinces. It is difficult to believe that in these inscriptions the district rather than the province is meant, and while the abbreviations *leg*(*atus*) *Gal.* (*C.I.L.* III

272=6759), *leg. Aug. pr. pr. provin. Gal.* (*J.R.S.* XIV [1924], p. 184f., no. 7 and XV [1925], p. 258), *leg. Augustorum pr. pr. provinc. Galat.* (*C.I.L.* III 254) and *proc. prov. Galat.* (*C.I.L.* III 251) do not furnish the exact name of the province, the evidence of an inscription of C. Rutilius Gallicus *legatus provinciae Galaticae* under Nero (*J.O.A.I.* XVII [1914], p. 194=Dessau 9499) agrees with that given by the title of Pupius Praesens to make it probable that in the first century *Provincia Galatica* was the usual name. On the other hand, under Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander the name appears as *prov. Galatia*; see *C.I.L.* VI 1409 (=Dessau 1142) and VIII 18270. The date generally assigned for the formation of the province, 25 B.C., is inferred from the order of events given by Cassius Dio, who placed (LIII 26, 3) Amyntas's death in this year. Dates appear in two inscriptions from Ancyra Perrot *Exploration*, no. 134 and *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII [1928], p. 274f., no. 47), as well as in several others from various places in eastern Galatia; see *C.I.G.* 4099: *J.H.S.* XXX (1910), p. 165, no. 3: *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 24f., no. 16 and p. 327; XXV (1901), p. 336, no. 31=*Échos d'Orient* 1901, p. 356: *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), p. 35f.=*Stud. Pont.* III no. 207. It is impossible, however, to determine the era according to which they were reckoned or to establish any connexion between them and a provincial era. An era is found on coins of Tavium dated ἔτ(ους) ρξθ′ with a head of Antoninus Pius and ἔτ(ους) σηί with heads of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla and Geta; see *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 25f., nos. 9, 14, and 23: *Coll. Wadd.* 6695, 6699, 6705 and 6708: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 497, nos. 1 and 2. It has sometimes been supposed that these dates were reckoned from 25 B.C. and represent the era of the province; see *e.g.* Marquardt *RSt.V.*^{2} I p. 359; Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 803: Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 646: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2525f. It was shown by Ramsay, however, in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 203 that the date on the coin of Caracalla as M. Aurelius Antoninus Caesar (*B. M. Cat. ibid.* no. 23) could not have been reckoned from a year earlier than 22 B.C., since Caracalla did not assume the name Antoninus or become Caesar until A.D. 196, or later than 20 B.C., since he was made Augustus in A.D. 198. The latter year is established by a coin of Geta (*Coll. Wadd.* 6708) apparently as Caesar, also dated ἔτ(ους) σηι′, which cannot be earlier than 198, the year in which Geta received this name. Ramsay, sharing the belief that this era was the era of the province, supposed that the latter was reckoned from 20 B.C., and that the term of office of Marcus Lollius, the first governor (see below note 26), began in this year. During the years 20-18 B.C., however, Lollius was in Thrace (see Groag in *R.E.* XIII 1380f.) and therefore it cannot be supposed that he was governor of Galatia at this time. It seems probable, accordingly, that the era which appears on the coins of Tavium is a local one and has nothing to do with the era of the province.

6. For this range see H. Wenzel *Sultan-Dagh u. Akschehir-Ova* (Kiel 1932), pp. 8f. and 38f.

7. For northern Galatia see Cuinet *Turquie* I pp. 256f. and 278 and for the plain of the Ankara Su, west of Ancyra, see Anton in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXVI (1895), p. 44f. For the modern production of wheat and barley around

Ancyra see also G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 93. Galatian wool is mentioned in Pliny *N.H.* XXIX 33, and mohair from the "Angora goat" is still a valuable product of the region (see Ravndal, p. 108). For the forests in northern and eastern Galatia see Ravndal, p. 123. For the red kermes dye made from the bodies of the insects found on the oak-trees see Pliny *N.H.* IX 141 and XXII 3 and Dioscurides IV 48.

8. For this borderland see Anderson in *B.S.A.* IV (1897-98), p. 59f. Various names have been given to it, for none of which there is very good authority. It is frequently known as the *Axylon*, a word used in Livy XXXVIII 18, 4 (from Polybius) to denote a certain region of which it is said that *non ligni modo quicquam sed ne spinas quidem aut ullum aliud alimentum fert ignis.* This region was traversed in part by Manlius and his army on their march from Synnada to the upper Sangarius and Pessinus. As used by modern writers, however, the Axylon denotes the "steppe" extending from the hills north of Lake Akşehir eastward to Lake Tatta and southward to Laodiceia Catacecaumene; see *e.g. M.A.M.A.* I p. xv f. The name can be connected with this Galatian-Lycaonian borderland only by supposing, with A. Körte in *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 12f., that Manlius marched much farther east than Pessinus and then turned back to the Sangarius. Perrot, on the other hand, found, some distance west of Pessinus, a bare plateau without trees or villages (see *Exploration*, p. 149f.), which he regarded as Livy's Axylon; this identification makes it unnecessary to suppose that Manlius marched on so far to the east. The nomenclature has been further confused by Ramsay's assumption that the expression *tetrarchia ex Lycaonia qua parte Galatiae contermina est* in Pliny *N.H.* V 95 and the term Προσειλημμένῑται in Ptolemy V 4, 8 are synonymous and should both be applied to the eastern portion of the so-called Axylon, as describing a part of Lycaonia which had been added to Galatia; see *Studia Biblica* IV (1896), p. 46f.: *Hist. Comm. to St. Paul's Epist. to the Galatians*, p. 64f.: *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 65f. See also Anderson in *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 125f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2257. The addition of this territory to Galatia was dated by Ramsay either about 165 B.C., when the independence of the Galatians was recognized by Rome, or in 129, when the province of Asia was organized; the latter date was accepted by Stähelin (*Galater*[2], p. 86, note 1) and Ruge (*l.c.*). There is no evidence, however, for either supposition. As Stähelin observed, it is improbable that this region was obtained by the Galatians when their independence was recognized, since this recognition was granted on the express condition that they should remain within their own territory (see above p. 23). The suggestion that the Galatians attacked Aristonicus and took the region from him is even less probable; for there is no reason to suppose that the Celts ever came into conflict with Aristonicus, whose revolt was confined to Mysia and Lydia (see Chap. VI notes 14 and 21). The argument used by Ramsay (*Stud. Bibl.* IV p. 48) to show that the Galatians possessed this region, namely, that "the idea of tetrarchies was a peculiarly Galatian institution," although advanced also by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* V p. 440f.) cannot be regarded as valid; for it was pointed out by Zwintscher (*de Galat. Tetrarchis, etc.* p. 5f.) and Schwahn

(*R.E.* v A 1096f.) that, on the contrary, the tetrarchy was an institution of the Macedonians, taken from the Thessalians, who were divided into four τετραρχίαι (see Schwahn *ibid.* 1090), and that the many "tetrarchies" (*i.e.* small principalities) which existed in Syria at the beginning of the Christian Era were of Seleucid, *i.e.* Macedonian, origin and not, as Mommsen had asserted, creations of Pompey on the Galatian model. The *tetrarchia* of Pliny v 95, moreover, contained fourteen communities, but the only one named is *urbs celeberrima Iconium*. Not only is it difficult to believe that Iconium was ever possessed by the Galatians, but its situation is so far south that if it really was in the *Tetrarchia*, the latter could scarcely have been regarded as *Galatiae contermina*. There is nothing to indicate, furthermore, that this *tetrarchia* was identical with the Proseilemmenitae; for the ten *poleis* in Ptolemy's list (v 4, 8) evidently belonged to the Ὀβιζηνοὶ καὶ μέρος τῆς Λυκαονίας (*Lycaoniae pars Obizene*, bordering on Galatia, Pliny *N.H.* v 147). Of these ten, the positions of only Laodiceia Catacecaumene and Perta (*R.E.* XIX 1059) are known, the former definitely and the latter approximately; for the site of Cinna is not assured (*R.E.* XI 481), and the Vasada here listed can hardly be the place of this name southeast of Lake Beyşehir (see below note 25). We have, therefore, no positive knowledge either of the position of the Proseilemmenitae or of the reason for their name. There was a people called Καισαρεῖς Προσει(λ)ημμενεῖται (the later Caesareia-Hadrianopolis, see Chap. XXVI note 23) near the boundary between Bithynia and Paphlagonia (*I.G.R.* III 148=1454=*O.G.I.* 539), but in this case also the origin of the name is unknown, and the suggestion made by Brandis (*R.E.* VII 550) that this place was annexed to the province of Galatia along with Paphlagonia (in 6 B.C.) cannot be regarded as more than a theory. All that it seems possible to say concerning either of the Proseilemmenitae is that these communities were annexed at one time or another to some larger unit, which may have been the province of Galatia. Of the various names suggested for the borderland bounding Lycaonia on the northwest the best attested seems to be Obizene.

9. The importance of Galatia as a thoroughfare between East and West was pointed out by Rostovtzeff in *Hellenist. World*, p. 579. For the routes from Nicaea to Galatia by way of Dorylaeum and Juliopolis (the "Pilgrims' Road") respectively see Chap. II note 21 and Chap. XIII note 14. The section Dorylaeum-Ancyra appears in *Itin. Ant.* 202f. with the intervening stations Arcelaeum (Accilaeum ?), Germa, Vindia and Papira. Midaeum, which was on this road (see Chap. II note 21), has been omitted. The old town of Gordium (see below note 10) was a short distance north of the place where the road crossed the upper Sangarius. For the course of this road and a tentative identification of the stations see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 237f. and Anderson in *B.S.A.* IV (1897-98), p. 70 and *J.H.S.* XIX (1899), p. 84f.; the latter fixed the site of Germa (see below note 45) at Karaca Paşa Ören, north of Pessinus (Ruge in *R.E.* VII 1250). For milestones see *C.I.L.* III 318=Dessau 263 (no. LXXI of A.D. 80), found at Mülk, east of Germa; 14184^{60} and 14184^{59} (nos. XXIV and VIII of A.D. 122), found respectively at Balkuyumcu and

Alacaatlı. From this road are probably also *C.I.L.* III 6902 (of Aurelian) found 5 hrs. southwest of Ancyra; 317 (a fragment) found 4 hrs. southwest of Ancyra; 312 (=Dessau 268) and 313 (no. VIII of A.D. 82 and 122 and Aurelian), found at Ancyra. For the stations on the "Pilgrims' Road" between Juliopolis and Ancyra see *Tabula Peutingeriana* IX 3-4 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 658f.): *Itin. Ant.* 142f.: *Itin. Hieros.* 574f.: Ramsay *H.G.* p. 240: von Diest in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXXV (1898), p. 48: Anderson in *B.S.A.* IV p. 64f. and *J.H.S.* XIX p. 53f. With the possible exception of Cenaxis Palus, probably Kebir Göl, west of Ancyra (*J.H.S.* XIX p. 58), none can be definitely determined; see Ruge in *R.E.* XV 2290. The road crossed the river Siberis (Ala Dağ Çay) by a bridge built by Justinian, remains of which are still visible; see Procopius *de Aedif.* V 4, 1: von Diest *ibid.* p. 46f.: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XIX p. 65f. For milestones see *C.I.L.* III 14184[64] (Diocletian), found at Bayram Köy near Ayaş; 14184[62-63] (Diocletian), found at Erkeksu Çiftlik; 14184[61] (A.D. 122), found at Emiryaman. The following milestones at or near Ancyra may belong to either road; *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 21, no. 21 (no. IV of A.D. 122): *C.I.L.* III 314=*Arch. Jahrb.* XLVII (1932), *Arch. Anz.* 260=*Ann. Ép.* 1932, 49 (no. III of A.D. 213): *C.I.L.* III 6058=6900 (no. III of Elagabalus).

The courses of the roads leading from Ancyra to Pontus are somewhat uncertain. A group of milestones found at Kalecik, some 35 miles northeast of Ancyra, and in the general neighbourhood indicates that a road ran in this direction; see *C.I.L.* III 309=6898 (no. XXXVIII of A.D. 98/9); 310 (no. XXV of 122); 14184[55] (no. XXXV of 98/9); 14184[56] (no. [X]XXVI? of 98/9); 14184[57] (no. [X]XXVII? of 98/9). The road may have crossed the Halys near Kalecik and led directly eastward to Alaca; for a milestone of Nerva (*Bull. Soc. Antiq. de France* 1903, p. 193=*Ann. Ép.* 1903, 261, where it is incorrectly assigned to Bithynia), found at Sungurlu between the river and Alaca, suggests that this was the course of the road; see Anderson in *J.H.S.* XXX (1910), p. 164, note 4. Near Alaca this road joined the road leading from Tavium to Amaseia (see below). It is not improbable that a road led onward from Kalecik along the northwestern side of the Halys to Iskelip, where there is a milestone of Nerva (no. LXXX, *C.I.L.* III 6897=Dessau 5840). From here a road led across the Halys to Amaseia (from which this milestone is evidently numbered); see Hirschfeld in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1883, p. 1262f. and Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 5f. For milestones of this road east of the Halys see *C.I.L.* III 14184[40] (Decius) at Çorum; 308 (Maximinus) and 14184[39] (Nerva and Diocletian) at Elvan Çelebi; 14184[38] (no. XXXI of Constantine) at Köse Eyüp, near which there was a junction with the road leading from Tavium and Alaca to Amaseia. For the road from Ancyra to Tavium see *Tab. Peut.* IX 5-X 1 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 672f.) and *Itin. Ant.* 203, showing, except for Eccobriga (or Ecobroga), different lists of stations, none of which can be identified. If, as seems probable, this road led due east from Ancyra across the Halys, a milestone of A.D. 223 (*C.I.L.* III 311=6901) at Orta Köy, east of Ancyra, and a milestone of Nerva (no. I, *C.I.L.* III 6899) found immediately west of Tavium were perhaps on its course. For the road from Tavium to Amaseia see Anderson in *Stud. Pont.* I p. 19f., where the route appearing on *Tab. Peut.* X 1 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 678) is corrected. This road led

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See also A. Körte in *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 1f. and G. and A. Körte in *Arch. Jahrb., Erg.-heft* V (1904), p. 28f.

11. Pessinus (see Chap. I note 71) is described in Strabo XII p. 567 as *ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτῃ μέγιστον*. For Brogitarus and Deiotarus see Chap. XV note 40. Pessinus and Ancyra are evidently meant by the expression *δυσὶ πόλεσιν* in *O.G.I.* 533, ll. 67 and 76 (see Dittenberger's note 27), of the time of Tiberius (see above note 3). Coins with the portrait of Augustus and the image of the Great Mother enthroned and with the head of Tiberius and the bust of the Great Mother with the legend *Μήτηρ Θεῶν* were assigned to Pessinus by Imhoof-Blumer; see *Rev. Suisse de Num.* XIV (1908), p. 116, no. 1 and *Griech. Münzen*, p. 229, no. 759.

12. Ancyra (Ankara) founded, according to legend, by the Phrygian king Midas (Pausanias I 4, 5), was a place of some size in 333 B.C., when it was visited by Alexander; see Arrian *Anab.* II 4, 1 and Curtius Rufus III 3. It was a *polis* of the Tectosages in 189 B.C.; see Polybius XXI 39, 1 = Livy XXXVIII 25, 1 (in XXXVIII 24, 1 it is described as a *nobilis urbs*). It is also described as a *polis* by Strabo in IV p. 187, although in XII p. 567 it is called a *φρούριον*. In the early second century after Christ, Ancyra had twelve city-tribes, each of which had a phylarch; see *I.G.R.* III 208 = *S.E.G.* VI 57. Each had both a number and a name; the names include those of emperors (*Σεβαστή*, *Κλαυδία Ἀθηναία* and *Νέρουα*) and certain Greek forms (*Ἱεροβουλαία* and *Νέα Ὀλυμπία*), but the others (including *Διὸς Ταηνοῦ*, see below note 13) are evidently of native origin; see H. Miltner in *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 25 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 409, note 10. For the *βουλή* and *δῆμος* and the *ἐκκλησία* see *C.I.G.* 4019, 4024, 4028 (= *A.E.M.* IX [1885], p. 117f., no. 74) and 4032 (= *J.H.S.* XLIV [1924], p. 43f., no. 80): *I.G.R.* III 192.

13. For Tavium (Büyük Nefesköy) see Strabo XII p. 567: Pliny *N.H.* V 146: Hamilton *Researches* I p. 389f.: Perrot *Exploration*, p. 289f.: Sterrett in *P.A.S.* II p. 311: Ruge in *R.E.* IV A 2524f.: Ramsay *The Social Basis of Roman Power in Asia Minor*, p. 91f. For the roads to the East see above note 9. The worship of Zeus, recorded by Strabo, is known also from inscriptions mentioning *Ζεὺς Ταουιανός* (*Ταηνός*) and Jupiter Tavianus; see *A.E.M.* IX (1885), p. 114f., nos. 65 and 72 (= *J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 11f.) and *C.I.L.* III 860 (= Dessau 4082, by Galatians in Dacia) and 1088. For the head of Zeus and the figure of Zeus enthroned on coins of Tavium see *Coll. Wadd.* 6688f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 24f., nos. 3, 6 and 17. For an era reckoned from 20 B.C. see above note 5.

14. For Phrygia *Παρώρειος* see Strabo XII p. 576f. and XIV p. 663. In the former passage it is described (p. 577) as containing "a mountainous ridge extending from east to west" (evidently the Sultan Dağ), with a large plain on either side, in each of which were cities near the mountain, Philomelium on the northern side, and Antiocheia *πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ* on the southern. In the latter passage it is described as extending from Holmi to Tyriaeum (north

and northeast of the Sultan Dağ, see Chap. II note 18). Presumably because of this description, the term Phrygia Paroreius was limited by Ramsay (*H.G.* pp. 139f. and 150 and *C.B.* I p. 748) to the region north and northeast of the great range from the lake of Akşehir to Tyriaeum. It was pointed out, however, by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 12 B) that Strabo makes it perfectly clear that the region south of the range, with Antioch-near-Pisidia, was also included. For the names "Pisidian Phrygia" and *Phrygia Galatica* given to this region by Ramsay see below note 18.

15. For a delimitation of Lycaonia, which, however, seems to include both Pisidian and Isaurian territory, see Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2257. As Ruge pointed out (*ibid.* 2253), the extent of the district as conceived from the ethnographic standpoint differed greatly from its political boundaries. In Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 19 Iconium (Konya), which in Hellenistic and Roman times, at least, was thought of as Lycaonian, is described as τῆς Φρυγίας πόλις ἐσχάτη, and Calder pointed out in *J.H.S.* XXXI (1911), p. 189 and *M.A.M.A.* I p. xi f. that the fact that Neo-Phrygian inscriptions have been found in Iconium shows that, linguistically, Phrygia extended as far as this. On the other hand, Tyriaeum, considerably farther west, was regarded as on the border of Lycaonia by Artemidorus quoted in Strabo XIV p. 663. For the Lycaonian steppe see Strabo XII p. 568. For the plain southwest and south of Lake Tatta see F. Sarre *Reisen in Kleinasien*, pp. 74f., 92 and 96f. For the wild asses see Strabo *ibid.* and pp. 539-40 and Pliny *N.H.* VIII 174. For the pastures on the west ("east" is presumably an error) side of Lake Tatta see Anderson in *B.S.A.* IV (1897-98), p. 77. For the modern production in the region see G. B. Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 108. For Lake Tatta (Tuz Gölü) see Strabo XII p. 568. For the use of its salt in remedies for the eyes see Pliny *N.H.* XXXI 84 and 99. For the salt-content of its water (32.2 per cent), in contrast to that of the Dead Sea (21.7 per cent) and that of the Great Salt Lake (20 per cent), see Sarre *ibid.* p. 102. For the modern salt-works at the northern end of the lake see Oberhummer and Zimmerer *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1899), p. 228, and for those on the southwestern shore see Sarre, p. 100. The annual yield has been estimated at 19,000 tons; see Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 12. For the cinnabar mines at Sizma, which were reopened early in the present century but without adequate profit and were therefore soon closed, see Ramsay in *Cl. Rev.* XIX (1905), p. 367f.: Paterson and Broad in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* II (1909), p. 91: Calder in *Klio* X (1910), p. 242: D. M. Robinson in *A.J.A.* XXXI (1927), p. 30f.: Ravndal, p. 152. Calder pointed out that since the cinnabar was not smelted, the furnaces from which the neighbouring Laodiceia Catacecaumene is supposed to have taken its name must have been used for the smelting of copper and lead from the mountains above the town (see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* XL [1920], p. 105).

16. For the northwestern end of this region (around Philomelium) see Wenzel *Sultan-Dagh, etc.* p. 43f. For the grain from the neighbourhood of Konya see Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 93.

17. Xenophon *Anab.* I 2, 13f. The suggestion was made by Ramsay in *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 104 that Thymbrium may have become the later Philomelium (see below), but the fact that in Pliny *N.H.* V 95 the *Tymbriani* are listed alongside of the *Philomelienses* shows that the community remained in existence. Tyriaeum is mentioned also in Strabo XIV p. 663 (where it appears as the easternmost city of Phrygia Paroreius) and in Pliny *N.H.* V 95 (Tyrienses). It has usually been placed at Ilgın (see *e.g.* Ramsay *H.G.* p. 140 and R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 12 B), but an inscription found in a neighbouring village suggests that the ancient name of Ilgın was Lageina; see Calder in *A.J.A.* XXXVI (1932), p. 457, no. 13. The form Τυραῖον, which is found in the best manuscripts of the *Anabasis*, as also in those of Strabo (see Müller, note on Ptolemy V 4, 8), was advocated as the correct name of the place by Ramsay in *Cl. Rev.* XLVI (1932), pp. 154f. and 203. For Philomelium (Akşehir) see Strabo XII p. 577: Hamilton *Researches* II p. 185: Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 2520f. For the founder, Philomelus, see Wilhelm in *S. B. Wien. Akad.* CLXVI (1910) I p. 51f.: Holleaux in *R.E.A.* XVII (1915), p. 237f. = *Études* III p. 357f.: Ernst Meyer *Grenzen*, p. 138f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 48f. He was presumably either Philomelus, the father of Lysias, Μακεδών, who became a *proxenos* of Delphi in 242/1 B.C. (*S.G.D.I.* 2736, see Flacelière *Aitoliens à Delphes*, p. 469), or Philomelus who during the second century made a present to the Temple at Didyma (Haussoullier *Études*, p. 208, no. 7) and was perhaps the ally of the Termessians in their attack on Isinda in 189 B.C. (Polybius XXI 35, 2, see Chap. XII note 4). For coins of Philomelium issued in the late second or early first century see *Coll. Wadd.* 6393f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. lxxxviii f. and 353f. For Philomelium as the centre of a judiciary diocese which was attached to Cilicia under Cicero but later was perhaps attached to the province of Asia see Chap. VII note 42 and Chap. XVII note 44. The statement of Pliny (*N.H.* V 95), *Lycaonia in Asiaticam iurisdictionem versa, cum qua conveniunt Philomelienses, etc.*, suggests that at the time (under Augustus, see Chap. XX note 17) when these lists were compiled this region was attached to Asia. It was in Asia in A.D. 40, when its representative, in conjunction with those of other cities in the province, erected a temple to Gaius at Miletus; see Chap. XXI note 46. For Laodiceia Catacecaumene (Yorgan Ladik) see Strabo XIV p. 663 (quoting Artemidorus): Ramsay in *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 233f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XII 721f.: *M.A.M.A.* I p. xiv f. For the probable reason for the distinguishing epithet see above note 15. Since the full form of the name appears in Strabo and the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* in the genitive as Λαοδικείας τῆς Κατακεκαυμένης, it would be doubtful whether Κατακεκαυμένης should be regarded as a qualifying adjective or the name of a region (see *M.A.M.A.* I p. xiv, note 3), were it not for the fact that the place is called Λαοδίκεια Κατακεκαυμένη in Ptolemy V 4, 8 and Hierocles 672, 9. Since there is no mention of the place before Artemidorus, there is no means of determining when or by whom it was founded.

18. For the region around Lakes Beyşehir and Eğridir see G. Hirschfeld in *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 302f.: Sterrett in *P.A.S.* II p. 120 and III pp. 192, 196, 203, 277 and 332: Sarre *ibid.* pp. 118f. and 140f.: H. Rott *Kleinas. Denk-*

mäler (Leipzig 1908), p. 94. The fertility of the plain farther west, between Lakes Eğridir and Burdur, was also mentioned by Sarre (p. 167f.) and by Rott (p. 9). This region is called ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίαν (Φρυγία) in Strabo XII p. 576, and the name "Pisidian Phrygia" was suggested by Ramsay; see *C.B.* I p. 316f. and *Hist. Comm. to St. Paul's Epist. to the Galatians*, p. 106 and note 1. This name was based only on the caption Φρυγία Πισιδία in Ptolemy V 5, 4, for in the combination Φρυγίαν τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τὴν Πισιδικήν in Polybius XXI 22, 14 Πισιδική is not used as an adjective limiting Φρυγία, but, with χώρα understood, denotes Pisidia, as also in Polybius V 57, 7 and 72, 9. Ramsay, in keeping with his theory that the various parts of the province of Galatia were called *regiones* and described by their original names with the addition of the adjective *Galaticus*, supposed that the region lying on both sides of the Sultan Dağ and containing both Iconium and Antioch-near-Pisidia was called *Phrygia Galatica*; see *The Church in the Rom. Emp.* (1893), p. 77f. and *St. Paul, the Traveller and Rom. Citizen*[8] (1905), p. 178f. This name was based on the expression ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ Χώρα in *Acta Apost.* XVI 6 (ἡ Γαλατικὴ Χώρα καὶ Φρυγία in XVIII 23), but it was shown to be unwarranted by Lake in *Beginnings of Christianity, Acts of the Apost.* V (1933), p. 228f. and by Broughton in *Quantulacumque, Studies pres. to K. Lake* (London 1937), p. 133f. Since the terms used by Strabo and Ptolemy were evidently not official names, there seems no reason to suppose that the province of Galatia was divided up into definite portions, each with a name of its own.

19. For this route see Ormerod in *Cl. Rev.* XXVI (1912), p. 77 and Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 283 and *J.H.S.* XL (1920), p. 89f. Ormerod, on the basis of a find of some flakes of Melian obsidian, which he supposed to have come from the Aegean, at a small prehistoric site on the eastern shore of Lake Beyşehir, and the existence of tumuli near the northern ends of Lakes Eğridir and Beyşehir, expressed the view (based on a suggestion of Ramsay in *H.G.* p. 39) that the original line of the Southern Highway led from Apameia south of the Sultan Dağ through northern Pisidia past the prehistoric monuments at Eflatun Pınar (see *R.A.* V [1885], p. 259f. and *A.J.A.* II [1886], p. 49f.) and Fasılar (see *P.A.S.* III p. 164f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 13f.), respectively east and southeast of Lake Beyşehir, to Lycaonia. This theory was accepted by Ramsay, who, abandoning his earlier view that Xerxes led his army through Galatia (see Chap. II note 18), regarded this road as the line of the King's march to Apameia. In *Klio* XXIII (1930), p. 243, note 1 Ramsay regarded this as "a main route in Seleucid times." The section Apameia-Apollonia-Antioch appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 1-2, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 727f.). For milestones see *C.I.L.* III 14201 (Keçiborlu): *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 105 (six miles west of Apollonia): *M.A.M.A.* IV 148 (no. IV west of Apollonia): *C.I.L.* III 6970-71 (at Tymandus, Hadrian ? and Constantine); 6968 (=*M.A.M.A.* IV 234, no. XII from Apollonia, of A.D. 122); 6969 (=*M.A.M.A.* IV 233, no. XX from Apollonia ?, of Constantine); 6965-67 (no. XVIII from Apollonia, of Constantine and no. XXIX from Antioch of A.D. 128): *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III

(1921), p. 51, no. 39 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 5 (no. XXVIII from Antioch, of Severus): *C.I.L.* III 6964 (no. XI from Antioch). This section of the road was apparently the line of the *Via Sebaste* from Antioch to southwestern Pisidia built in 6 B.C. (see below note 42). The section of road leading southeast from Antioch east of Lake Beyşehir to Lycaonia was also followed by the Via Sebaste; for the milestones of Augustus see below note 43. For a milestone with inscriptions of Diocletian and Constantine at Manarga, southeast of Antioch, see *C.I.L.* III 6963, and for three milestones with illegible inscriptions at Kıyakdede Köy, near the northern end of Lake Beyşehir, see *P.A.S.* III p. 196 and Cronin in *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), p. 108. In this neighbourhood the road divided (Cronin, p. 109). A branch led to the south, east of the lake past Beyşehir and southeast to Lake Suğla and Sedasa and perhaps onward to Isaura. For remains of this road and of a Roman bridge near Beyşehir see Cronin, p. 110 and Ramsay in *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 200. For milestones see *P.A.S.* III p. 186 and nos. 308 and 309 (= *C.I.L.* 6960 and 6961) with illegible inscriptions and *J.R.S.* XIV p. 76, no. 110 (no. XIV, of A.D. 202).

20. For Apollonia (Uluborlu) see G. Hirschfeld *ibid.* p. 316f.: Rott *ibid.* p. 4f.: *M.A.M.A.* IV p. xiii. The dedication of an ἄγαλμ[α Θεοῦ or Διὸς] Νεικάτορος (*M.A.M.A.* IV 226 and p. xiii = *S.E.G.* VI 592), found between Apollonia and Tymandus, may have come from either, but in any case it does not prove that Apollonia was founded by Seleucus I. For the name Ἀπολλωνιᾶται Λύκιοι Θρᾷκες Κολωνοί see *I.G.R.* III 314 (= *M.A.M.A.* IV 147), 317 (= *M.A.M.A.* IV 150), 318 and 324. It also appears on coins of the second and third centuries; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3628f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 202f.: G. F. Hill in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 217f., no. 10. Waddington (note on L.W. 1195) observed that there may have been a connexion between these Thracians and the *Thracum suboles Milyae* around Arycanda in Lycia, listed in Pliny *N.H.* V 95. Ramsay, on the other hand, supposed (*J.R.S.* XII [1922], p. 184) that Thracians were originally settled in Apollonia by Seleucus I and that the Lycians were brought in afterward, perhaps by the Pergamenes, to counterbalance the power of the Seleucid settlers, while A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Cities*, p. 412) that the Thracians and Lycians were "perhaps veterans from Amyntas's army, planted by the Romans but not given the constitution of a colony." Since the earliest known mention of these Κολωνοί is in A.D. 135 (it is impossible to determine with certainty the era according to which *Syll.*[3] 1232 = *J.R.S.* XII p. 182 is dated), there is ample scope for conjecture as to the date of their settlement.

21. For Antioch (Yalvaç) see Strabo XII pp. 557, 569 and 577, where the city bears the name Ἀντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς (τῇ) Πισιδίᾳ (Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πισιδίας in *Acta Apost.* XIII 14). For its situation see Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul* (London 1907), p. 247f. Its colonization by settlers from Magnesia-on-Maeander is recorded in Strabo XII p. 577. The mention of [συ]γγ[έ]νεια with Magnesia in a decree of a city named Antiocheia accepting the invitation of the Magnesians to celebrate the festival of Artemis Leucophryene (*Ins. Magn.* 79-80, restored by Robert in *R. Phil.* LIII [1927], p. 116f. [= *S.E.G.* IV

505-506] and by A. Oguse in *B.C.H.* LIII [1929], p. 129f.) suggests that the city in question was the Pisidian Antioch. If so, it shows that at the end of the third century before Christ Antioch had the usual constitution of a *polis* with *βουλή* and *δῆμος*, *στρατηγοί* and *γραμματεῖς*. A monument erected by the *βουλή* to a certain Secundus *ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ* (*P.A.S.* II no. 96) may date from the time prior to the foundation of the Roman colony at Antioch (see below note 31). If not, it would suggest either that the native *incolae* (see below note 30) continued to have a *βουλή* of their own or that the *curia* of the colony used a Greek designation. It is possible that, like Antiocheia in Persis (*Ins. Magn.* 61 = *O.G.I.* 233), the Pisidian Antioch was colonized under Antiochus I.

22. Strabo XII pp. 557 and 577. For the sanctuary on the hill of Kara Kaya and the cult of Men see Ramsay in *B.S.A.* XVIII (1911-12), p. 37f. and *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), p. 107f.: Hardie in *J.H.S.* XXXII (1912), p. 111f.: Anderson in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 267f.: H. Kasten in *Jahresber.* CCLIII (1936), p. 64. In Strabo the God's surname appears as Ἄσκαιος (*vl.* Ἄρκαιος), but Ἀσκηνός is the form regularly found in inscriptions from the sanctuary. Its meaning appears from the verses Ἀσκαίης *τῷ μεδέοντι* Θεῷ (*J.R.S.* II [1912], p. 93, no. 22) and Ἀσκαίης *ναέτην* Μῆνα *σέβων ἐθέμην* (*J.R.S.* III p. 271, no. 6). According to Strabo p. 557, there was another sanctuary of Men in the territory of Antioch, but as yet this has not been found. The continuance of the cult of Men Ascaënus during the imperial period is shown by the inscriptions mentioning his priests; see *J.R.S.* III p. 287f., nos. 12-14 and 16-23, and *A.J.A.* XXXVI (1932), p. 454, no. 7. For representations of Men on the coins of Antioch during both the pre-Roman and the imperial periods see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 356f.

23. For Seleuceia (later Claudioseleuceia, see Chap XXIII note 21) see G. Hirschfeld *ibid.* p. 312f.: *P.A.S.* III p. 334: Rott *ibid.* p. 10. The epithet Σιδηρᾶ does not appear before Hierocles and the *Notitiae Episcopatuum*. Prostanna is known from a monument erected at Delos by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Προσταεννέων Πισιδῶν in honour of M. Antonius, *quaestor pro praetore* of Asia in 113 B.C.; see *Ins. Delos* 1603 = Durrbach *Choix*, no. 123 and Chap. XII note 12. The form Προσταννέων, which is perhaps more correct, appears on the city's coins of the imperial period; see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 238f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 390f. Prostanna was placed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 407 and *B.S.A.* IX [1902-03], p. 257f.), followed by H. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX *Text*, p. 6 B, at the southern end of Lake Eğridir, chiefly for the reason that the mountain (Οὐίαρος) which appears on the coins resembles the peak which rises above this region. For Timbriada and Anabura see Strabo XII p. 570. For the probable site of the former, near Imrahor southeast of Lake Eğridir, see *P.A.S.* III p. 280: Ramsay in *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 102f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 1247. For the latter see *P.A.S.* III nos. 317, 328 and 339 A (Ἀναβουρέων ὁ δῆμος); for the question of the site, at or near a ruin called Enevre, 20 miles south of Antioch, see *P.A.S.* III p. 203 (accepted by R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10 A) and Ramsay in *J.R.S.* XVI p. 104f. For Neapolis, situated in

this neighbourhood, perhaps in the plain of Karaağaç, see (most recently) Calder in *A.J.A.* XXXVI (1932), p. 453: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 2126f.: Robert *Études épigr. et philol.* (Paris 1938), p. 260f.

24. For Sagalassus and Selge (Strabo XII pp. 569 and 571) see Chap. XI notes 17 and 13. For Adada (Kara Bavlı) see Ritter *Erdkunde, Kleinasien* II p. 572f.: *P.A.S.* III p. 281f.: G. Hirschfeld in *G.G.A.* 1888, p. 567f. For its treaty with Termessus see Chap. XI note 12. For coins issued during the first century before Christ see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 171.

25. See A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 143f. and *Greek City*, p. 68. For the *Commune Milyadum* (Cicero *II Verr.* I 95f.) see Chap. XII note 15. The Perminundeis, who lived south of Lake Kestel (see *A.M.* X [1885], p. 341 [= *J.H.S.* VIII (1887), p. 229, no. 9]; XII [1887], p. 250, no. 12: *J.H.S.* VIII p. 228, no. 5: Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 872: Robert *Hellenica* III p. 54), the Macropeditae in the valley of the Lysis (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 308, no. 120) and the Osieni in southern Pisidia (*I.G.R.* III 418 and 419) were perhaps similar communes. It has been supposed that the transition from a commune to a *polis* is alluded to in an inscription from Pogla (*I.G.R.* III 409 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration,* no. 122), southwest of Lake Kestel, in which ἔτεσιν πολι[τείας] and ἔτεσιν κοινων[ίας] appear to be contrasted; see Rostovtzeff in *J.O.A.I.* IV (1901), *Beibl.* 38f. and Jones *Cities l.c.* It was pointed out, however, by Wilhelm in *Glotta* XIV (1925), p. 81f. that πολιτεία probably denotes a tenure of public office and κοινωνία, as in *Romans* XV 26, a charitable contribution. Rostovtzeff's inference from the mention of τοπικὰ δικαστήρια, based on the belief that by τόπος was meant an estate (see below note 44), that Pogla had been an imperial estate is without foundation; see O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 563, note 5: Jones *Cities*, p. 417: Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXV (1934), p. 229, who showed (p. 228) that τόπος was used to denote a subdivision of village-territory. For a list of *poleis* in Pisidia see Strabo XII p. 570 (from Artemidorus). In addition to Sagalassus, Selge, Adada, Timbriada (see above note 23), Amlada (see Chap. I note 56), Anabura (see above note 23), Sinda (see Chap. XII note 4) and Termessus (see Chap. XI note 11), the following are mentioned: Pednelissus, Cremna, Pityassus, Aarassus and Tarbassus. Pednelissus appears in Polybius V 72f. as attacked by the Selgians and aided by Achaeus. For an attempt to identify it with the remains of a Hellenistic city near Kozan, northwest of Selge, see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1916-20), p. 73f., regarded as unproved by Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 44. For Cremna (near Gürmeği) see Arundell *Discoveries* II p. 60f.: G. Hirschfeld *ibid.* p. 305f.: Lanckoroński II p. 161f.: Rott *ibid.* p. 19f. For its coins issued during the first century before Christ see *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 215. Aarassus is perhaps Ariassus, near Baden Agaç in the southwestern corner of a small plain near the defile of Çubuk Boğaz leading from Pamphylia (see Chap. XI note 16); see *I.G.R.* III 422: Rott, p. 23f.: *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 240f. The sites of Pityassus (more correctly Tityassus, see Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 1593) and Tarbassus are unknown. To these (although it was not in Pisidia proper) may be added Vasada (Dere Köy), southeast of Lake Beyşehir; see Jüthner

et al., Vorl. Ber. p. 18f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 22. It seems to have existed in the second century before Christ (*Denkmäler*, no. 74 1); for later inscriptions see *Denkmäler*, nos. 42, 72 and 73 (=*S.E.G.* VI 464).

26. For the appointment of Lollius see Eutropius VII 10, 2: Festus *Brev.* 11, 2: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 142f. Schöne=Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 164 Helm. It was suggested by Groag in *R.E.* XIII 1380 that the πρ[εσ]βεύ[σαντε]ς πάλιν πρὸς Λ[ό]λλιον in *I.B.M.* 893 from Halicarnassus may have been sent to Marcus Lollius. It is difficult, however, to see why Halicarnassus should have sent envoys to a governor of Galatia, and it seems more probable that the Lollius of the inscription was some other man of the name, perhaps, as Groag also suggested, Lucius Lollius, a legate of Pompey (see Chap. XV note 1). For Lollius's fall from favour and his death in Syria in A.D. 2 see Chap. XX note 46.

27. *I.G.R.* III 157=1459=*O.G.I.* 533=Krencker-Schede *Der Tempel in Ankara*, p. 52, Γαλατῶν ο[ἱ ἰε]ρασάμενοι Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ (of the time of Tiberius). In a list of banquets and spectacles (see above note 3) published together with this inscription (l. 20f.), the building is called τὸ Σεβαστῆον. For the Temple and the *Monumentum Ancyranum* see Perrot *Exploration*, p. 295f.: Mommsen *Res Gestae Div. Aug.*[2] (Berlin 1883), p. xiii f.: Krencker-Schede, p. 9f., where, on the ground of a resemblance between its architectural ornamentation and that of the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia-on-Maeander, the view is expressed (p. 50) that this temple is a work of the second half of the second century before Christ, converted to the use of the cult of Roma and Augustus. This theory was accepted by R. Carpenter in *A.J.A.* XLI (1937), p. 642 but rejected by E. Weigand in *Gnomon* XIII (1937), pp. 415 and 418f., who observed that the resemblance to the temple at Magnesia may be due to an Augustan revival of earlier forms, and that, in fact, the ornamentation at Ancyra has certain features which are found only in buildings of the Augustan Age and their later imitations. Weigand also pointed out that it is improbable that a temple of such classical purity of form could have been erected by the Tectosages as early as the middle of the second century—when the Galatians were engaged in war with the kings of Pergamum.

28. For coins with the legend Κοινὸν Γαλατ[ῶν] of the time of Nero and perhaps later and Κοινὸν Γαλατίας of the time of Trajan see Imhoof-Blumer *Griech. Münzen* p. 226, no. 746; *Coll. Wadd.* 6593f.: *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 5f. For its priest, ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν (or Σεβαστηνῶν Γαλατῶν), often with the additional title of Σεβαστοφάντης, see Appendix II D 1. Since in one instance the *archiereus* is described as ἑξάκις and in another as δίς, it is evident that the office was not a permanent one; the priest may have been elected annually, as in Asia. Of the six incumbents of the office known from these inscriptions, three had also the title of Γαλατάρχης, which suggests that, as in the case of the Asiarch (see Chap. XVIII note 61), this office was not identical with that of the *archiereus*. For Galatarchs see

Appendix II D 2. The man honoured in *I.G.R.* III 204 and *O.G.I.* 547 is described also as *ἀγωνοθετήσας δὶς τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, i.e.* of the common festival.

29. For *Σεβαστὴ Τεκτοσάγων Ἄγκυρα* (*Σεβαστηνοὶ Τεκτόσαγες*) see *C.I.G.* 4010 and *I.G.R.* III 180 = *O.G.I.* 548: *Coll. Wadd.* 6604f. and *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 8, nos. 1 and 2 (Titus and Domitian). For *Σεβαστηνοὶ Τολιστοβώγιοι Πεσσινούντιοι* see *I.G.R.* III 226 = *O.G.I.* 537 and *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 43f., no. 24: *Coll. Wadd.* 6659 and 6665 (Marcus Aurelius and Verus). For *Σεβαστὴ Τρόκμων Ταουία* (*Σεβαστηνοὶ Τρόκμοι*) see *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 84, no. 3: *Coll. Wadd.* 6688f. and *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 24f. (from Vespasian onward). It was observed by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 120f. and *Greek City*, p. 69) that these cities finally dropped the name of the tribe. In the case of Pessinus, this is attested by a single coin issued under Afrinus, legate of Claudius (*B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 18, no. 3), but otherwise the tribal name appears on the coins of all three cities until the second or third century.

30. Strabo XII p. 577: Pliny *N.H.* V 94. For Caesar's colonies see Chap. XVII notes 33 and 34. Veterans of the Legio V Gallica appear in the following inscriptions from Antioch and the neighbourhood: *C.I.L.* III 293 (=6825 =Dessau 2238), 294, 6824 (=Dessau 2237) and 6828: *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 90, no. 1 and perhaps p. 94f., nos. 2-4. The fact that inscriptions of members of Legio VII were found in or near Antioch (*C.I.L.* III 6826 and 6827) led Ramsay to suggests (*J.R.S.* VI p. 94) that veterans of this legion were among the colonists. This is confirmed by coins issued under Augustus with the legend *Col. Caes.* and two eagles each on a military standard, with a standard on either side (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 358, no. 9, *Num. Chron.* XIV [1914], p. 303, no. 11 and M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 250f.) and especially by a coin of A.D. 76 with an eagle standing between two standards and the legend *Leg. V Leg. VI[I]*; see Ritterling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXVIII (1928), p. 56f., a better specimen of *Num. Chron.* XIV p. 305, no. 13. For the *tribus* Sergia at Antioch see W. Kubitschek *Imp. Rom. tributim discriptum* (Vienna 1889), p. 253. To the inscriptions there cited may be added *C.I.L.* III 6809, 6815, 6833, 6836, 6841, 6844, 6845, 6847 and 6858 (=*I.G.R.* III 308): *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 103, no. 38; III (1913), p. 260, no. 4; VI (1916), p. 94f., nos. 2-4; XIV (1924), p. 196f., nos. 23 and 27: *T.A.P.A.* LVII (1926), p. 235f., nos. 71 and 74. For the *ius Italicum* of Antioch see *Digesta* L 15, 8, 10. For the term and for the significance of a "Marsyas" on a coin of Antioch (Mionnet III p. 493, no. 8) as showing the full liberty of citizens see Chap. XVII note 36. For a distinction between *coloni* and *incolae* see *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 179f., no. 6 = *T.A.P.A.* LV (1924), p. 5f. (about A.D. 92, see Chap. XXIV note 38).

31. Pliny *N.H.* V 94 (*Colonia Caesarea, eadem Antiochia*). *Col(onia) Caes(area)* appears on coins of Augustus (see above note 30) and *C.C.* is found on a coin issued under Tiberius (*Num. Chron.* XIV [1914], p. 303, no. 12)

and in an inscription perhaps of the time of Claudius (*J.R.S.* III [1913], p. 258, no. 3 = Dessau 9504). On the other hand, *Ant. Col.* occurs on a coin of Titus, and *Col. Caes. Antioch.* or *Antiochea Colonia* regularly on coins from Antoninus Pius onward; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3581f.: *B.M.Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 176f.: *Num. Chron.* XIV p. 307f. For the other colonies founded by Augustus see below notes 37-41. It was supposed by Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 532 and Cuntz in *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), p. 77 that the colony of Antioch was founded before Octavian assumed the name Augustus in 27 B.C. But, as was observed by Ramsay (*J.R.S.* VI [1916], p. 84f.), followed by Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 612, note 7), Syme (*J.R.S.* XXIII [1933], p. 19, note 36) and Grant (p. 250), this would mean that a colony of Roman veterans was established within the kingdom of Amyntas, which is improbable. In explanation of the name Caesarea, Ramsay suggested (p. 85f.) either that the place received this name from Amyntas (repeated in *J.H.S.* L [1930], p. 264 and *Klio* XXIII [1930], p. 249), or that even after Octavian became Augustus it was still customary to give cities the name Caesareia. While it seems more probable that the foundation of the colony took place soon after the province was formed, perhaps under Lollius, than a decade later, there is no evidence for any definite date. The municipal corporation appears in *J.R.S.* XIV p. 179f., no. 6 (see above note 30) as *duovir(i) et decurion(es) splendidissim(ae) Col. Ant.* The people are called Ἀντιοχεῖς Καισαρεῖς Κολωνοί in *L.W.* 1620 a (under Marcus Aurelius), and the city has the titles ἡ λαμπροτάτη Ἀντιοχέων Κολωνία and ἡ λαμπροτάτη καὶ σεβασμιωτάτη Ἀντιοχέων Κολωνία on two monuments recording the gift of a statue of Ὁμόνοια erected, respectively, by Lystra and Tavium, probably in the early third century; see *I.G.R.* III 302 = *O.G.I.* 536 and *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 84, no. 3. Both cities call Antioch Ἀδελφή; in the case of Lystra, this is easily explained by the fact that, like Antioch, it was a colony of Augustus (see below note 41); the "sisterhood" of Tavium, on the other hand, is harder to explain, and the suggestion of Calder (*J.R.S.* II p. 85f.) that the Romans, on forming the province, brought Antioch (and Apollonia) into the Galatian "tribal classification" by assigning the region to the Trocmi is not convincing. Another inscription (*I.G.R.* III 309) records the gift to τῇ Κολωνείᾳ of a Τύχη Εὐμενής by the "Council and People" of Pappa-Tiberiopolis (see Chap. XII note 25 and Chap. XXI note 25). For the question raised by the existence of a monument to a Roman by the βουλή of Antioch see above note 21. The βουλευτὴς Ἀντιοχέων who appears in *P.A.S.* III no. 373 = Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 335f., no. 15, l. 11f. (a list of Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι, see below note 44) may have been a *decurio* of the colony.

32. For a priest of Jupiter Optimus Maximus see *C.I.L.* III 298 = 6838. For the *Augusta Platea* and *Tiberia Platea* see *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 106, no. 6 and XIV (1924), p. 179f., no. 6. The known *vici* are enumerated in *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 101 as Aedilicius, Cermalus, Patricius, Salutaris, Tuscus, Velabrus and Venerius. For *vici* at the colonies of Sinope and Alexandria Troas see Chap. XVII note 33 and Chap. XX note 15.

33. For the *praefectus* of Drusus see *C.I.L.* III 300=6843. For a statue of Drusus at Antioch see *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 100, no. 32. For the *praefectus* of Quirinius (see below note 35) see Dessau 9502 (=*Ann. Scuol. Atene* III [1916-20], p. 57, no. 50) and 9503. The *praefectus* of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (husband of the younger Agrippina) mentioned in an inscription from Antioch (*C.I.L.* III 6809=Dessau 2696) was hardly, as Mommsen suggested, his substitute as *duovir*; see Groag in *R.E.* V 1332. The office was held also by . . . ius Strato, son of King Tarcondimotus Philopator (perhaps Tarcondimotus II, see Chap. XX note 22); see *J.R.S.* II p. 108, no. 43. For the *Monumentum Antiochenum* see Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 108f.: Ramsay and von Premerstein *Monumentum Antiochenum=Klio, Beiheft* XIX (1927), p. 1f.: D. M. Robinson in *A.J.P.* XLVII (1926), p. 1f.: von Premerstein in *Klio* XXV (1932), p. 217f. For the *Monumentum Apolloniense* see *M.A.M.A.* IV 143.

34. See P. M. Meyer *Heerwesen d. Ptolemäer u. Römer in Aegypten* (Leipzig 1900), p. 149f.: J. Lesquier *L'Armée Rom. d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo 1918), p. 40f.: Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1224 and 1791f.: H. M. D. Parker *Roman Legions* (Oxford 1928), p. 88f. A soldier of the 22nd Legion appears in Egypt in a papyrus of 5 B.C. (*B.G.U.* IV 1108), and two others are mentioned in a contract which is appended to a document dated in 8 B.C. (*B.G.U.* IV 1104) but is not necessarily of this year. A *tr(ibunus) mil(itum) Alexandr(eae) ad Aegypt(um) Leg. XXII* appears in an inscription in honour of his uncle, M. Tullius Cratippus (*C.I.L.* III 399), whose priesthood of Roma at Pergamum was dated as hardly later than 29 B.C. by A. O'Brien-Moore in *Yale Class. Stud.* VIII (1942), p. 34. The 22nd Legion, like the Third (which kept the cognomen permanently), was originally called Cyrenaica (see *C.I.L.* X 4862=Dessau 2690), and the name Deiotariana does not appear until the time of Trajan, a fact which Lesquier explained (p. 42f.) by the supposition that the Legion, consisting of soldiers of Deiotarus who had served under Antony, had the name Cyrenaica until Claudius organized the 22nd Primigenia, when the remnant of the original corps that remained in Egypt received the name Deiotariana in antiquarian remembrance of its origin. For a soldier of the 22nd Legion described as *Calata* (*i.e. Galata*) see *C.I.L.* III 12059, and for two of its *signiferi* who were natives of Ancyra see *C.I.L.* III 6023=6606. For the list of legionaries from Coptos in the Thebaid see *C.I.L.* III 6627=Dessau 2483. The fact that of the twenty Galatian soldiers sixteen belonged to the *tribus* Pollia, in which it was customary to enroll those born in camps of illegitimate unions and so without paternity or tribe (see Mommsen in *C.I.L.* III p. 1212), suggested to H. A. Sanders (*A.J.P.* LXII [1941], p. 85f.) that these men were sons of the original Galatian recruits. But if, as supposed by Cuntz in *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), p. 80, this inscription is to be dated in the last decade of the first century before Christ, it is possible that Galatians who had enlisted under Lollius and had been enrolled in the Pollia were still in service. A veteran of the Seventh Legion named M. Lollius M. f. appears in an inscription from Iconium (*I.G.R.* III 1476).

35. Strabo XII p. 569: Tacitus *Ann.* III 48, 2. For the Homonadeis see above note 2. The date of this campaign is uncertain. It was placed by Tacitus between Quirinius's consulship in 12 B.C. and his appointment as adviser to the young Gaius Caesar (see above p. 481f.) in 1 B.C., and it has been generally assumed that the war antedated the construction of the Viae Sebastae in 6 B.C. (see below note 42); see Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 235f.: Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 612: Groag in *R.E.* IV A 829f. For a dissenting view see Torr in *R.A.* XII (1920), p. 155. It is probable that the war may be dated between 11 and 7 B.C., although the grounds on which this dating is based are insufficient; for the country of the Homonadeis was far distant from the Viae Sebastae and the colonies in eastern Pisidia; see Syme in *Klio* XXVII (1934), p. 135f. (followed by A. G. Roos in *Mnem.* IX [1941], p. 317f.), who, while admitting the probability of the view that the war took place about 9/8 B.C., also suggested 4/3 as a possible date. It was dated between 9 and 6 B.C. by S. Accame in *Riv. Fil.* LXXII-LXXIII (1944-45), p. 138f. It has likewise been assumed that at the time of this campaign Quirinius was imperial legate of Syria. This view was based partly on the belief that the only troops in the East were those under the command of the governor of Syria and partly on the expression *expugnatis per* (the manuscript reading, defended by Broughton in *A.J.P.* LIV [1933], p. 141f.) *Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis* of Tacitus, which has been regarded as indicating that the invasion took place by way of Cilicia, *i.e.* from Syria. Although Cilicia Campestris was, as far as we know, attached to Syria at this time (see Chap. XVII note 44), the grounds for supposing that Quirinius was governor of the latter during this campaign were shown by Groag (*ibid.* 831f.) to be insufficient. Groag's own suggestion, however, that the war was waged by Quirinius as proconsul of Asia, based merely on the belief that the post of imperial legate of Galatia could not have been given to an ex-consul, is also unsatisfactory; see Syme *ibid.* p. 133f., who held that Quirinius was, in fact, governor of Galatia-Pamphylia, a view accepted by Anderson in *C.A.H.* X pp. 271f. and 877f. and by Roos *l.c.* So also (but with a command over the troops in Syria) Accame, p. 145f. While it is not necessary to suppose, with Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 612, note 4), that Quirinius was governor of Pamphylia, the fact that in 11 B.C. the consular Lucius Piso was in Pamphylia in some extraordinary capacity (see above note 4) suggests that the conduct of the war against the Homonadeis was transferred from him to Quirinius and that the latter, as suggested by Last, quoted in Rice Holmes *Arch. Rom. Emp.* II p. 89, note 1, was vested with some "special command" for the purpose. If we may suppose that Quirinius, as successor to Piso, marched against the enemy from Pamphylia, his advance would take him close enough to Cilicia Aspera to justify Tacitus's expression *per Ciliciam*. His route, in this case, would have been that used by Servilius Isauricus, which, as has been previously suggested (above note 2), may have led through the territory of the Homonadeis. For the complicated problem involved in the fact that in A.D. 6/7 Quirinius, as governor of Syria, carried out a census in Palestine (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVII 13, 5, § 355; XVIII 1, 1, § 1 and 2, 1, § 26, see also *C.I.L.* III 6687 = Dessau 2683), and in the statement in *Luke* II 1-2 that the census at the time of the birth of Christ was held ἡγε-

μονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου see (most recently) Groag *ibid.* 832f.: L. R. Taylor in *A.J.P.* LIV (1933), p. 120f.: Syme *ibid.* p. 131f.: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 877f.: T. Corbishly in *Klio* XXIX (1936), p. 81f.: Roos *ibid.* p. 310f.: Accame *ibid.* p. 152f. For the insignia granted to Quirinius see Tacitus *l.c.* and Mommsen *R. St. R.* 1^3 pp. 411f. and 438f.

36. Cassius Dio LV 28, 3. This war is listed among the events of A.D. 6, but it is not altogether clear whether the author is relating what actually happened in this year or giving a summary of what had taken place in recent years. It is barely possible that he is referring to Quirinius's war against the Homonadeis, but the narrative represents the Isaurians as the aggressors, whereas it is generally assumed that the Roman government, in sending out Quirinius, took the initiative.

37. Strabo XII p. 569. For Cremna see above note 25. For the name of the colony see *C.I.L.* III 6873 and 6874: *Coll. Wadd.* 3699f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 216f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 382f. The possession of full liberty, as at Antioch (see above note 30), is shown by a "Marsyas" on coins issued during the second and third centuries; see Kubitschek in *A.E.M.* XX (1897), p. 153 and *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf* (Vienna 1898), p. 198f. The latest of these bear, at the side of the Marsyas figure, the legends *Maron* or *Maro*, the name of a Silenus-like attendant of Dionysus, here (as also at Olbasa, see below note 39) regarded as the equivalent of Marsyas; see Roscher *Lexikon* II 2382f.

38. For the situation of Comama see Ramsay in *A.J.A.* IV (1888), p. 263 and Woodward in *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 85. For its coins (inscribed Κο. or Κομα.) issued probably during the first century before Christ see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 378f. For the name of the colony see *C.I.L.* III 12149 and 12150 = *I.G.R.* III 400 and 401: *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 212: Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 379f.: G. F. Hill in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 218. For a monument erected βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγματι see *C.I.L.* III 6886 = *I.G.R.* III 399.

39. For the situation of Olbasa see Duchesne and Collignon in *B.C.H.* I (1877), p. 332f. and 370, and for the remains of an ancient road see p. 333; this may have been the route taken by Manlius in 189 (see Chap. XII note 4). For the road from Laodiceia to Pamphylia see Chap. XI note 15. For the name of the colony see *C.I.L.* III 6889 and 6891: *Coll. Wadd.* 3758f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 229f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 385f. Augustus is commemorated as founder of the colony by a coin issued under Antoninus Pius showing his portrait with the legend *Augustus Olbasenor*[*um*]; see G. F. Hill in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 221, no. 15. Another coin of Pius, bearing an eagle between two military standards (Imhoof-Blumer, p. 385, no. 2) suggests that, as at Antioch (see above note 30), some of the colonists were veterans. A gift by a veteran is recorded in *C.I.L.* III 6890 = *I.G.R.* III 416. For a priestess of Jupiter Capitolinus and Juno Capitolina see *I.G.R.* III 415 (erected by ἡ βο[υλή]). For the pentaeteric ἀγὼν Αὐγούστειος Καπιτώλειος, given by *duoviri quinquennales*, see *I.G.R.* III 411-414 = 1491-1494. The

ἀνδριὰς τοῦ Μάρωνος (=[*sta*]*tua Dei Mar*[*onis*]) erected by a duumvir (*C.I.L.* III 6888=*I.G.R.* III 410=Dessau 4062) was evidently a statue of the same Marsyas type as that shown on coins of Cremna (see above note 37) and having the same significance.

40. Parlais was placed in Lycaonia by Ptolemy (V 6, 15) and in Pisidia in the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* (I 434; III 387; IX 394; X 501; XIII 351). For its coins of the pre-Roman period with the legend Παρλαϊτέων and the representation of a galley and rowers see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 420, nos. 3-4 and Robert *Études épigr. et philol.* p. 271. Because of the indubitable proximity of Parlais to a navigable lake, Ramsay suggested as the site the modern town of Beyşehir at the southeastern end of the lake of this name; see *H.G.* p. 391f.: *B.S.A.* IX (1902-03), p. 261f.: *J.R.S.* VII (1917), p. 238, accepted by R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 10 B and (with a question) by Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2260 and 2263. On the other hand, Robert (*ibid.* p. 275f.) and A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, pp. 143, 416 and 557), reviving an old suggestion of H. Kiepert, placed Parlais at Barla on the western shore of Lake Eğridir. This identification was based partly on the resemblance between the ancient and modern names and partly on an inscription from Barla (*S.E.G.* II 745) which seems to contain the words ἐπὶ δυάνδ[ρ]ων, regarded as referring to the *duoviri* of the colony. It has been confirmed by other inscriptions recently found by Robert; see *C.R.A.I.* 1948, p. 403 and *Hellenica* VII (1949), p. 78. The name *Jul. Aug. Col. Parlais* is found on coins from Marcus Aurelius onward; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4792f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 11: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 421, no. 5f.

41. For the situation of Lystra (Hatunsaray) see *P.A.S.* III p. 142: Cronin in *J.H.S.* XXIV (1904), p. 121f.: Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 407f., and *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 180f. For an improbable view that the colony was founded by a proconsul of Asia in 43 B.C. and subsequently restored by Augustus see M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, pp. 238f. and 249f. For the name of the colony see *C.I.L.* III 6786 and 6956-7=12215 (a milestone of Valerian): *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 10, no. 1 (a coin of Augustus). For a statue of Ὁμόνοια given by ἡ λαμπροτάτη Λυστρέων Κολωνία to its "sister," Antioch, see above note 31. For inscriptions of veterans see *C.I.L.* III 6787 and 6798 (attributed to Lystra in *J.R.S.* XIV [1924], p. 184) and *I.G.R.* III 1482. For the visit of St. Paul see *Acta Apost.* XIV 6f. The presence of several milestones (*C.I.L.* III 6956-7 [=12215] and 6958 and *P.A.S.* III p. 155) at Kavak, about eleven miles east of Lystra, and a bridge with an inscription of Titus (*C.I.L.* III 12218, corrected in *J.R.S.* VI [1916], p. 132) over the Çarşamba Su, farther south, suggest that this was the line of the road from Iconium to Isaura which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 2, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 731).

42. For milestone no. CXXII of this road see *C.I.L.* III 6974=12217 (*Viam Se(b)a(st)am*) at Comama and evidently measured from Antioch. Like the milestones cited in note 43, it is dated in Augustus's eighteenth tribunicial

year (6 B.C.) and was erected by Cornutus Aquila, his *legatus pro praetore*, *i.e.* governor of the province. For this road see Ramsay in *Klio* XXIII (1930), p. 249. From Antioch to Apollonia it evidently followed the line of the ancient route which led around the northern end of Lake Eğridir (see above note 19).

43. For milestones nos. XLIV and XLV of this road, found at Selki Seray, east of Lake Beyşehir and approximately 45 miles from Antioch, see *C.I.L.* III 14401 a and 14401 b; *C.I.L.* III 14185, also found here, is now without a numeral. Another milestone (*C.I.L.* III 14401 c = Dessau 5828) was found at Pappa-Tiberiopolis (Yunuslar, see Chap. XII note 25 and above note 31), at the western end of the defile of Barsak Dere. For this road see Cronin in *J.H.S.* XXII (1902), p. 109 and Ramsay in *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 241f., who, finding cuttings in the hills south of the eastern end of the Barsak Dere, supposed that the Via Sebaste led from Pappa to Lystra and not directly to Iconium, and that it was the *βασιλικὴ ὁδός* mentioned in *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 3 (R. A. Lipsius *Acta Apost. Apocrypha* I p. 236). This was accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2259; but, although Lystra was doubtless connected by road with the Via Sebaste, it is difficult to believe that the latter did not continue onward for 25 miles over the low pass between the eastern end of the defile and Iconium. It is probable that it was the route from Antioch to Iconium which appears on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X 2, see K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 728). The ruins of a very ancient stronghold found by the Prague Expedition (*Vorl. Ber.* p. 10f. and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 105f.) north of the defile show that a route led through this region long before the construction of the Via Sebaste. The existence of Seljuk khans between Yunuslar and Iconium (*P.A.S.* II p. 187f. and III p. 190 and Pace in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII [1923-24], p. 390f.) indicates that this road was used in the Mediaeval period.

44. For the imperial estates in Pisidia and Lycaonia see Ramsay *H.G.* p. 173f.: *C.B.* I p. 280f.: *Cl. Rev.* XIX (1905), p. 417f.: *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 309f.: Schulten in *Röm. Mitt.* XIII (1898), p. 222f.: O. Hirschfeld in *Klio* II (1902), p. 299f. = *Kl. Schr.* p. 562f.: Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 299f.: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 247. The evidence on which the belief in the existence of these estates was based was examined and, in many cases, shown to be insufficient by Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXV (1934), p. 220f., who pointed out that the error has in large part arisen from the belief that by *τόπος* was meant an imperial estate (see above note 25) and that the presence of a *μισθωτής* (*conductor*) necessarily indicates that the property belonged to the emperor. For the imperial estate northeast of Lake Burdur see *C.I.L.* III 6872, *Finis Caesaris n(ostri)*, found near Baradis (on the railway-line between Dinar and Eğridir); the assignment of the inscription to the first century (Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 611, note 6), however, is doubtful. This boundary-stone is the only definite evidence for the existence of an imperial estate in Pisidia; for the inscription found at Düver, near the southwestern corner of Lake Burdur, which records that by command of Nero the imperial governor and the procurator *ὡροθέ-*

τησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶναι Σαγαλασσέων τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κώμης Τυμβριανασσο[ῦ . . .] (*I.G.R.* III 335 = *O.G.I.* 538, see Chap. XXIII note 65) does not prove that Tymbrianassus was the property of the emperor; the lacuna between the name and the following Νέρωνος κ.τ.λ. indicates, as Dittenberger pointed out (note 6), that the name of the Emperor does not depend on the name of the κώμη. Broughton showed that we may not assume in the case either of the *demos* of the Ormeleis, northwest of Olbasa in the plain in which several streams unite to form the Lysis, or of the neighbouring Alastus that it was an imperial domain. The former, an estate belonging, in the early third century, to Annia Faustina, a relative (perhaps a great-niece) of Marcus Aurelius and apparently the wife of Ti. Claudius Severus, Consul in 200 (see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 128, no. 709 and II p. 249, no. 1028), was administered by an ἐπίτροπος (*procurator*), three πραγματευταί (*actores*) and three μισθωταί (*conductores*); see *P.A.S.* II nos. 41-55 and 59 = *I.G.R.* IV 887-893. There is no reason to suppose that the Emperor presented this estate to his kinswoman (or her mother), and there are instances in Asia Minor and elsewhere (see *e.g.* Pliny *Epist.* III 19, 2) in which a private estate was managed by procurators and *actores*. At Alastus there is mention of μισθωταί, one of whom, a μισθωτὴς τῶν περὶ Ἄλαστο[ν] τόπων, was a freedman of M. Calpurnius Longus, as well as of a δοῦλος οἰκονόμος of Longus; see *I.G.R.* IV 894, 895 and 897. As both A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 76) and Broughton observed, Longus was evidently the owner of the estate. Both these estates lay close to the province of Asia and may well have been in the diocese of Cibyratis. It was suggested by Jones (*l.c.*) that the Ormeleis had once belonged to the tyrants of Cibyra but on their overthrow by Murena in 84 B.C. (see above p. 241f.) "passed into private hands"; it is difficult, however, to see how they were eventually "absorbed into the imperial patrimony." Similarly, on the eastern shore of Lake Söğüt near Lagbe (see Chap. XII note 4), also on the border of Cibyratis, there is mention of a μισθωτὴς τοῦ χωρίου and a κατὰ τόπον μισθωτής; see *I.G.R.* III 477 and 478 and IV 927. These terms also do not necessarily indicate an imperial estate rather than one held by a private owner.

It was also supposed by Ramsay, on the theory that Amyntas bequeathed his kingdom to Augustus (see above note 3), that a series of lists of persons, evidently members of a society called Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι, found in the mountainous country northeast of Lake Eğridir, indicates that this region was an imperial estate, once the sacred land of Men but taken by Augustus on the death of Amyntas; see *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 305f., *B.S.A.* XVIII (1911-12), p. 62f. and *J.H.S.* XXXII (1912), p. 151f., to be dated in the third century from about 238 onward (see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 162f.) and recording the homes (cities or villages) of the members. Ramsay's assumption was based on the fact that one of these villages, Carbocome, appears in another inscription from this neighbourhood (*Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 309, no. 1 = *J.H.S.* XXXII p. 152, no. 1 and p. 170) containing mention of a ἱερέος κτίστου Καρβοκωμήτου and of a πραγματευτοῦ ἱερέος, whom Ramsay regarded as the *procurator* and the *actor* of the emperor, acting as priests of the local cult and rulers of the people on the estate. As Broughton pointed out (*ibid.* p. 231),

however, there is nothing to suggest that this priest was an imperial procurator and there is no mention in these lists of any imperial official; furthermore, the members of this society did not all come from villages but, in some cases, from cities of importance. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose that these Ξένοι were more than members of a religious association, composed largely of village-folk, without any connexion with the imperial domain (so also Ruge *ibid.* 165).

For the supposed estate at Pogla in southwestern Pisidia see above note 25. On the other hand, the suggestion of Ramsay (*Klio* XXIII [1930], p. 251f.), based on an inscription from Kireli Kasaba on the eastern side of Lake Beyşehir (*I.G.R.* III 243, corrected in *J.H.S.* XXII [1902], p. 107), which mentions a Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος ἐπίτροπος, that there was an imperial estate in this neighbourhood seems to be confirmed by an inscription of an imperial freedman who was *proc(urator) Orondici, i.e.* the region east of the Lake around Pappa-Tiberiopolis (see Chap. XII note 25); see *Not. d. Scavi* 1925, p. 410f., no. 6 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 104. In Lycaonia, inscriptions of two imperial freedman-procurators as well as of an imperial freedman and some imperial slaves from Laodiceia Catacecaumene suggest that property in this neighbourhood was owned by the emperor; see *C.I.L.* III 287 = 6776 = *M.A.M.A.* I 21: *M.A.M.A.* I 23 (A.D. 184), 22 a and 29: *I.G.R.* III 250, 251 (= *M.A.M.A.* I 26), 256 and 259 (= *Cl. Rev.* XIX [1905], p. 369). This property, however, was not necessarily an estate, for the men in question may have been connected with the administration of the cinnabar mines at the neighbouring Sizma (see above note 15), which presumably belonged to the emperor. As Broughton observed (p. 234), there is no reason to suppose that the *lib. . . . praediorum Quadratia[no]rum* at Laodiceia and the two μισθωταὶ χω[ρ]ίον Ἀραλλείων at Atlandı, some thirty miles to the northwest (*M.A.M.A.* I 24 and 292), were connected with imperial, rather than with private, estates. In northwestern Galatia, on the other hand, inscriptions of a Σεβ(αστῶν) οἰκονόμος χωρίων Κωνσι[δ]ιανῶ[ν] and an *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)*, found in the valley of the Tembris some forty miles west of the junction of this river with the Sangarius, suggest that in the second century there was an imperial estate, called *praedia Considiana,* in this neighbourhood; see Anderson in *J.R.S.* XXVII (1937), p. 18f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 110 and 111. For the imperial estates in Lydia and Phrygia in the third century see Chap. XXVIII note 35. As Broughton observed (p. 235), these estates never belonged to Amyntas, and there is no reason to suppose that they became the property of Augustus.

45. For the situation of Germa (Γέρμα Κολωνία in Ptolemy V 4, 5) at Karaca Paşa Ören on the roads from Pessinus and Dorylaeum to Ancyra see *Itin. Ant.* 201 and 202f. and above note 9. For the name of the colony see *Coll. Wadd.* 6602f.: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 17: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 496. The full form can be restored in *C.I.L.* III 284 and 285, the second of which honours a man who had been quattuorvir, aedile and quaestor. An aedile is honoured *ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* in *C.I.L.* III 286 = 14184[8].

46. The name of Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopolis found on coins from the time of Trajan onward (*Coll. Wadd.* 4732f. and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lviii f. and 116f.) indicates, as Ruge observed (*R.E.* xvii 629f.), that this colony was founded by Augustus. Some of the earliest coins, like those of Antioch and Olbasa (see above notes 30 and 39), show an eagle standing between two military standards; the citizens had full liberty, for the figure of Marsyas (see Chap. XVII note 36) appears on a coin of Maximinus (*B.M. Cat. ibid.* p. 117, no. 7). The site of this colony is very uncertain. The matter is complicated by the appearance in Ptolemy v 7, 6 of a place called Ninica in the region of Lalassis (see Chap. XXI note 12) and the existence of a town named Claudiopolis (Mut) in Cilicia Aspera, apparently founded during the principate of Claudius (see Chap. XXIII note 27). The question necessarily arises whether the colony of Ninica Claudiopolis and the city of Claudiopolis were two places or one. The former view was expressed by Ramsay in *Rev. Num.* xii (1894), p. 164f., who suggested that Ptolemy's listing of Ninica in Lalassis was due to the presence in his sources of two places named Claudiopolis, one called Ninica, the other the city of the Lalasseis (*i.e.* Mut), which he combined, assigning to Ninica the actual site of Claudiopolis (Mut). This theory, accepted by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 210f.), however, is based on the supposition that Claudiopolis was in Lalassis, whereas it is uncertain where this region lay; see Chap. XXI note 12. It seems clear, nevertheless, that the colony of Ninica Claudiopolis and the city of Claudiopolis (Mut) were two different places; for, as Jones pointed out (p. 439, note 32), there are coins of the former issued under Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and of the latter under Hadrian, and it is improbable that the same place issued coins now under one name and again under the other. The situation of the colony, however, is uncertain, for the suggestion of Ruge (*l.c.*) that it was some distance north of Claudiopolis, not far from Laranda and thus near the border between Cilicia Aspera and Lycaonia, must be regarded only as a conjecture.

47. For the era of Gangra, beginning in 6/5 B.C. see Dessau in *Ztschr. f. Num.* xxv (1906), p. 335f. and *Receuil* I^2 p. 187, and for the era of Pompeiopolis, beginning in the same year, see *I.G.R.* iii 135 (=*O.G.I.* 546=Dessau 8832) and *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 25 and Ramsay in *R.E.G.* vi (1893), p. 251f. For the significance of a city-era as showing the date of its annexation to the Roman Empire see Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 8. The same era appears also in the oath of allegiance taken by the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the resident Romans, dated in the third year after Augustus's twelfth consulship (5 B.C.), *i.e.* 3 B.C., which was found at Vezirköprü in Phazimonitis; see *I.G.R.* iii 137=*O.G.I.* 532=Dessau 8781=*Stud. Pont.* iii no. 66=Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 37 and, for the date, *Stud. Pont.* iii p. 73f. The use of this era in Phazimonitis is confirmed by inscriptions of A.D. 282/3 and 435/6 and by coins; see *Stud. Pont.* iii nos. 67 (=*I.G.R.* iii 139) and 68 and *Receuil* I^2 p. 189*.

48. It was observed by Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* III p. 83 that while the oath of allegiance to Augustus taken by the Paphlagonians and the resident Romans (see above note 47) probably corresponded to that used in swearing allegiance to the native rulers, it is perhaps the only—certainly the oldest known—formula of this kind outside Egypt in which the ruler is included together with the Gods. In the oaths of allegiance to Gaius taken in A.D. 37 by the peoples of Assus and Aritium (*I.G.R.* IV 251 = *Syll.*[3] 797 and *C.I.L.* II 172 = Dessau 190), although Divus Augustus is included among the deities, there is no mention of the Emperor. For the appearance of the ruling Ptolemy among the deities in whose name an oath was taken see *e.g.* Preisigke *Sammelbuch Griech. Urkunden*, no. 5680: *Pap. Hibeh* 38: *B.G.U.* IV 1186: *Pap. Tebtunis* 78. Sometimes (during the third century) an oath was taken by the Δαίμων of the king; see *e.g. Pap. Soc. Ital.* IV 361 and *B.G.U.* VI 1257. For an oath by the Τύχη of Seleucus II see *O.G.I.* 229, l. 61 (see Chap. III note 95). For the oath by the Genius (Τύχη) of Caesar see Cassius Dio XLIV 6, 1 and L. R. Taylor *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, p. 67. An oath by the *Genius* (*Numen*) of Augustus is mentioned in Horace *Epist.* II 1, 16; see Mommsen *R. St. R.* II[3] p. 809 and *Ges. Schr.* VII p. 180f. and Taylor, p. 190f. There is no reason to suppose, with Gardthausen (*Aug.* I p. 1345f.) that Augustus himself ordered that his name should be included in the oath of the Paphlagonians.

49. For the era of Amaseia see Dessau in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXV (1906), p. 339f., who, following Anderson in *Num. Chron.* IV (1904), p. 101 (also in *Stud. Pont.* III p. 109f. and *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 8), showed that it was reckoned from 3/2 B.C. The reason for the annexation of the city is not known. If, as has been previously suggested (see above p. 435), Amaseia had been given by Antony to Polemo, it may be supposed that after his death it was taken from his widow Pythodoris, who succeeded him (see Chap. XX note 52). For the era of Sebastopolis, which also began in 3/2 B.C. see Dessau *l.c.* and Chap. XVIII note 25, where the suggestion was made that this region was divided (probably by Antony) between the priests of Comana and Zela. If it may be supposed that in this partition the city itself was assigned to the Temple of Zela, the statement of Strabo (XII p. 557) that Zelitis belonged to Pythodoris (if it was not written prior to 3/2, see *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 8f.), may be explained by the conjecture that in 3 B.C. the domains of the temple were secularized and divided between the Romans and the ruler of Pontus, the former taking Sebastopolis and the latter receiving Zela itself and the territory around the city.

CHAPTER XX

1. For Agrippa's extraordinary command in the East see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xv 10, 2, § 350 (where he is called τῶν πέραν Ἰονίου διάδοχος Καίσαρι) and xvi 3, 3, § 86 (where his command is described as ἡ διοίκησις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας). See also Mommsen *RSt.R.* II[3] p. 1151, note 5: Dessau *G.R.K.* I p. 456: H. Stuart Jones in *C.A.H.* x p. 141f.: M. Reinhold *Marcus Agrippa* (Geneva, N.Y. 1933), pp. 79f. and 167f.: R. Daniel *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* (Breslau 1933), pp. 25 and 57f. For his legates see Cassius Dio LIII 32, 1. From the fact that he had these legates Mommsen inferred (*l.c.*) that he had a proconsular *maius imperium*, but his power, as Reinhold observed (p. 171f.), was probably limited to the imperial provinces. See also M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 428, note 9. His mission was incorrectly regarded by ancient writers as a voluntary withdrawal to Mitylene (Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 53), caused by a quarrel with Marcellus or by pique at the latter's advancement to the aedileship (Velleius Paterculus II 93, 2 and Suetonius *Aug.* 66, 3) or by a desire not to stand in the young man's way (Suetonius *Tib.* 10, 1) or, again, as a virtual banishment (Pliny *N.H.* VII 149 and Dio *l.c.*); see D. Magie in *C.P.* III (1908), p. 145f., where the suggestion was made that he was sent to negotiate secretly the return of the standards taken by the Parthians from Crassus and Antony—regarded with scepticism by Reinhold, p. 81 (but see G. W. Richardson in *J.R.S.* XXV [1935], p. 102) and Anderson in *C.A.H.* x p. 262, note 2.

2. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV § 350. It was pointed out by Reinhold (p. 84, note 47) that the winter was that of 23/2 B.C. rather than 22/1. For Caesar and Mitylene see Chap. XVII note 43. For the treaty of 25 B.C. see *I.G.* XII 2, 35 = *I.G.R.* IV 33 and Mommsen in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1895, p. 898, who supposed that the first of the two senatus consulta, passed between 16 May and 13 June, apparently ordered that the proceedings should be suspended until confirmation could be obtained from Augustus, then in Spain; when this was received, the second senatus consultum was passed, apparently on 29 June, enacting the formal treaty. For a different view (and a restoration of the two decrees) see V. Arangio-Ruiz in *Riv. Fil.* LXX (1942), p. 125f. For the embassy to Rome and the festival in honour of Augustus see *I.G.* XII 2, 58 = *I.G.R.* IV 39 = *O.G.I.* 456. For his statue see E. David Ἀνεκ. Ἐπιγραφαὶ Λέσβου (Mitylene 1913), p. 7, no. 1. For other, later, inscriptions in his honour see *I.G.* XII 2, 152-157 = *I.G.R.* IV 58-63 and Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1932, *Suppl.* p. 15, no. 6 = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 20. Agrippa's benefactions to Mitylene were commemorated in several inscriptions (probably after his death) in which he is called Θεός, σωτὴρ (καὶ κτίστης) τῆς πόλεως; see *I.G.* XII 2, 166, 168, 171 and 172 = *I.G.R.* IV 67, 68, 70 and 78; see also *I.G.* XII 2, 203 = *I.G.R.* IV 21 (from Therma).

3. For Herod see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV § 350. According to Cassius Dio LIII 32, 1, Augustus ordered Agrippa to go to Syria, but he went no farther

than Mitylene. The statement in Malalas IX p. 222 Bonn, however, that he built (or restored) a public bath, later named after him, at Antioch and erected a group of buildings, also adding a storey to the theatre, is perhaps to be connected with this stay in the East; see Reinhold, pp. 84 and 111 and G. Downey in *Byz. Ztschr.* XXXVIII (1938), p. 10, note 2. Daniel observed (*ibid.* p. 58f.) that inscriptions from Asia Minor and Greece in which Agrippa is called εὐεργέτης or σωτήρ (or both) may perhaps be connected with this stay; see *I.G.R.* IV 204 = *Syll.*[3] 776 (Ilium): *I.G.* II[2] 4122 and 4123 (Athens); V 1, 1166 (Gytheium); VII 349 (Oropus). For his return in 21 B.C. see Cassius Dio LIV 6, 4f.

4. Cassius Dio LIV 7, 4 and 9, 7. For Antony's seizure of the statues of Myron see above p. 440. For their return by Augustus see Strabo XIV p. 637. For the year, 19 B.C. (ἔτους τῆς κολωνίας, see below note 18), see *I.G.R.* IV 992 = 1707 and Mommsen *Res Gest. Divi Aug.*[2] p. 96, note 1. According to Strabo, the statue of Zeus was not returned to Samos but sent to Rome. For a monument erected by Augustus, dated in his fifth tribunicial year, *i.e.* 19 B.C., see *I.G.R.* IV 976. For the monument erected to him by the Samians see *I.G.R.* IV 975. An inscription recording honours paid by the "Samian colonists" on Icaros (a possession of Samos, see Chap. III note 98) to Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ probably refers to Augustus rather than to Julius Caesar; see M.K.B. I (1873-75), p. 142, no. ξθ'.

5. For the Ethiopian envoys see Strabo XVII p. 821. For those from India see Cassius Dio LIV 9, 8f. See also Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 31: Strabo XV pp. 686 and 719 (where they are said to have been received at Antioch in Syria): Suetonius *Aug.* 21, 3: Florus II 34: Eutropius VII 10, 1: Orosius VI 21, 19 (where it is said that they were received in Spain).

6. Cassius Dio LIV 7, 4f.: Velleius Paterculus II 92, 1. It was suggested by Gardthausen (*Aug.* II p. 468, note 27) that it was during this visit that Augustus lowered the minimum age for holding a minor city-magistracy to twenty-two years (see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 79 and Chap. XV note 34) and permitted the city of Nicaea to take possession of the property of citizens who died intestate (Pliny *ibid.* 84). It is not necessary, however, to suppose that these measures were taken during a personal visit.

7. Strabo XII p. 579: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 140-1 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 164 Helm: Agathias II 17 (Dindorf *Hist. Gr. Min.* II p. 207f.). The earthquake was dated by Hieronymus in 26/5 B.C., and this agrees with the testimony of Agathias, who related that a certain Chaeremon (perhaps a son of Pythodorus, the friend of Pompey, see Chap. X note 60) went as the envoy of Tralles to Augustus, at the time in Spain. According to Agathias, Augustus sent some Italians εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν and they rebuilt the city. The Emperor is honoured as [κ]τίστης [τῆς πόλεως] in *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 516, no. 5. Although one of the coin-types used by Roman colonies, namely a man ploughing with a yoke of oxen, appears on its coins issued under

Augustus (Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 175, nos. 28 and 29 and *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 344, no. 121), Tralles never received the status of a colony; see Broughton in *T.A.P.A.* LXVI (1935), p. 20f. and M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 383. The name of the city appears as Καισαρέων on coins from Augustus to Nero and usually as Καισαρέων Τραλλιανῶν from Nero to Domitian, but from Domitian onward Τραλλιανῶν was regularly used. In inscriptions the forms Τραλλιανὸς Καισαρεύς and Καισαρεὺς Τραλλιανός, used under Claudius (*Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 533 and 534 = *Syll.*[3] 802), as well as Τραλλιανοί alone, continued down to the third century; see Imhoof-Blumer, p. 173f.: *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 338f.: *C.I.G.* 2929: L. W. 600 *a* = *P.A.S.* II no. 2: *I.G.* XIV 2499 = *I.G.R.* I 21; Buresch in *A.M.* XIX (1894), p. 102f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2105f.

8. Suetonius *Tib.* 8 (where it is said that Tiberius supported the cities' plea). For Laodiceia see also Strabo XII p. 579. This earthquake was perhaps a later one, as, for instance, that which occurred in 12 B.C. (see below note 36); but the fact that Tiberius's advocacy was recorded by Suetonius in connexion with his support of Tralles (presumably that which was presented after the earthquake of 26/5, see above note 7) and his accusation of Caepio in 22 suggests that it is to be placed at this time.

9. For Ilium see *I.G.R.* IV 200-202 and P. Haubold *de Rebus Iliensium* (Leipzig 1888), p. 44f. Augustus's visit to the city is shown by the fact that in 12/11 B.C. a citizen honoured him as ξένον καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν] (*I.G.R.* IV 203). For Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 309-312 and 315. For Miletus see Haussoullier *Études*, p. 260 and, for his stephanephorate, *Milet* I 3, p. 271f., no. 127, l. 2; he held the office a second time in 7/6 B.C. (l. 13). For a monument to his niece Marcella see *Milet* I 7, p. 325, no. 254. For Heracleia see *O.G.I.* 459, a list, apparently of stephanephori from 17/16 B.C. to A.D. 4/5, in which Augustus appears as holding office for the third time in 7/6 B.C. and for the fourth time in A.D. 4/5. For Mitylene see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 19. For Cos (see above p. 441) see *I.G.R.* IV 1050 and 1051; see also *Hist. Ztschr.* XXV (1922), p. 217 (from Halasarna). For victories in encomia see *Bull. Comm. Arch.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 9f., nos. 7 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 88), 8 and 10 (in which Augustus is called κτίστα[ς] τᾶς πόλιο[ς]). For the dedication of a gate leading to the *agora* at Ephesus to Augustus and Agrippa (after his death) in 4/3 B.C. see *Ephesos* III p. 52 = Dessau 8897 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 68, and for the construction of an aqueduct at Ephesus by Augustus and Tiberius as Caesar (*i.e.* after A.D. 4) see *J.O.A.I.* XXXV (1943), *Beibl.* 101f., no. 2. For Augustus as σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης at Termessus and Mitylene see *T.A.M.* III 1, 36 (= *I.G.R.* III 426) and *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* nos. 41 and 42.

10. Strabo XIV p. 641. For Antony's grant see above p. 429. For Augustus's restoration of the *vectigalia* of Artemis see F. K. Dörner *Der Erlass d. Statthalters v. Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Greifswald 1935), pp. 15 and 28 (of the time of Claudius, see Chap. XXIII note 16). For the boundary-stones of the *fines Dianae* in the plain of the Caÿster (see Chap. III note 84) see *C.I.L.*

III 14195[1] = *I.G.R.* IV 1672 and 1673 and Keil-Premerstein III p. 82. For the wall enclosing the *fanum et Augusteum* see *C.I.L.* III 6070 = 7118 = Dessau 97, dated in Augustus's eighteenth tribunicial year, *i.e.* 6/5 B.C. Two identical inscriptions of this year (*I.B.M.* 523 and 524) record the restoration of the "sacred stelae of the roads and of the canals."

11. *O.G.I.* 458, l. 67 (στῆλαι τεθῶσιν ἐν τοῖς Καισαρήοις). For the local cults of Augustus in the eastern provinces see F. Geiger *de Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus* = *Diss. Philol. Halenses* XXIII 1 (1913), pp. 10 and 121f. For the cult at Pergamum see A. O'Brien-Moore in *Yale Class. Stud.* VIII (1942), p. 33f. For lists of the cities in which these cults were established see Appendix III B and C. In the province of Asia they include, in addition to the judiciary centres (see Chap. VII note 42) Alabanda, Ephesus, Miletus, Mylasa, Pergamum and Sardis, in three of which—Alabanda, Mylasa and Pergamum—Augustus is known to have been worshipped in conjunction with Roma, the following cities: Assus, Bargylia (with Roma), Cos, Cyme (with Roma), Eresus, Halicarnassus (with Roma), Heracleia ad Latmum, Hierocaesareia (with Roma), Hypaepa, Ilium, Mitylene (with Roma), Nysa (with Roma), Priene (with Roma), Samos (with Roma), and perhaps Sebaste. For the earlier cults of Roma see Appendix III A. For the cult of Augustus's grandsons, Gaius and Lucius, see below note 41.

12. For Augustus as Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος see *I.G.* XII 2, 156 = *I.G.R.* IV 62 (Mitylene) and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 306f., no. 1 (Cys in Caria, A.D. 52). This seems to have been his official title in Egypt; see Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge* 1 1, p. 120f. He appears also as Zeus Caesar Olympios at Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 656 = *I.G.R.* IV 95, A.D. 2-14) and as Zeus Polieus at Samos (*I.G.R.* IV 958 = *A.M.* XLIX [1924], p. 43, under Tiberius). An altar to Διεὶ Καίσαρι at Kayadibi in southwestern Phrygia near the border of Pisidia (*I.G.R.* IV 885) may perhaps have been dedicated to him. For Apollo Eleutherios see L. W. 549 = *O.G.I.* 457 (Alabanda). For Zeus Patroos see Buckler in *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 180f. and an inscription from Aphrodisias, *Mon. Ant.* XXXVIII 2 (1939), p. 15. A statue of Augustus as Hermes at Cos (Maiuri *N.S.* 466) suggests that the same attempt was made to identify him with this god which was made in Rome (Horace *Odes* 1 2, 41f.) but soon abandoned there in favour of the worship of the Genius Augusti; see Wissowa *Rel. u. Kultus d. Römer*[2] p. 93.

13. For the *tributum soli* and the *tributum capitis* see Marquardt *R. St. V.*[2] II p. 193f.: O. Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 54; Stevenson in *C.A.H.* X p. 196: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 138f.: W. Schwahn in *R.E.* VII A 10f., 62 and 68. See also Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 339 and, for the census, Hirschfeld, p. 55 and Stevenson, p. 192f. For the services performed by the cities see Jones *ibid.* p. 274f., who cited not only the collection of the taxes but, ultimately, the maintenance of the roads, the policing of the country and the furnishing of recruits and supplies for the army, and, as an example of an attempt to check

corruption, a decree of Hierapolis (*O.G.I.* 527), which forbad police officials to accept hospitality or perquisites from the villagers (see Chap. V note 25).

14. For Sebastopolis (Sulusaray) in Pontus, annexed to the Empire in 3/2 B.C., and Sebasteia (Sivas), annexed between 2/1 B.C. and A.D. 1/2, see Chap. XIX note 49 and Chap. XVIII note 25. For Sebastopolis (Kızılca) in Caria and the route from Apollonia Salbace (Medet, see *M.A.M.A.* VI p. xiv f.) to the plain of the Kara Hüyük Çay and Cibyra see G. Hirschfeld in *M. B. Berl. Akad.* 1879, p. 325: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 191: Robert *Villes,* p. 220f. and *Ét. Anat.* p. 336f. The city issued coins from the time of Vespasian onward; see *Coll. Wadd.* 2544f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 150f. For its Council and People and officials in the time of Trajan see *P.A.S.* II no. 25 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 339, no. 1, and in the early third century see Robert, p. 341, no. 2. For Sebaste (Selçukler) see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 581f.: Buresch *Aus Lydien,* p. 170f.: Philippson IV p. 170: Bürchner and Ruge in *R.E.* II A 951f. The stream in the neighbourhood, which appears on coins as Σέναρος (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 286) or Σίνδρος (*B. M. Cat. Phrygia,* p. 370, no. 5, probably the correct form, see Ruge in *R.E.* III A 229), was presumably the Banaz Çay. For the supposed foundation of the city by Augustus see *I.G.R.* IV 682. If he actually founded it in person, it must have been during the summer of 20 B.C. An inscription found in a neighbouring village, however, which mentions a *polis,* a *strategos* and an *agoranomos* (*C.B.* I p. 609, no. 500), if it dates, as Ramsay supposed, from the first century before Christ, seems to show that one of the places from which Sebaste was formed was a city, and this is suggested also by remains of walls of the Hellenistic period. For coins of Sebaste from Augustus onward see Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 287f. and *B. M. Cat. Phrygia,* p. 369f. For the *demos* of Sebaste in A.D. 88/9 and the Council and People under M. Aurelius see *I.G.R.* 684 and 685. The village of Dioscome belonged to it in A.D. 245/6; see *I.G.R.* IV 635 and Chap. V note 65. There was another Sebaste in Paphlagonia, described on its coins of the second century as a metropolis, which was possibly Pompeiopolis under a new name; see *Receuil* I² p. 197. According to Pliny *N.H.* V 121, Myrina in Aeolis assumed the name Sebastopolis; but, as the *demos* is called Καισαρεῖς Μυρεναῖοι in a dedication to Augustus (*I.G.R.* IV 1173), the accuracy of this statement is doubtful. The date and origin both of Caesareia in Bithynia, which in A.D. 17 assumed the additional name Germanice (see Chap. XXI note 18) but is described on a coin with a portrait of Augustus (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen,* p. 75, no. 115) as Καισαρέων τῶν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ, and of the Bithynian community called Caesareis Proseilemmenitae, where Hadrian afterward founded Hadrianopolis (see Chap. XIX note 8 and Chap. XXVI note 23), are unknown. They may have taken these names under Caesar.

15. Strabo XIII p. 593: Pliny *N.H.* V 124: *Digesta* L 15, 7; 15, 8, 9 (where Alexandria is said to have had *ius Italicum*). The only clue to the date of foundation is its designation by Pliny as a *colonia Romana,* which indicates that it became a colony before the death of Agrippa in 12 B.C. (see below

note 17). It was supposed by M. Grant (*From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 244f.) that the colony was founded by Antony as Colonia Julia and later became Colonia Augusta. For its name see *C.I.L.* III 391=7073 and *B. M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 13f. The representation of a "Marsyas" on coins from the time of Commodus onward (*B. M. Cat. Troas*, p. 19f., nos. 78, 79, 109 and 146) shows that the colony had full liberty (see Chap. XVII note 36). For *duoviri* and *aediles* of the colony see *C.I.L.* III 381, 384, 392 (=12246) and 7071. Like Sinope and Antioch (see Chap. XVII note 33 and Chap. XIX note 32), the city was divided in Roman fashion into *vici*, of which there were at least ten; see *C.I.L.* III 384 and 386=Dessau 1018 and 2718. The citizens were enrolled in the *tribus Aniensis*; see Kubitschek *Imp. Rom. tributim discriptum*, p. 247; to the references there cited should be added *Rev. Épigr.* I (1913), p. 322. For Apameia and Parium see Chap. XVII note 34.

16. These statistics have been obtained by the kindness of Dr. L. C. West, who, using all available sources, has compiled lists of the provincial cities which issued coins during the imperial period. These lists show that under Augustus and Tiberius coins (with legends in Latin) were issued by the following colonies in Asia Minor: Antioch-near-Pisidia, Apameia, Lystra, Parium and Sinope. During the same period, they show local bronze issues in the following cities in the provinces other than Asia (omitted here for the sake of brevity): in Bithynia-Pontus, Caesareia (Germanice), Chalcedon, Nicaea, Nicomedeia, Amisus and Neocaesareia (Cabeira); in Galatia, Pessinus; in Pisidia, Sagalassus; in Cilicia, Aegaeae, Anazarbus, Augusta, Epiphaneia, Mallus, Mopsuestia, Olba, Syedra and Tarsus; in Pamphylia, Aspendus, Perge, Side and Sillyum.

17. For Pliny's lists see *N.H.* IV 71 (Astypalaea); V 91-92 (Cilicia); 104-109 (Caria); 124 (Troad); 132-139 (Islands); 149 (Bithynia); VI 7 (Pontus). See also W. Henze *De Civitatibus Liberis, etc.* (Berlin 1892), p. 37f. and Brandis in *R.E.* II 1542 (the cities of the province of Asia). Pliny's lists include (V 107) *Termera libera*. A place of this name appears in an inscription from Halicarnassus of the late fifth century before Christ (*Syll.*[3] 46, l. 173), apparently as a dependency of the larger city. But, although Strabo mentions (XIV p. 657) a promontory called Termerium and the χωρίον Termerum, there is no record of any city of the name. It was suggested by Ruge (*R.E.* V A 730) and A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 396, note 79) that the *libera* in Pliny's text should be connected with the following *Bargylia* (which was perhaps free in 51 B.C., see Chap. X note 64). But since as a rule (except in V 132 and 139) Pliny placed the adjective *libera* after the name of the city, it is perhaps more probable that the place described by this *libera* has been lost from the text. For the dependence of Pliny on Agrippa's *Commentarii* see O. Cuntz in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol. Suppl.* XVII (1890), p. 475f.: E. Schweder in *Philol.* LIV (1895), p. 532f. and LVI (1897), pp. 143f. and 160f.: A. Klotz *Quaest. Plinianae Geogr.* (Berlin 1906), pp. 13f. and 102f., in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*

XXVIII (1908), 1059f. and in *Klio* XXIV (1931), pp. 38f. and 386f.: Schanz-Hosius *Gesch. Röm. Lit.*[4] II pp. 334f. and 774: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 491f.

18. Cassius Dio LIV 9, 7: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 142-3 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 166 Helm. For the era reckoned from "Caesar's victory" see Chap. XVIII note 37. For the ἔτος τῆς κολωνίας, reckoned from 19 B.C., see *I.G.R.* IV 991 and 992 = 1706 and 1707 and Schede in *A.M.* XLIV (1919), p. 40f. The term was used incorrectly, for there is no reason to suppose, with Gardthausen (*Aug.* I p. 831 and II p. 479f.), that Samos received the title, although not the rights, of a colony. For Chios see *I.G.R.* IV 943 = *Syll.*[3] 785 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 40, containing a communication from the proconsul which refers to Sulla's recognition of the independence of the city (see Chap. X note 6) and to a letter written to the citizens by Augustus in 26 B.C., presumably in confirmation of their rights. Until the time of Elagabalus Chios issued autonomous coins without the emperor's portrait. For the treaty with Mitylene see above note 2. For Amisus see Chap. XVIII note 44; in the time of Trajan and in A.D. 132 the city still claimed to have a treaty with Rome; see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 93 and *I.G.R.* IV 1586 = *O.G.I.* 530. For Mylasa see Chap. XVIII note 39. For Ilium (Strabo XIII p. 595) see Chap. XVII note 3. For the treaties with Astypalaea (*I.G.* XII 3, 173 = *I.G.R.* IV 1028) and Cnidus ('Αθηνᾶ XI [1899], p. 283f., nos. 3 and 4) see Chap. IV note 89 and Chap. XVII note 5. For Stratoniceia and Aphrodisias see Chap. X note 9 and Chap. XVIII note 15. For Antony's grant to Tarsus see Chap. XVIII note 6. For Augustus and Tarsus see Strabo XIV p. 674f. and Lucian *Macrob.* 21 and for Athenodorus see also Cichorius *Röm. Stud.* p. 279f.: Philippson in *R.E. Suppl.* V 47f.: H. Markowski in *Phil. Woch.* LVIII (1938), 733f.: P. Grimal in *R.E.A.* XLVII (1945), p. 261f. and XLVIII (1946), p. 62f. According to Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXIV 8, Augustus restored the city's territory, laws and rank, as well as its command of the river and the sea. For the monument to him see *I.G.R.* III 876. For the new name and era of Anazarbus see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. cii and 31f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 431 and *Num. Chron.* XX (1940), p. 240 (under Augustus). For the altar at Aegaeae see *I.G.R.* III 921.

19. For Pergamum, Ephesus and Miletus see Chap. XVII note 42 and Chap. XVIII note 15. For Phocaea see Cassius Dio XLI 25, 3 and Lucan *Phars.* V 53. Apollonis and Magnesia-near-Sipylus were free in the first century before Christ (Cicero *pro Flacco* 70f. and Strabo XIII p. 621), but it is uncertain whether they still had this status; in A.D. 17 they were under obligation to pay tribute to Rome (Tacitus *Ann.* II 47, 4, see Chap. XXI note 23). Prusias ad Mare (Cius) also was free at one time, perhaps under Augustus; see Chap. XV note 34. The status of Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus is also uncertain. It was not given, together with the rest of Cilicia Aspera, to Archelaus (see below note 24), for autonomous coins bearing the names of the philosophers Athenaeus and Xenarchus, mentioned in Strabo XIV p. 670, suggest that it was free under Augustus; see Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 188, no. 572 and *Coll. Wadd.* 4447 and 4448. Its coins of the time of Hadrian are

inscribed τῆς ἱερ(ᾶς) καὶ ἀσ(ύλου) αὐτ(ονόμου), and those from Severus Alexander onward have the legend ἐλευθέρας; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4457, 4458 and 4466f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 131, no. 17 and p. 136f., no. 36f. A letter of Augustus addressed to the magistrates of Eresus (*I.G.* XII 2, 531 = *I.G.R.* IV 7) does not necessarily show that the city was free.

20. For *Ilium immune* see Pliny *N.H.* V 124 (see also Tacitus *Ann.* XII 58, 1: Suetonius *Claud.* 25: *Digesta* XXVII 1, 17, 1). For the ἀτέλεια granted to Tarsus by Antony see Appian *B.C.* V 7. For Cos see Chap. XXIII note 9. Ἀτέλεια was granted to Smyrna by Hadrian (*I.G.R.* IV 1431), and coins of Alabanda in the third century bear the legends ἀτελείας and ἀτέλειος; see *B. M. Cat. Caria, etc.* p. 4, nos. 20 and 21 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 105, no. 6. See also Brandis in *R.E.* II 1542f. and A. H. M. Jones in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 115f. and *Greek City*, p. 131, who pointed out that Byzantium, a free city (see Cicero *de Prov. Cons* 7 and Pliny *N.H.* IV 46), evidently paid tribute in the first century after Christ, since in A.D. 53 this was remitted for five years (Tacitus *Ann.* XII 63, 3). No inference may be drawn from the remission of tribute granted in A.D. 17 to Apollonis and Magnesia-near-Sipylus, since their status at that time is uncertain (see above note 19). As Jones also pointed out (*Greek City*, p. 325, note 68), the money which Herod the Great paid in behalf of the Chians to "Caesar's procurators" (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 2, 2, § 26, see below note 34) was evidently a private debt (rather than a "special indemnity," as suggested in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 117) and not tribute, as supposed by O. Hirschfeld (*V.B.* p. 72, note 6), since this would have been paid to the quaestor of the province. It was observed by Mommsen (*R. St. R.* III p. 683f. and note 4) that while in various cases tribute may have been exacted from cities previously recognized as free, it is not necessary to assume from Pliny's characterization of certain communities as *immunis* that all others paid tribute. This is borne out by the fact that although Tarsus is described in *N.H.* V 92 as a *libera urbs*, there is no mention of the *immunitas* granted by Antony.

21. Cassius Dio LIV 7, 6: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 142-3 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 165 Helm. There seems to be an allusion to Cyzicus in the generalization in Suetonius *Aug.* 47. If, as was suggested by Wilhelm in *Klio* V (1905), p. 300, the name of Augustus may be restored in an acephalous inscription from Cyzicus (*I.G.R.* IV 136), in which an emperor in his sixth tribunicial year was honoured as ξένος by a citizen of the place, and the inscription dated, accordingly, in 18/17 B.C., it may be supposed that Augustus visited Cyzicus in person during his stay in Asia in 20 B.C.; but the attribution is questionable, for it is difficult to believe that a citizen would have described the Emperor as ξένος so soon after punishment was inflicted on the city.

22. See above p. 443. For this policy see also Strabo XIV p. 671 and Cassius Dio LIV 9. For Augustus's action with regard to the kingdom of the Amanus see above p. 444f. For the accession of Tarcondimotus's son in 20 B.C. see Dio

ibid. § 2. In this passage he is called Tarcondimotus, but in relating Augustus's refusal to allow the son of the elder Tarcondimotus to succeed to the throne, Dio (LI 2, 2) calls the prince Philopator. This suggests an honorary cognomen rather than a name, and it is possible that he was the *Rex Tarcondimotus Philopator*, who was the father of . . . ius Strato, a duumvir of Antioch-near-Pisidia (*J.R.S.* II [1912], p. 108, no. 43, see Chap. XIX note 33). For the question as to the situation of the παραθαλασσίδιά τινα (Dio *ibid.*) which Augustus withheld from the new king and gave to Archelaus (see below note 24) see Chap. XV note 53. Whether the ruler appointed at this time by Augustus was the king called Philopator, who died in A.D. 17 (see Chap. XXI note 14), or a predecessor of the latter cannot be determined. Members of the dynasty appear in inscriptions at Castabala (*I.G.R.* III 901 = *O.G.I.* 752-53, see Chap. XV note 53), mentioning a Laius, son of Tarcondimotus, honoured by [. . . καὶ] Ἰουλί[α] οἱ Ταρκονδιμότου, [ο]ἱ ἀδελφοί, who may have been the children of Tarcondimotus I, and a certain Styrax, "the father of the kings," who was perhaps the husband of this Julia and by her the ancestor of the Βασιλὶς Ἰουλία νεωτέρα known from an inscription at Anazarbus (*J.O.A.I.* XVIII [1915], *Beibl.* 57-8) and of some of the princes called *reguli Cilicum* in Tacitus *Ann.* II 78 and 80. For the dynasty see Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896), VI p. 29f.: Calder in *J.R.S.* II p. 106f.: Stein in *R.E.* IV A 2297-98: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 437, note 21.

23. Cassius Dio LIV 9, 3, where he is called Μιθριδάτης τις. It was suggested by Wilcken in *R.E.* I 2489f., followed by Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2214, that he was the son of a younger brother of Mithradates II, whom the latter had murdered. Dio's use of τίς suggests that the boy was not the son of the King, but it is by no means certain that the murderer was Mithradates II and not some usurper. Mithradates III was presumably the predecessor of Antiochus III, at whose death, about A.D. 17, Commagene was annexed to the Roman Empire (see Chap. XXI note 14). For the restoration of the kingdom to Antiochus IV in A.D. 38 see Chap. XXI note 49. For the dynasty see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 91: Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 248: Honigmann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 985-6.

24. For the trial of Archelaus see Cassius Dio LVII 17, 3 and Suetonius *Tib.* 8. Since the latter listed it first among Tiberius's *civilium officiorum rudimenta* immediately before his plea for Tralles (see above notes 7 and 8), it appears to have taken place about 24 B.C., after Augustus's return to Rome from Spain. For the gift of Cilicia Aspera (perhaps soon after Amyntas's death) and the coast region which had been taken from Tarcondimotus see Strabo XII pp. 535 and 537 and XIV p. 671: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 4, 6, § 131: Cassius Dio LIV 9, 2. Archelaus is called [Βασιλεὺς Καπ]παδοκί[ας καὶ τῆς Τραχεία]ς Κιλικίας in an inscription at Athens, *I.G.* II² 3430 = *O.G.I.* 357. The assumption that Derbe and Laranda were included in this gift is based on the probability that this region afterwards belonged to Antiochus IV of Commagene (see Chap. XXI note 49), who received the dominions of Archelaus's son. Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus, however, was presumably not

included, for it seems to have been a free city (see above note 19). For Elaeussa see Chap. XI note 21. Sebaste appears as ἡ Σεβαστηνῶν πόλις (or δῆμος) in inscriptions from the neighbourhood; see *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) VI p. 46f., nos. 114 (=*I.G.R.* III 863), 123 and 129 and *J.H.S.* XII (1891), p. 231, no. 11. For coins of Archelaus as κτίστης, issued in the city and bearing the number of his regnal year see *Coll. Wadd.* 6950f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. lxix. For the gift of Armenia Minor after the death of Artavasdes (see Chap. XVIII note 42) see Strabo XII p. 555 and Cassius Dio *ibid.*

25. For Artaxias and Tigranes see Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 27: Cassius Dio XLIX 39, 6f. and 44, 4; LI 16, 2; LIV 9, 4f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XV 4, 3, § 105: Tacitus *Ann.* II 3, 3f.: Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 822f.: P. Asdourian *Polit. Beziehungen zw. Armenien u. Rom* (Venice 1911), p. 65f. For Tiberius and his troops see also Strabo XVII p. 821: Velleius Paterculus II 94 (where Tigranes is wrongly called Artavasdes): Suetonius *Tib.* 9. For a coin with the legend Βασιλέως Τιγράνου and the portrait of a bearded man wearing the Armenian tiara, usually ascribed to Tigranes II, see Babelon *Rois de Syrie, etc.* pp. CCV and 215 and Head *H.N.*² p. 754. Another coin, bearing the legend Βασιλέως Μεγάλου Τιγράνου Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλέλληνος, was assigned to Tigranes II by E. T. Newell *Some Unpubl. Coins of Eastern Dynasts=Numism. Notes and Monographs* XXX (1926), p. 13f., who observed that the coin inscribed Βασιλέως Μεγάλου Τιγράνου Φιλέληνο[ς] (*sic*), assigned to Tigranes III by Babelon (*ibid.* p. 216, no. 28), probably belongs to Tigranes II. For the coins of Augustus issued in 19/18 B.C. with the legend *Armenia Capta* (or *Recepta*) and the representation of an Armenian or of the tiara see Mattingly-Sydenham I pp. 63 and 70.

26. Cassius Dio LIV 19, 6: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 2, 1, § 12. For Agrippa's position as co-ruler see Mommsen *R. St. R.* II³ p. 1146f.: Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imp. Rom.* (Leipzig 1930), p. 16f.: Reinhold *Marcus Agrippa,* pp. 98f. and 170f.: Daniel *M. Vipsanius Agrippa,* p. 63f.: M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas,* p. 428f. He seems to have travelled to the East by way of Greece, where several cities erected statues of him (see Reinhold, p. 106f.), and he evidently crossed the Hellespont at Sestus, where the *demos* erected statues both of him and of Julia (*I.G.R.* I 821). His visit to Lampsacus, where he acquired the statue of the fallen lion by Lysippus (Strabo XIII p. 590), was also connected with this journey by Reinhold (p. 109). At Parium a coin was struck bearing on one side the portrait of Augustus, on the other that of Agrippa; see *B. M. Cat. Mysia,* p. 103, no. 85 and *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 275, no. 11. For Agrippa's visit to Syria see Josephus *ibid.* § 12f. and Reinhold, p. 112f.

27. Cassius Dio LIV 23, 7, where the sentence-construction ascribes the measure to Augustus; it is referred to, however, in a decree of Cyzicus passed under Gaius (*I.G.R.* IV 146=*Syll.*³ 799 I, l. 7, see Chap. XXI note 51) as νέα Ἀγρίππα χάρις. Reinhold pointed out (p. 109) that it was perhaps at this

time that Agrippa bought from the Cyzicenes two paintings of Ajax and of Aphrodite, for which he paid 1,200,000 sesterces (Pliny *N.H.* xxxv 26). For the fine (100,000 drachmae) imposed on Ilium see Nicolaus of Damascus frg. 3 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 350) = frg. 134 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 421f.), where it is related that Agrippa was afterward persuaded by Herod to remit the penalty.

28. *I.G.R.* IV 1064 = *Syll.*[3] 1065 (Ἀγρίππηα at Cos): *I.G.R.* IV 1717 = *S.E.G.* I 385 (Samos): *I.G.R.* IV 1095 (Cos): *I.G.* XII 2, 204 and 482 = *I.G.R.* IV 64 and 114 (εὐεργέτις and [νέα Ἀφ]ροδίτη, Mitylene): *C.I.L.* III 7156-7 = *I.G.* XII 2, 537 = *I.G.R.* IV 9 (Venus Genetrix, Eresus). Some action of Agrippa's with regard to Eresus is referred to in Augustus's letter to the city (*I.G.* XII 2, 531 = *I.G.R.* IV 7, see above note 19). For a fragment of what was probably an inscription in honour of Agrippa and Julia at Ceramus in Caria see *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 128, no. 15.

29. For this whole episode see Cassius Dio LIV 24, 4f.: Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 842f.: E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge 1913), p. 591f.: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 265f. For Asander see also Strabo VII p. 311 and XI p. 495 and Lucian *Macrob.* 17. For Dynamis see Rostovtzeff in *J.H.S.* XXXIX (1919), p. 98f. For Asander's coins see A. von Sallet *Beitr. z. Gesch. u. Numism. d. Könige d. Cimm. Bosporus, etc.* (Berlin 1866), p. 9f. and *B. M. Cat. Pontus, etc.* pp. xxxi and 48. On those of his regnal years α′ to γ′ he appears as ἄρχων, but on those numbered δ′ to θκ′ he is called βασιλεύς. For his titles [Βασιλεὺς] Μέγας, [Φιλ]ορώμαιος and Σωτήρ see Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* II 25 = *I.G.R.* I 874 (from Panticapaeum). According to Lucian (*l.c.*), he was recognized as king by Augustus and there seems to be no valid reason for rejecting this statement either, with Mommsen (*R.G.* V[2] p. 287, note = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* I p. 339, note 1), in favour of Julius Caesar, or, with von Sallet and Gardthausen (I p. 244), in favour of Antony, for it is not necessary to suppose that he refrained from taking the title until he obtained recognition from Rome. Since it can hardly be supposed that he began to rule before 46 B.C., the coins of his 29th year show that he did not die before 17/16. This date is confirmed by a coin of Dynamis (alone and so after Asander's death) dated απσ′, *i.e.* 17/16 B.C., according to the Pontic era, which was used in the Crimea; see von Sallet, p. 15 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 504. Dynamis appears with Asander in *I.G.R.* I 874 (cited above), and she has the title Φιλορώμαιος in inscriptions in which she honoured Augustus and Livia, probably after Asander's death (Latyschev II 354 and IV 201 and 420 = *I.G.R.* I 901, 875 and 902), as well as on a statue erected to her by the *demos* of Phanagoreia-Agrippea (Latyschev II 356 = *I.G.R.* I 905, see below note 31).

30. Cassius Dio LIV 24, 6: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 2, 2, § 20of.: Orosius VI 21, 28: Eutropius VII 9: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 142-3 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 167 Helm. Polemo is called Βασιλεύς, Εὐσεβής and Σωτήρ in his letter to the Council and People of the city of Chersonesus (Latyschev I[2] 704).

31. Latyschev II 356 and 360 = *I.G.R.* I 905 and 909. For coins with the legend Ἀγριππέων and the head of Livia see *B. M. Cat. Pontus, etc.* p. 1, nos. 1-3. The city still bore the name in A.D. 307 (Latyschev II 363).

32. Strabo XI p. 495 and XII p. 556, where his slayers are called Aspurgiani, living between Phanagoreia and Gorgippia (Anapa, see *R.E.* VII 1627f.), who were apparently the tribe from which the later ruler Aspurgus (see below note 33) took his name. Polemo's death is usually placed in 8 B.C.; see *e.g.* Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VIII pp. 266 and 308: *P.I.R.* III p. 58: Rostovtzeff in *J.H.S.* XXXIX (1919), p. 99: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 269. This dating, however, is somewhat uncertain; for it is based only on the belief that a new series of Bosporan gold coins, beginning in 9/8 B.C. (see Minns *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 595 and 611) and bearing a monogram which can be resolved into the name of Dynamis (see Rostovtzeff *ibid.* p. 100f. and Anderson *ibid.* p. 269, note 1), indicates a change of ruler, and on the supposition that Polemo's marriage to Pythodoris, daughter of Pythodorus of Tralles, by whom he had three children (see Strabo XII p. 556 and below notes 52 and 53), took place at some time after 14 B.C. But, apart from the possibility that Polemo may not have lived until the time when these coins were first issued, there is no reason why it should not be supposed that, as was suggested by Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 619, note 4), his marriage to Pythodoris antedated his Bosporan adventure. It is hard to suppose that he remained single until his marriage to Dynamis in 14 B.C., when he was at least fifty years old, and the term συνῴκησεν used by Cassius Dio (LIV 24, 6) to describe this union suggests that there was some irregularity in it. Moreover, a marriage with Pythodoris (and the begetting of three children) after his appearance in the Crimea presupposes his return to Pontus, whereas what little is known about him suggests that he never went back to Asia but spent the remaining years of his life in attempting to conquer his new kingdom.

33. For these rulers see Strabo VII p. 312. For Aspurgus see Latyschev II 36 and 364 = *I.G.R.* I 879 and 906. The latter inscription is dated ἔτους γιτ', *i.e.* A.D. 16/17. Aspurgus is mentioned also in a fragment found in the city of Chersonesus (Latyschev I² 573 = IV 147) and in inscriptions of his son Cotys (Latyschev II 32 [= *I.G.R.* I 876] and 37). For Mithradates and Cotys, the sons of Aspurgus, and the later rulers see Brandis in *R.E.* III 782f. and Rostovtzeff in *J.H.S.* XXXIX p. 106f.

34. Josephus XVI 2, 2, § 23f.: Nicolaus of Damascus frg. 3 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 350) = frg. 134 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 421f.). For the debt of the Chians see above note 20. It was pointed out by W. Otto in *R. E. Suppl.* II 72f. that Herod's gifts to the Ionian cities, especially Samos, and to the Lycians, which are recorded without a definite date in Josephus *Bell. Jud.* I 21, 11, § 425, are probably to be connected with this visit to Asia. For Ilium see above note 27. For Agrippa's letter to Ephesus see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 6, 4, § 167f. It was connected with Herod's stay at Samos with Agrippa in the autumn of 14 by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 91), Otto (*ibid.* 73), Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 725) and

Reinhold (p. 120, note 84). The Silanus (*v.l.* Silvanus) στρατηγός of the letter cannot be identified. The suggestion of Waddington (*l.c.*) that he was M. Junius Silanus, Consul in 25 B.C., is, as Waddington himself admitted, very doubtful.

35. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 2, 5, § 62, where, as Reinhold pointed out (p. 122, note 89), ἐπὶ Λέσβου should be read for the Mss. ἀπὸ Λέσβου (omitted by Niese). For Agrippa's return see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 3, 3, § 86 and Cassius Dio LIV 28, 1.

36. Cassius Dio LIV 30, 3. Augustus's action on this occasion seems to be referred to in Suetonius *Aug.* 47, *urbium quasdam . . . terrae motu subversas denuo condidit.* For his title of κτίστης on coins of Clazomenae and Teos see *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, pp. 31 and 319. For help given by him to cities damaged by earthquakes see also *Res Gest., App.* 4.

37. *I.G.R.* IV 1211 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 35, a letter of P. Cornelius S[cipio], presumably the Consul of 16 B.C. (see *P.I.R.*² II p. 354f., no. 1438) and proconsul of Asia perhaps about 7/6 B.C., whose name and portrait appear on a coin of Pitane issued under Augustus (*Coll. Wadd.* 991 and 992). He was perhaps the man honoured in *Milet* I 9, no. 333 (see *P.I.R.*² *l.c.*). The letter is so fragmentary that, except for the mention of [. . . ἰε]ρῶν χρημάτων κρίσε[ις] and δικαστῶν κελεν . . . , its content cannot be determined, and the suggestion made by Viereck (*Sermo Graecus*, p. 9) that it was written in connexion with an appeal of the *publicani* against the citizens seems to have little foundation.

38. *I.G.* XII 3, 174 = *I.G.R.* IV 1031 b = *Syll.*³ 780 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 36, dated in Augustus's 18th tribunicial year (6 B.C.). See also Mommsen *R.G.* V² p. 325, note 1 = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* I p. 381, note 2 and Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 126f. Dittenberger pointed out (note 5) that Asinius Gallus, although proconsul of Asia in this year 6/5 B.C. (*C.I.L.* III 6070 = 7118 = Dessau 97, see above note 10), is referred to by Augustus as ὁ ἐμὸς φίλος for the reason that, strictly speaking, the proconsul had no official standing in a free city. For Gallus's proconsulship see also *B. M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 146, no. 24f.

39. *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 275f. = *O.G.I.* 458 = *S.E.G.* IV 490, a composite of the fragments of the Greek versions found at Apameia, Eumeneia and Priene. For a fragment in Greek of the Proconsul's letter found at Maeonia in Lydia see Keil-Premerstein II no. 166, and for fragments of the Latin version of the letter found at Apameia and Dorylaeum see *C.I.L.* III 12240 and 13651. See also Dessau in *Herm.* XXXV (1900), p. 332f. and R. Laqueur *Epigr. Untersuchungen z. d. Griech. Volksbeschlüssen* (Leipzig 1927), p. 175f. While there is no mention of it in these documents, the custom was subsequently adopted of calling the first day of the new year μηνὸς Καίσαρος Σεβαστή; see *I.G.R.* IV 353 b and 1615 (A.D. 40): *Syll.*² 868, l. 20 (where Σεβ(αστῇ)

should be read): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 29f., no. 42 and LI (1927), p. 94f. and p. 344, no. 61 (=*S.E.G.* IV 301).

40. At both Miletus and Cyzicus the old Ionian calendar continued in use during the first century after Christ; see *Milet* I 3, p. 240: *I.G.R.* IV 144 (= *S.E.G.* IV 707), 145 and 146 (=*Syll.*[3] 798 and 799 I): *A.M.* XIII (1888), p. 307f. This was also the case at Ephesus, where the old month-names Artemisiōn, Thargeliōn, Poseideōn, Anthesteriōn (given with its Roman equivalent), Metageitniōn and Klariōn appear in the first and second centuries after Christ; see *Ephesos* II p. 106, no. 18; pp. 127f. and 188f., no. 27 (=*I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 3, 69, 225, 335, 432, 450 and 491): *Syll.*[3] 867: *Ins. Magn.* 114=*Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 30 and Keil-Premerstein III no. 171 (both assigned to Ephesus by Hiller von Gaertringen in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXV [1915], 243). Old names survived during the first and early second centuries also at Magnesia-on-Maeander, namely Artemisiōn, Genesiōn, Koureōn, Lenaiōn (*Ins. Magn.* 113 [=*Syll.*[3] 807], 116, 117, 179 and 293); at Smyrna, Hekatombaiōn (with its Roman equivalent) and Ocheōn (*I.G.R.* IV 1465 and *A.M.* XII [1887], p. 248, no. 7); at Chios, Poseideōn (*I.G.R.* IV 948); at Cyme in Aeolis, Phratrios and Pornopios (*I.G.R.* IV 1302 and *J.O.A.I.* XIV [1911], *Beibl.* 135f.). For Augustus as stephanephorus at Miletus in 7/6 B.C. see above note 9.

41. For Gaius's stephanephorate at Miletus in A.D. 1/2 see *Milet* I 3, p. 271f., no. 127 and p. 250f. and Rehm in *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1939, 8, p. 9. For Heracleia in 1 B.C.-A.D. 1 and A.D. 1/2 see *O.G.I.* 459, l. 19f. For Ilium see *I.G.R.* IV 205. For Gaius's altar at Cos see *I.G.R.* IV 1094 (Halasarna). For Mylasa see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 15, no. 4 (probably of his Τύχη). A priest of Gaius is mentioned in a decree (*Inschr. v. Olympia* 53) formerly assigned to Cos but probably from some other city (Herzog in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV [1922], p. 217, note 6). For a cult (with Lucius) at Ephesus see *S.E.G.* IV 521=*Ann. Ép.* 1928, 94 and for a *temenos* at Eresus see *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 124. For sacrifices (?) at Halicarnassus see *I.B.M.* 892. For Καισάρηα named for him at Cos and Sardis see *I.G.R.* IV 1064=*Syll.*[3] 1065 and *Ins. Sardis* 8=*I.G.R.* IV 1756, l. 100. For Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 317 and 465. See also Heinen in *Klio* XI (1911), p. 177. For dedications to Gaius (and Lucius) as ἁγίμων τᾶς νεότατος at Mityltne see *I.G.* XII 2, 164-168=*I.G.R.* IV 66-68 and 79-80; see also Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1932, *Suppl.* p. 15f., no. 7=*Ann. Ép.* 1936, 22. For a statue of him at Camirus on Rhodes see *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII (1932-3), p. 432, no. 52.

42. Suetonius *Tib.* 12 (Samos): Cassius Dio LV 10, 19 (Chios). Samos seems more probable because its *demos* erected a monument to Tiberius as εὐεργέτης; see *R.A.* XXIV (1872), p. 36, no. 1=*I.G.R.* IV 959 (a bad copy)=*A.M.* XLIX (1924), p. 43, dated by the mention of his fifth tribunicial year between 2 B.C. and A.D. 4. The meeting is mentioned also in Velleius Paterculus II 101, 1, where, in keeping with his laudatory attitude toward Tiberius, the author relates that Gaius *omnem honorem ut superiori habuit*. According to Dio, on the other hand, Tiberius acted as a suppliant. Suetonius relates that Gaius was prejudiced against him as the result of the slanderous statements made

by Lollius. For Tiberius's charge that Lollius exercised an evil influence over Gaius see Tacitus *Ann.* III 48, 3. For Archelaus see Cassius Dio LVII 17, 4; the place where he met Gaius is not specified, but, as Gardthausen observed (*Aug.* II p. 727, note 25), it was probably Samos or Chios. For Gaius's visit to Egypt and Syria and the assumption of the consulship see Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 1136f. He appears as Consul in *I.G.R.* IV 248 (from Assus).

43. Cassius Dio LV 9, 4: Tacitus *Ann.* II 3, 5. The date of Tigranes's death is uncertain. According to Tacitus, *nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit*, but there is no means of determining how long before 6 B.C. his death occurred. The marriage of his son and daughter was recorded by Tacitus, but without mention of their names. These appear, however, on a coin showing their portraits on its two sides, with the legends Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Τιγράνης and Ἐράτω Βασιλέως Τιγράνου Ἀδελφή; the head of Tigranes III is found also on other coins inscribed Βασιλέως Μεγάλου Τιγράνου, with and without the addition of Θεοῦ; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie, etc.* pp. CCV f. and 216 (but see above note 25). Still another coin bears on its two sides the portraits of Tigranes III and Augustus with their names; see Head *H.N.*[2] p. 755: Dessau *G.R.K.* I p. 363f.: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 273f.: Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 980. For Artavasdes (*non sine clade nostra deiectus*) see Tacitus *Ann.* II 4, 1 and Cassius Dio LV 10, 20 (where he is called Ἀρταβάζης). Augustus's dissatisfaction with the rule of Tigranes III is usually explained on the ground that he was the Parthians' candidate for the throne and too submissive to their influence. In any case, he was aided by Parthian troops after Augustus made Artavasdes king; see Velleius Paterculus II 100, 1 and Cassius Dio LV 10, 18.

44. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 2, 4, § 39f. See also Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 264f. and N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia* (Chicago 1938), p. 143f. The earliest coins of Phraataces (Phraates V) are dated in 310 Seleucid = 2/1 B.C.; see *B. M. Cat. Parthia*, pp. XL and 136 and R. H. McDowell *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1935), pp. 147f. (for the era) and 187.

45. Cassius Dio LV 10, 20f. Gardthausen (*Aug.* I pp. 1131, 1139f. and 1142), regarding this Tigranes as a different person from Tigranes III, the husband of Erato, called him Tigranes IV, and, suggesting that he was a son of Artaxias (see above p. 476), identified him with the Tigranes described in Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 27 as *ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus*. But, apart from the probability that this Tigranes was not made king until about A.D. 10 (see below note 50), the order of events as narrated by Dio, namely, the request of Tigranes to Augustus and the death of Tigranes ἐκ πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ with the resignation of Erato (LV 10 a, 5), seems to show that the same man (*i.e.* Tigranes III) is meant in both passages. The coin of Tigranes III which bears also the head of Augustus (see above note 43) may well have been issued after his submission.

46. Velleius Paterculus II 101, 1f.: Cassius Dio LV 10 a, 4. For the disgrace and death of Lollius see Velleius Paterculus II 102, 1 and Pliny *N.H.* IX 118. The outbreak of hostilities in Armenia before the end of A.D. 1 is suggested by the wording of a decree of Pisa (the *Cenotaphium Pisanum, C.I.L.* XI 1421 = Dessau 140), but, as Anderson observed (*C.A.H.* X p. 276, note 3), it is evident from Velleius Paterculus II 102, 2 that Gaius did not go to Armenia until after the conference with Phraataces, and this was dated by Gardthausen (*Aug.* II p. 752), followed by Anderson (p. 275, note 3), in the spring of A.D. 2 on the somewhat uncertain ground that Tiberius, who would not have delayed to return to Rome on obtaining Gaius's consent after the fall of Lollius (Suetonius *Tib.* 13), came back to the city shortly before Lucius Caesar died on 20 Aug., A.D. 2 (Velleius Paterculus II 103, 1 and Dio LV 10 a, 10 = Zonaras X 36).

47. For Ariobarzanes, son of Artavasdes (see Chap. XVIII note 42), see Augustus *Res Gest.* cc. 27 and 33: Tacitus *Ann.* II 4, 2: Cassius Dio LV 10 a, 5. See also Mommsen *Res Gest. Div. Aug.*[2] p. 114f.

48. Velleius Paterculus II 102, 2f.: Cassius Dio LV 10 a, 6f.: Florus II 32: Festus *Brev.* 19: *C.I.L.* I[2] p. 62 = IX 5290. For Artagira (Ἀρταγῆραι) see also Strabo XI p. 529. For Gaius's death on 21 Feb., A.D. 4 see Tacitus *Ann.* I 3, 3: *C.I.L.* XI 1421 = Dessau 140 (*Cenotaphium Pisanum*): *C.I.L.* I[2] p. 68 = XIV 2801 (*Fasti Gabini*).

49. Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 27: Tacitus *Ann.* II 4, 3: Cassius Dio LV 10 a, 7 (where he is called Ἀρτάβαζος). His submission to Rome is illustrated by a coin which bears the portrait of Augustus with the legend Θεοῦ Καίσαρος Εὐεργέτου and on the reverse the head of a man wearing a diadem and the legend Βασιλέως Μεγάλου Ἀρτανάξδου; see *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xlii and 101 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 755.

50. Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 27. The view of Mommsen (*Res Gest. Div. Aug.*[2] p. 115f.) that he is to be identified with Tigranes, son of Alexander and Glaphyra, who is called varyingly βασιλεύων Ἀρμενίας and (more correctly) *Armenia quondam potitus* and was put to death in Rome in A.D. 36 (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVII 1, 1f., § 11f. and XVIII 5, 4, § 139: Tacitus *Ann.* VI 40, 2), has found wide acceptance; see, *e.g. P.I.R.* III p. 318, no. 149: Asdourian *ibid.* p. 79, note 5: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 277: Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 980. Unfortunately, the references to Tigranes IV do not make it possible to determine definitely the date of his rule over Armenia. Since Alexander and Glaphyra were married not earlier than 17 B.C. (see W. Otto in *R.E. Suppl.* II 128), it is difficult to suppose that their son was made king of Armenia before A.D. 10, and the beginning of his reign was placed in this year by Mommsen. Since the Parthian prince Vonones seems to have tried to establish himself in Armenia about A.D. 12/13 (see note 51), Tigranes evidently reigned only a short time; as he is not mentioned in Tacitus's summary, the attempt to restore Erato to power may have preceded his rule. For a theory that Tigranes

was supported by his grandfather Archelaus against Vonones see Chap. XXI note 1.

51. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 2, 4, § 46f.: Tacitus *Ann.* II 4, 4; 58. See also Debevoise, p. 151f. The first extant coin of Vonones as Parthian king is dated in 320 Seleucid = A.D. 9/10 and his last in 323 = A.D. 12/13; see *B. M. Cat. Parthia*, pp. xlii f. and 143 and R. H. McDowell *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 147f. and 187. His stay in Armenia did not last long, for he surrendered to Silanus, governor of Syria, in A.D. 15 or 16; see Tacitus and Josephus *ll. cc.*

52. For Pythodoris see Strabo XI p. 499; XII pp. 555f., 557 and 560; XIV p. 649: Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 265f. For her titles Βασίλισσα and Philometor see *I.G.* II² 3433 = *O.G.I.* 376: Mommsen *ibid.* p. 265, note 2, citing *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 193 (at Cos, unpublished): *I.G.R.* IV 144 and 1407 = *O.G.I.* 377 (inscriptions of her daughter Antonia Tryphaena at Cyzicus and her son Zeno at Smyrna). For her coins, with the dates ἔτους ξ′ and ἔτους ξγ′ see *Receuil* I² p. 21f. The fact that those inscribed ἔτους ξ′ bear the portraits of both Augustus and Tiberius suggests that this year was A.D. 14 and that the date was reckoned by an era beginning in 47 B.C., but the appearance of the head of Augustus on the coin dated ἔτους ξγ′ renders this uncertain; see *Receuil* I² p. 9, note 1. For the annexation of Sebasteia, whose era began between 2/1 B.C. and A.D. 1/2, and that of Amaseia in 3/2 B.C. and for Pythodoris's probable possession of part of Zelitis see Chap. XVIII note 25 and Chap. XIX note 49.

53. Strabo XII p. 556. For an attempt to identify him with M. Antonius Polemo, *archiereus* of Olba and dynast of the neighbouring country, see Chap. XXIII note 26. For Tryphaena see Chap. XXI note 51 and for Zeno see Chap. XXI note 20. The relationship of Pythodoris to Polemo, son of Zeno, of Laodiceia, who was priest of Roma and Augustus (after 2 B.C.) at Cyme in Aeolis (*I.G.R.* IV 1302, l. 55f.) is unknown.

54. Strabo XII p. 556. The date of the marriage is unknown; it may have taken place about the time when Amaseia and Sebasteia were annexed to the Galatian province.

55. Cassius Dio LVI 27, 2 (A.D. 12), where Boissevain read Σάμου for the Mss. Σαρδοῦς. For Rhodes and Lesbos (Mitylene) as places of residence for exiles see Chap. IV note 74.

56. Suetonius *Aug.* 49. For the *cursus publicus* under Augustus see also Mommsen *R. St. R.* II³ p. 1029f.: Gardthausen *Aug.* I p. 992f.: Seeck in *R.E.* IV 1847f.: O. Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 190f.: Friedländer *Sittengesch. Roms*⁹⁻¹⁰ I p. 330f.: E. J. Holmberg *Zur Gesch. d. Cursus Publicus* (Uppsala 1933), p. 37f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 141: H. G. Pflaum (anonymously) *Essai sur le Cursus Publicus sous le Haut-Emp. Rom.* in *Mém. présent. par*

divers Savants à l'Acad. d. Inscrs. et B.-L. XIV 1 (1940), p. 210f. For passes (*diplomata*) see Seneca *de Clem.* I 10, 3: Tacitus *Hist.* II 54: Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 64 and 120-21: Plutarch *Galba* 8, 4; *Otho* 3, 2: Script. Hist. Aug. *Vit. Pert.* 1, 6: *O.G.I.* 665, l. 25. For the burden to the cities see *C.I.L.* III 7251 = Dessau 214 (an edict of Claudius). For Hadrian's reorganization and Severus's transfer to the fiscus see Chap. XXVI note 58.

57. *C.I.L.* III 7113 = *I.G.R.* IV 1597 (after 2 B.C.), found near Metropolis in Ionia. It was connected with the building of a road by Keil and von Premerstein (III p. 111). For road-construction in the senatorial provinces by the emperors from Claudius onward see Chap. XXIII note 22.

58. *S.E.G.* IX 8, V (the fifth of Augustus's edicts found in Cyrene); see also Anderson in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), pp. 36f. and 43f. and von Premerstein in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLVIII (1928), p. 428f. This procedure seems to have been still used in the case of Granius Marcellus in A.D. 15 (Tacitus *Ann.* I 74, 7, see Chap. XXI note 32), but in the other two cases of prosecutions of provincial governors for *repetundae* cited by Mommsen in *R.St.R.* II^3 p. 122, note 4 (both under Trajan) a different form was used; see Chap. XXV note 17.

59. Cassius Dio LII 23, 1; LIII 15, 4f. See Mommsen *R.St.R.* I^3 p. 302f. For the salary of 250,000 drachmae paid to the proconsul of Africa in A.D. 217 see Cassius Dio LXXVIII 22, 5.

60. Seneca *de Ira* II 5, 5: Seneca Rhetor *Contr.* VII 6, 22: Tacitus *Ann.* III 68, 1. For his career see *P.I.R.* III p. 371f., no. 96, where the suggestion of Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 108) that he was proconsul of Asia about A.D. 11/12 was accepted. For his father, Potitus Valerius Messalla, Consul suffectus in 32 or 29 B.C., see *P.I.R.* III p. 370, no. 94. He was honoured as "patron and benefactor" at both Didyma and Magnesia-near-Sipylus; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, I p. 69, no. 2 = *Ann. Ép.* 1912, 135 and *I.G.R.* IV 1338 = *O.G.I.* 460. He was probably the Potitus Vale[rius Messalla] who appears as [*procos. prov.*] *Asiae bis* in *C.I.L.* VI 37075 = Dessau 8964 and perhaps the M. Valerius Messalla honoured (without title) by the *demos* of Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 431). On the other hand, it was pointed out in *P.I.R.* III p. 372 that the proconsul of Asia, Messalla, mentioned in *O.G.I.* 494 = Dessau 8860 (from Didyma), was of a later period (not earlier than the time of Claudius).

61. *I.G.R.* IV 963 = *O.G.I.* 469 (Samos), where he appears as τὸ τρὶς ἀνθύπατος, ἥρως, εὐεργέτης: L.W. 103 = *I.G.R.* IV 1564 (Teos), an inscription of his brother A. Vibius Habitus, in which Postumus appears as ὁ τῆς πόλεως εὐεργέτης: *Ins. Magn.* 152, an inscription honouring his brother Q. Modius. Since Postumus was Consul suffectus in A.D. 5, his proconsulship presumably followed that of Messalla Volesus (Consul ordinarius); it was tentatively placed in 13-16 by Diehl and Holleaux in *B.C.H.* VIII (1884), p. 468, followed in *P.I.R.* III p. 423, no. 392.

62. See O. Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 70f.: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VI 2387f. and *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 50 and 81: H. Mattingly *Imp. Civil Service of Rome* (Cambridge 1910), p. 28f.: A. N. Sherwin-White in *Papers Brit. School Rome* XV (1939), p. 14f. For the view that the procurator was merely the personal agent of the emperor see Hirschfeld, p. 411f. For the procurator in an imperial province see above p. 446, and for the employment under Claudius of freedmen in procuratorships and other imperial posts see above p. 541. For Pompeius Macer, the son of Theophanes of Mitylene (see Chap. XV note 28), see Strabo XIII p. 618, where he is said to have been τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτροπος and "now among the foremost of Tiberius's friends." His name appears in the text of Strabo as Μάρκον Πομπήϊον and this has usually been emended to Μάκρον and he himself identified with Pompeius Macer, to whom, according to Suetonius *Jul.* 56, 7, Augustus assigned the care of his libraries; see *P.I.R.* III p. 67f., no. 472. It was pointed out, however, by Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gött. Gel. Nachr., phil-hist. Kl.*, I *Fachgruppe* I (1934-36), p. 109f. that there is no reason for emending the text of Strabo, since the younger son of Theophanes may well have been named M. Pompeius, the older being [Gn]aeus Pomp[ei]us [Theophanes], described as ὕπαρχος of Augustus in *Ins. Priene* 247. Von Hiller suggested that this Marcus may have been adopted by a Pompeius Macer and that in this way the cognomen Macrinus may have come to his descendants (see *P.I.R.* III p. 67), including M. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes, quaestor pro praetore of Bithynia-Pontus (*I.G.* XII 2, 235 = *I.G.R.* IV 96) and legatus pro praetore of Cilicia under Trajan (*J.O.A.I.* XV [1912], p. 207f.). For Lucilius Capito see Tacitus *Ann.* IV 15, 3 and Cassius Dio LVII 23, 4 and Chap. XXI note 34. His powers were limited to *servitia et pecunias familiares* (*τὰ αὐτοκρατορικὰ χρήματα*). Similarly, the property under the charge of a procurator of Nero in Asia is called *res familiaris principis* in Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 1, 3. The view of Hirschfeld (p. 70f.) that under Tiberius part of the tribute from the senatorial provinces accrued to the emperor must be regarded as doubtful; for the statement of Tacitus *Ann.* II 47, 3 (see Chap. XXI note 23) that in A.D. 17 Tiberius remitted to the people of Sardis *quantum aerario aut fisco pendebant* does not necessarily refer to the direct taxes but may equally well denote imperial revenues supervised by the procurator; likewise the fact that at Cibyra under Claudius an imperial official is described as *πράσσων τὴν πόλιν* (see *I.G.R.* IV 914 and Chap. XXIII note 7) cannot be regarded as a proof of this view, since there is reason for supposing that Cibyra was temporarily attached to the imperial province of Lycia-Pamphylia (see Chap. XXII note 49). For procurators of Bithynia-Pontus under Claudius see Chap. XXIII note 4. For the development of the procuratorial system (including a procurator of quarries) under the Flavian emperors and Trajan see above p. 568.

63. Ἔτος τῆς ἀποθεώσεως; see *I.G.R.* IV 1726 and 1732. This era seems to be used also in *I.G.R.* IV 966 = 1704, l. 4, although it does not bear this name; see M. Schede in *A.M.* XLIV (1919), p. 39f.

CHAPTER XXI

1. Tacitus *Ann.* II 42, 2f.: Suetonius *Tib.* 37, 4: Cassius Dio LVII 17, 3f. In the narratives of both Tacitus and Dio the summoning of Archelaus to Rome and his trial and death are placed together among the events of A.D. 17. The summons, however, according to Tacitus, was issued *ut . . . (Tiberius) imperium adeptus est*, and, as was observed by W. E. Gwatkin *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province=Univ. of Missouri Studies* V 4 (1930), p. 7f., the events are arranged in such a way as to bring them into close connexion with the appointment of Germanicus as vice-gerent of the East (see below note 16). The charge against Archelaus, according to Dio, was *νεωτερίζων τι*, a vague statement which, nevertheless, is in agreement with the statement in Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* I 12, 2 that a certain official in Cilicia was put to death *ὡς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ . . . νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττων*. The suggestion was made by Gwatkin (p. 9f.) that these treasonable activities of Archelaus consisted in supporting his grandson Tigranes IV (see Chap. XX note 50) against the Romanized Parthian prince Vonones as a candidate for the throne of Armenia; this view was accepted by Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 744, note 4 and R. S. Rogers *Criminal Trials and Criminal Legislation under Tiberius* (Middletown, Conn. 1935), p. 25f.

2. Strabo XII p. 534: Tacitus *Ann.* II 42, 6 and 56, 4: Cassius Dio LVII 17, 7: Velleius Paterculus II 39, 3: Suetonius *Tib.* 37; *Cal.* 1: Eutropius VII 11, 2: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 2, 3: *Epit. de Caess.* 2, 8. For the boundaries of Cappadocia see Chap. IX note 2 and for its area (85,800 sq.km.) see K. J. Beloch *Bevölkerung d. Griech.-Röm. Welt*, p. 223.

3. For the roads in Cappadocia see Ruge in *Hist. Beitr. C. Wachsmuth gewidmet* (Leipzig 1897), p. 21f. and *R.E.* X 1913f. (where his earlier view with regard to the Melitene road was retracted). For the route from Coropassus in Lycaonia by way of Garsaoura-Archelais (Aksaray) and Mazaca to Tomisa see Strabo XIV p. 663 (from Artemidorus) and Chap. II note 18. The stations Soandus and Sadacora, between Garsaoura and Mazaca, and Herpha (or Herpa, in the *strategia* of Sargarausene, see Strabo XII pp. 537 and 539), between Mazaca and the Euphrates, cannot be identified with certainty. For the section of the Roman road between Mazaca-Caesareia and Comana (Şar) see *Itin. Ant.* 179f. and for this entire road from Mazaca to Melitene see *Itin. Ant.* 210f. A route from Mazaca to Melitene appears also on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* X 3-XI 2 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 733f.); but since this has only the stations Arasaxa (probably Zerezek, about 23 miles east of Mazaca, see Jalabert in *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] [1908], p. 460) and Comana in common with the route in the *Itinerarium Antonini* and since the total mileage is much greater than in the latter, it seems evident, as supposed by Ruge (*R.E.* X 1915), that it followed a course different from that of the military road listed in the *Itinerarium*. For this road see Hogarth in *Royal Geogr. Soc. Suppl. Papers* III (1893), p. 675f., who recorded the milestones,

erected by the emperors from Severus to Diocletian and numbered from Melitene, and the remains of the embankment and the bridges: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 27f.: Murray's *Handbook for Asia Minor*, p. 269f. From Zerezek the road led eastward across the Zamanti Su and then turned toward the south over the mountains, probably by the pass of Kuru Çay, near the southern end of which are milestones of Severus and Maximinus Thrax (no. CLIII); see *C.I.L.* III 6950 and 6952 and, for their location, 12208 and Hogarth, p. 690. From here it went on to Kemer, which seems to have been a junction for Comana, five miles to the west, for a milestone, no. IV from Comana, has been found in situ near the village; see *C.I.L.* III 6953 = 12210. At Comana *C.I.L.* III 6951 has been found, and at Kemer or in the neighbourhood, *C.I.L.* III 6954-55 = 12211-12 (no. CLII), 12203 (no. CL), 12204-05 (no. CLI) and 12206. From Kemer the road led southward to Göksun (probably Cocusus, see Ruge in *R.E.* XI 1065) at the southern end of the range of Bimboğa Dağ. On this section were found *C.I.L.* III 6942-6949 (= *I.G.R.* III 131) and 12194-12202 and 12207, nos. CXXXVI, CXXXVIII, CXLIV and CXLIX. At Göksun or in the neighbourhood are *C.I.L.* III 6930, 6931, 6933-6938, 6940 and 12186-12193, nos. CXXV, CXXX, CXXXII, CXXXIII, CXXXIV and CXLI. From Göksun the road, rounding the southern end of the Bimboğa Dağ, led toward the northeast high above the left bank of a tributary of the Ceyhan (Pyramus) to Yarpuz (perhaps Arabissus, see *Itin. Ant.* 210, 11 and *R.E.* II 364f.). On this section are *C.I.L.* III 6910-6929, 6932, 6936-6937 and 12171-12185 and *Mél. Beyrouth* III[1] (1908), p. 458, no. 27, nos. CXIV, CXV, CXVIII, CXX, CXXII and CXXV. At Yarpuz are *C.I.L.* III 6908 and 6909. From Yarpuz the road continued eastward (milestones *C.I.L.* III 6906 = 12169, 6907 and 12170) to Izgin, on one of the streams which unite to form the Ceyhan, with milestones *C.I.L.* III 6904, 6905 = 12168, and thence to Elbistan, where *C.I.L.* III 12162 (no. LVIII) and 12163-12167 were found. Beyond Elbistan two milestones with illegible inscriptions have been found at Demirci and there are remains of an ancient bridge across the Söğütlü Su, two miles farther upstream (Hogarth, p. 686). From this point onward, however, there are no traces of the road. It was supposed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 273f.), followed by Hogarth (p. 687), that from the upper Söğütlü Su, it crossed the mountains to Akçadağ, southwest of Melitene, thus avoiding the difficult pass over which runs the modern route (*P.A.S.* II p. 298f. and Murray, p. 271).

For the "Pilgrims' Road" through Galatia to Parnassus on the border of Cappadocia see Chap. XIX note 9. From here it continued southeastward, east of Lake Tatta, to Garsaoura-Archelais and Tyana; see *Itin. Ant.* 144f. and *Itin. Hieros.* 576f. Milestones of Diocletian and Constantine have been found at Archelais, *C.I.L.* III 14186 and 14187, the former of which is inscribed *a Co. milia IIX*. The abbreviation was read *Co(manis)* by Mommsen, but it was pointed out by Ramsay in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 127, no. 48 and *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 101, note 2 that the location is too far from Comana to make this permissible and that *Co(lonia), i.e.* Archelais, made a colony by Claudius (see Chap. XXIII note 21), should be read. For the route from Mazaca-Caesareia to Tyana see Anderson, p. 30, and for a milestone of

Trajan (no. XXX from Mazaca) see *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* I (1908), p. 8. For the road from Tyana to the Cilician Gates see Chap. XI note 36. For the roads from Mazaca to Parnassus and Tavium see Chap. XIX note 9. For the road to Sebasteia see *Itin. Ant.* 179, 206 and 214 and *Tab. Peut.* X 3-4 (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 729f.), showing, with the exception of Armaxa (Armaza), different lists of stations, none of which can be definitely identified; see also Ramsay *H.G.* p. 270 and Anderson *ibid.* p. 31.

4. For the resources of Cappadocia see Gwatkin *ibid.* p. 21f. For the wine and olives of Melitene see Strabo XII p. 535. For the fertility of this region in modern times see *P.A.S.* II p. 300: E. Naumann *Vom Goldnen Horn z. d. Quellen d. Euphrat* (Munich 1893), p. 257f.: V. W. Yorke in *Geogr. Journ.* VIII (1896), p. 325f. For Cataonia see Strabo XII pp. 535-7: Nepos *Datames* 4, 1, The "broad hollowed plain" mentioned by Strabo is evidently the plain of Elbistan (see *P.A.S.* II p. 299), in which the Pyramus is formed (see above note 3). For the Antitaurus and the gorges of the Tohma Su see *P.A.S.* II pp. 233, 239 and 301f. and Naumann, p. 241f. For the gorges of the Pyramus and the Sarus see Chap. XI note 27. For western Cappadocia see Naumann, p. 190f.: Oberhummer and Zimmerer *Durch Syrien u. Kleinasien* (Berlin 1899), pp. 158, 172f. and 220f.: H. Rott *Kleinas. Denkmäler*, pp. 102 and 170. For the grain see Strabo XII p. 539 and for the storing of it see Varro *Res Rust.* I 57, 2: Pliny *N.H.* XVIII 306: Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* VIII 11, 5. For the use of this method in western Cappadocia in modern times see Oberhummer and Zimmerer, pp. 143 and 166. King Archelaus is named by Pliny as one of his sources for *N.H.* XVIII (on grain).

5. For the cattle-breeding see Strabo XII p. 539 and Oberhummer and Zimmerer, p. 223. For the grass in the region of Mazaca see Strabo XII p. 538. Archelaus's work on stock-breeding is cited by Pliny among his sources for *N.H.* VIII. For the tribute paid to the Persians see Strabo XI p. 525. The "Cilicians" who, according to Herodotus III 90, supplied the Persian king with 360 white horses annually were perhaps Cappadocians. For horses and mules see also Ps.-Aristotle *de Mir. Ausc.* 69: Solinus 45, 5: Vegetius *Mulomed.* III 6, 4: Gwatkin, p. 22. Gwatkin inferred (p. 21) from the statement in Strabo XII p. 546 that fine wool was scarce in Cappadocia that sheep were no longer bred in large numbers.

6. For the alabaster see Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 61. For alabaster found near Ürgüp, west of Kayseri, see Oberhummer and Zimmerer, p. 135 and Rott, p. 204. For the translucent *phengites* see Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 163. This was probably the translucent yellow stone which was seen by Hamilton (*Researches* II p. 265) and Rott (p. 192) in the windows of the monastery-church at Yanartaş, northeast of Kayseri. For the crystal and onyx see Strabo XII p. 540; the "white stone, like ivory in colour," of which sword-handles were made has not been identified. For the mica (*lapis specularis*) see Pliny *N.H.* XXXVI 160. It was perhaps the substance used for διόπτραι, which is mentioned by Strabo (*l.c.*), and similar to the διοπτρίτης λίθος, apparently used for

window-panes, which is listed in *Pap. Holmiensis* 3, 39 (edited by O. Lagercrantz, Uppsala 1913). For the mines in the Taurus see Chap. XV note 47. For the silver coins minted at Caesareia by the Julio-Claudian emperors from A.D. 32 onward see Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* I p. xxv: Mattingly-Sydenham I pp. 103f., 115, 128 and 144f.: Gwatkin, p. 24f.: Sydenham *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia* (London 1933), p. 2f.

7. Strabo XII pp. 533f., where the original ten *στρατηγίαι*, enumerated from east to west, are divided into five southern, *i.e.* Melitene, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis and Garsaouritis, and five northern, Laviansene, Sargarausene, Saravene, Chamanene and Morimene. These names appear also in Ptolemy V 6, 11f., and some of them in Pliny *N.H.* VI 9. An inscription (*O.G.I.* 364), evidently of the royal period, honours a priest of the temple at Comana who was also *strategos* of Cataonia. Since the place called Ariamneia, the *strategos* of which is mentioned in a bilingual (Greek and Aramaic) inscription at Faraşa on the Zamanti Su (*C.R.A.I.* 1908, p. 438f.), was not one of the *στρατηγίαι* into which the kingdom was divided, it may be supposed that it was one of the *φρούρια* mentioned by Strabo p. 537 (see Chap. IX note 6), placed here to guard the crossing of the river.

8. Strabo XII p. 537f., where the two cities are called Εὐσέβεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαίῳ (Mazaca) and Εὐσέβεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ (Tyana). For their respective situations see Chap. IX notes 3 and 4. It is possible that they received their new names from Ariarathes IV Eusebes, but it seems more probable that these were given by his son, the associate of Attalus II of Pergamum and, like him, a citizen of Athens (see Chap. IX note 8). For bronze coins of Mazaca bearing the legend Εὐσεβείας and (frequently) a representation of Mt. Argaeus see *Coll. Wadd.* 6723f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* VIII (1898), p. 1f.: *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 45f. Tyana was evidently a place of importance in the third century, when coins bearing its name were issued by Ariaramnes, ruler of Cappadocia (ca. 250-225), and by a certain Ariarathes, perhaps a local dynast who preceded him as lord of the place; see Regling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XLII (1935), p. 4f., nos. 5-8. For a list of gymnasiarchs dedicated to Ariarathes VI Epiphanes by a former gymnasiarch and agonothete of the contests in honour of Hermes and Heracles see *S.E.G.* I 466. For a decree of the *demos* in honour of certain "friends" of one of the kings of the dynasty of Ariobarzanes, who are described as [γεγονό]τες δὲ καὶ [ἐπὶ τῆ]ς πόλεως, *i.e.* royal governors (see Chap. V note 1), see Rott *ibid.* p. 370, no. 78. For a coin of Tyana issued under Nero see Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* XXIII (1924), p. 359, no. 466, and for mention of the *demos* in the Roman period see *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 210, no. 1. City-rights seem also to have been possessed by a *πολίτευμα* called Anisa, which, apparently in the first century before Christ, had a Council and People, an archon and *prytaneis*, as well as an eponymous *demiourgos*, a *hierokeryx* and festivals in honour of Zeus Soter and Heracles; see *M.B. Berl. Akad.* 1880, p. 646f. = Curtius *Ges. Abh.* II p. 429f. = Michel 546, a decree found near Gemerek, northeast of Kayseri on the road to Sivas (see Grégoire in *Rev. de l'Instr.*

publ. en Belgique LII [1909], p. 149f.), dated ἔτους ζ′ (of an unknown era) and honouring a certain Apollonius, who went to Eusebeia (presumably Mazaca) and there obtained for his city the estate of a man who had died intestate. See also Cumont in *R.E.A.* XXXIV (1932), p. 135f.: Regling *ibid.* p. 11f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 176. This is presumably the Anisa whose name appears on a coin (Regling, p. 10f., no. 11) issued perhaps by a local ruler before the time of Ariaramnes. It would appear either that Strabo was mistaken in his belief that there were only two *poleis* in Cappadocia or that by his time Anisa had ceased to have a government of its own. The statement of Strabo (XII p. 539) that the people of Mazaca used the laws of Charondas seems to indicate that the city had a certain degree of autonomy. The decree of Anisa, however, mentions officials at Eusebeia called ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως and ἀρχιδιοικήτης, the former of whom was more probably the royal governor than, as supposed by Jones (*l.c.*), "the prefect of Anisa who resided in Eusebeia"; for it is difficult to understand why Anisa should have had an absentee prefect. Jones pointed out (p. 181) that Ariaratheia, founded by one of the kings (Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*), which was in the *strategia* of Sargarausene (Ptolemy V 6, 12) on the roads between Sebasteia and Cocusus and between Nicopolis and Arabissus (*Itin. Ant.* 181, 212 and 213) and was placed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 310) at Aziziye (Pınarbaşi) on the Zamantı Su, probably had city-rights in the second and first centuries before Christ; for the ethnicum Ἀριαραθεύς appears in inscriptions from Athens and Samos (*I.G.* II² 980 and *Cl. Rev.* XIII [1899], p. 79); see also Robert *Hellenica* II (1946), p. 84f.

9. According to Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 147 Schöne=Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 172 Helm and Eutropius VII 11, 2, Mazaca was renamed Caesareia by Tiberius, according to Sozomenus *Hist. Eccl.* V 4 by Claudius. But since the latest known coin with the name Εὐσεβείας bears the date (ἔτους) κε′ and the earliest known coin inscribed Καισαρείας is dated κη′, both, apparently, according to the regnal years of Archelaus, reckoned from 37/6 B.C., the change of the name must be placed between 13/12 and 10/9 B.C.; see Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* VIII pp. 10 and 13f. and *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. XXXV. The fact that Strabo never refers to the city as Caesareia can be explained by the supposition that he used a source which antedated the change of name; for even if the view be accepted that his work, except for a few later corrections, was written before 2 B.C. (see Anderson in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 2f.), it seems very improbable that he did not know the city's new name. The name appears as Καισάρεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαίῳ in inscriptions, probably of the second and third centuries (*I.G.R.* IV 1588 and 1645), and on bronze coins of Hadrian and the Antonines (*B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 63f., nos. 147, 148 and 156f.). For Garsaoura (Aksaray, about 25 miles southeast of Lake Tatta) see F. Sarre *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 93. It is called a κωμόπολις and a πολίχνιον in Strabo XII pp. 537 and 568 and XIV 663 (from Artemidorus), although in the first of these passages the author adds that it was said to have once been a "metropolis of the region." As no coins of the city are known, it is impossible to determine the time when its name was changed

to Archelais; this name appears for the first time in Pliny *N.H.* VI 8. The fact that Strabo knew only the old name Garsaoura might indicate that its re-foundation took place after 2 B.C., did not the author also fail to call Mazaca-Eusebeia by its new name Caesareia. For the foundation of the colony see Chap. XXIII note 21. For the inscription honouring Archelaus by the *demos* of Comana see *O.G.I.* 358. The Council and People appear in inscriptions in which the city is called Hieropolis (*I.G.R.* III 121, 122 and 125, *P.A.S.* II no. 262 and *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 400 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 141 = 1939, 27) or Hierapolis (*Mél. Beyrouth* V[1] [1911], p. 319, no. 13). Πρυτάνεις are mentioned in *I.G.R.* III 121 and 125 and *Anat. Stud. Ramsay l.c.* It was supposed by Gwatkin (p. 28) and by Jones (*Cities*, p. 180f. and *Greek City*, p. 82) that Comana received city-rights from Archelaus and by Jones that they were granted to Archelais also. Anderson, however, pointed out (*Cl. Rev.* XLV [1931], p. 189) that there is no evidence that Strabo regarded Archelais as a *polis*, and that although Comana had a *demos* in the time of the King (see above) and was described as a πόλις ἀξιόλογος by Strabo (XII p. 535), the word *demos* was frequently applied to any organized community and the term *polis* is presumably not used here in the technical sense, for there is no evidence before A.D. 79/80 that Comana had a Council and People.

10. See Chap. XX note 24. With regard to the disposition of this part of Armenia Minor we have, in fact, no knowledge until the region was given in A.D. 38 to Cotys, grandson of Polemo I and Pythodoris (see below note 53).

11. Tacitus *Ann.* VI 41, 1 (A.D. 36), where he is referred to as *rex*. On the base of a statue erected to him in Athens by the *demos* (*I.G.* II[2] 3434 = *O.G.I.* 362) he is described merely as Βασιλέως Ἀρχελάου υἱὸς Ἀρχέλαος. For Derbe and Laranda see Chap. XX note 24.

12. For coins bearing the legend Αἴαντος Τεύκρου Ἀρχιερέως Τοπάρχου Κεννατῶν καὶ Λαλασσέων see Hill in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1899), p. 189f., nos. 1-13 and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lii f. and 119f. The portrait is that of a young man, not over thirty years of age, so that he cannot be supposed to have been Aba's son. Of his coins, nos. 3 and 8, of his first and second regnal years, bear the head of Augustus, while nos. 12 and 13, of his fifth year, bear that of Tiberius; he succeeded to power, therefore, in A.D. 10 at the earliest, and he was probably the priest whose name led Strabo to remark (XIV p. 672) that most of the priests were called either Teucer or Aias (see Chap. XI note 23). For coins inscribed Ὀλβέων, probably of the late first century before Christ, see *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 119, no. 1 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 479, no. 1, and for the *demos* see *M.A.M.A.* III 68, also probably of this century, in honour of the *archiereus* Zenophanes, son of Teucer (see Chap. XI note 23). The action was taken conjointly with the Καννᾶται, obviously the tribe of which Aias was afterwards toparch. Their name appears also on a coin of Olba issued under Geta, which bears the legend Ὀλβ[έων μητ.] Κενν(ατῶν) (*B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 126, no. 31) and on coins of Diocaesareia, issued under Commodus and Philip, inscribed μητρό(πολις) Κεν-

νατίδ[ος] or Κενναταῶν (*B. M. Cat. ibid.* p. 73f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 4266 and 4272f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 439, no. 4). Since Diocaesareia was the settlement which grew up around the Temple of Zeus of Olba (see Chap. XI note 23), they evidently lived in this neighbourhood. A *koinon* of the Cennatae and Lalasseis issued coins in the late first century after Christ; see Hill *ibid.* p. 186 and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. liv; see also Chap. XXIII note 26. A region called Lalassis in Cilicia is listed in Ptolemy v 7, 6, and an *oppidum* of this name was placed in Isauria by Pliny (*N.H.* v 94). No clue to the situation is given by Pliny, and the fact that Ptolemy included in it a place called Ninica affords no information, for even if the colony of Ninica-Claudiopolis is meant, nothing definite is known concerning its situation (see Chap. XIX note 46). Lalassis was placed by Sterrett (*P.A.S.* III p. 80) in the valley of the upper Ermenek Göksu Çay, the southern branch of the Calycadnus (see Chap. XI note 19). This location, however, based solely on the faint resemblance of the name to that of a modern village called Lahlas (north of Ermenek), is very questionable. It is open, moreover, to the objection that in the time of Galba Lalassis was ruled by the Cilician dynast Polemo (see Chap. XXIII note 26), whereas the region containing Lahlas and Ermenek seems to have been included in the kingdom of Antiochus IV of Commagene, which extended from the coast northward across western Cilicia Aspera into Lycaonia (see below note 49).

13. For the government of an annexed district by a prefect or a procurator see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 247, Marquardt *R.St.V.* I[2] p. 554f. and Ph. Horovitz in *Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* XVII (1938), pp. 53f. and 775f. See also A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 74f., where it was pointed out that this arrangement was primarily due to a desire to obtain the revenues of districts the exploitation of which "was dependent on centralized control." Since the revenues from Cappadocia were assigned to the *militare aerarium* (Tacitus *Ann.* II 42, 6), which was founded by Augustus from his own *patrimonium* (Augustus *Res Gest.* c. 17, see also Cassius Dio LV 24, 9f. and Suetonius *Aug.* 49), it is probable, as Gwatkin observed (*ibid.* p. 20), that the income from the province accrued to the *patrimonium*. For the government of Cappadocia (until the time of Vespasian) by a procurator of Equestrian rank see Cassius Dio LVII 17, 7 and Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 4. The first known procurator-governor was Julius Paelignus in A.D. 51 (Tacitus *Ann.* XII 49, 1, see above p. 551f.).

14. For the death of Antiochus III and of Philopator in 17 or a short time previously see Tacitus *Ann.* II 42, 7. For Commagene see also Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 2, 5, § 53. For Augustus's appointment of Mithradates III see Chap. XX note 23. Antiochus III was presumably the [Βασιλεὺς] Ἀντίοχος [Βασιλέ]ως Μιθριδάτου [υἱός] honoured in *I.G.* II[2] 3444 = *O.G.I.* 406. For the appointment, in 20 B.C., of a king of the Amanus called Tarcondimotus, who was perhaps this king Philopator, see Chap. XX note 22. This monarch is evidently the king whose name appears as Βασιλέως Φιλοπάτορος on a coin which seems to have been issued at Castabala (*Coll. Wadd.* 4715 and *B. M.*

Cat. Lycaonia, etc. p. 238) and in an inscription from Anazarbus of his freedman in honour of Drusus, the son of Tiberius (*I.G.R.* III 895). For the annexation of Commagene see Strabo XVI p. 749 and Tacitus *Ann.* II 56, 5. For coins with Tiberius's name and portrait issued in Commagene in A.D. 20/1 see *B.M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* I p. 144f. For the restoration of Antiochus's son, Antiochus IV, see below note 49. It was suggested by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 72) that, on the suppression of the kingdom of the Amanus, the cities of Anazarbus and Castabala-Hieropolis "assumed control of their territories" and that one of the rural districts, Bryclice, was "transformed into the city of Augusta." For coins of Anazarbus inscribed Καισαρέων τῶν πρὸς Ἀναζάρβῳ or Καισαρέων under Augustus and from Claudius onward with an era of 19 B.C. see Chap. XX note 18. Augusta, listed under Bryclice in Cilicia by Ptolemy (V 7, 6) and mentioned in Pliny *N.H.* V 93, issued coins inscribed Αὐγουστανῶν with the head of Livia and onward into the later third century, showing an era reckoned from A.D. 20; see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 44f. and *Coll. Wadd.* 4183f. Its situation is unknown, for the proposed site at Sis on a tributary of the Pyramus (Imhoof-Blumer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* X [1883], p. 291) is rendered questionable by the statement of Bent (*J.H.S.* XI [1890], p. 233) that Sis shows no ancient ruins.

15. For Vonones see Chap. XX note 51. For the gift of Armenia by Artabanus III to his son Orodes see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 2, 4, § 52. It has sometimes been supposed that this statement has been wrongly inserted in this place and that it actually refers to A.D. 35, when a son of Artabanus named Orodes was sent by his father to seize Armenia (see above p. 508); see *P.I.R.* I² p. 229f., no. 1155 and II p. 439, no. 102. It was maintained, however, by E. Täubler *Die Parthernachrichten b. Josephus* (Berlin 1904), p. 9f., followed by Debevoise (*Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 153), that this Orodes succeeded Vonones on the latter's flight from Armenia and ruled for a short time in the end of 15 and the beginning of 16, and that two bronze coins of A.D. 15/16, bearing dates reckoned according to the Seleucid Era but no monarch's name, may be attributed to him.

16. Tacitus *Ann.* II 43: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 2, 5, § 54: Suetonius *Cal.* I. For Germanicus in the East see A. Viertel *Tiberius u. Germanicus* (Göttingen 1901), p. 12f.: Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 15f.: F. B. Marsh *The Reign of Tiberius* (Oxford 1931), p. 85f.: Charlesworth and Anderson in *C.A.H.* X pp. 619f. and 744f. For his journey to Asia see Tacitus *Ann.* II 54.

17. For coins of the *Koinon* of Asia with portraits of Germanicus and Drusas and the legend Νέοι Θεοὶ Φιλάδελφοι see *Coll. Wadd.* 5237f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 251f., no. 104f. For the titles of Θεὸς Νέος and Θεὰ Αἰολὶς Καρποφόρος at Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 212 (=Dessau 8788) and 213=*I.G.R.* IV 74 and 75 (inscriptions of their sons); see also *I.G.R.* IV 1300 and *B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 204, no. 193. For a statue of Germanicus at Eresus and of his mother Antonia at Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 540 and 207=*I.G.R.* IV 11 and 73. The titles conferred by the *Koinon* and at Mitylene may not, however, be re-

garded as evidence for the existence of an actual cult in the cities of Asia. A coin of Philadelpheia (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 194f., nos. 51 and 52) bears the name of a ἱερεὺς Γερμανικοῦ, but since it was issued under Gaius, no inference may be drawn as to a cult of Germanicus during his life. The Agrippina Augusta whose priestess appears in an inscription at Tralles (*B.C.H.* v [1881], p. 342, no. 2) was evidently the younger Agrippina.

18. For this city see Chap. XX note 14. Its name appears as Καισάρεια Γερμανική on a coin of Germanicus as κτίστης (*Receuil* I p. 281, no. 1). A coin with the representation of a mountain deity and the legend Ὄλυμπος suggests a situation near Mt. Olympus, and it was presumably the community near Prusa referred to as Καισαρεῖς τούτους in Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLVII 13 (Ruge in *R.E.* III 1288f.). It was tentatively placed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 180f.) on the coast of the Propontis west of Apameia Myrleia, a more probable site than Ulu Abat on Lake Apolloniatis, accepted in *Receuil* I p. 280, since this was in the province of Asia. Coins of Nicomedeia with the portrait and name of Germanicus, dated under the proconsul P. Vitellius (see below note 22), were presumably issued during this visit to Bithynia; see *Receuil* I p. 516, nos. 12 and 13. For Ilium see Tacitus *Ann.* II 54, 3. The statue of Antonia, described as Θεὰ καὶ Εὐεργέτις (*I.G.R.* IV 206 = Dessau 8787) was perhaps erected at this time. For Assus see *I.G.R.* IV 251 = *Syll.*[3] 797, l. 15 (the oath of allegiance to Gaius, see below note 41). For Samos see *I.G.R.* IV 979 and 980. For Notium see Tacitus *Ann.* II 54, 3f. For Priene see *Ins. Priene* 142 II, l. 9; it was pointed out by Rehm (*Milet* I 3, p. 253) that his year of office was probably A.D. 17/18. For Iasus see *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 545, no. 10. For Eumeneia see *I.G.R.* IV 723. For Alabanda see L.W. 550 and *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 543. Coins with the heads of Germanicus and Drusus were issued at Tabae (with the legend Φιλάδελφοι), at Hierapolis and at Tripolis (*Coll. Wadd.* 2630f.: *B. M. Cat. Caria*, p. 167, no. 61: *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 246, no. 111: Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 39, no. 4), and with the head of Germanicus alone at Hypaepa, Sardis, Apameia and Synnada (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 110, no. 15 and p. 253, no. 113: *Coll. Wadd.* 5234f. and 5705: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 398, no. 35: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 293, no. 11).

19. *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII (1932-33), p. 432, no. 51 (Camirus): *T.A.M.* II 420 = *I.G.R.* III 680 (Patara): *I.G.R.* III 715 and 716 (Andriace). The monuments of Drusus, Germanicus's father, of Augustus and Agrippa and of Tiberius at Andriace (*I.G.R.* III 717, 719, and 721 (= 689 + 718, see Robert in *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 181f.) were perhaps erected at this time.

20. Tacitus *Ann.* II 56: Strabo XII p. 556. Before his enthronement a monument was erected to him by the *demos* of Smyrna; see *I.G.R.* IV 1407 = *O.G.I.* 377. For a coin of Germanicus bearing on the obverse the legend *Germanicus, Artaxias* with a representation of the coronation see Mattingly-Sydenham I p. 104, nos. 8 and 9 and Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* I p. 162, no. 104, who suggested (p. cxlviii) that it may have been struck by Gaius in memory of his father, a view rejected by Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 16, note 2).

21. Tacitus *Ann.* II 58, 1f. In response to the Parthians' request that Vonones (see Chap. XX note 51) should be removed from Syria, he was taken to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia, where he was afterward killed in what was said to be an attempt to escape (Tacitus II 68 and Suetonius *Tib.* 49, 2). A rescript of Germanicus to a certain Statilius, presumably the procurator of Syria, ordering that all taxes should be paid in Roman currency, which is quoted in *I.G.R.* III 1056 = *O.G.I.* 629, l. 154f. (the *Lex Portus* of Palmyra of A.D. 137), was probably issued during this stay in Antioch. For Germanicus in Egypt see Tacitus *Ann.* II 59f. and Suetonius *Tib.* 52, 2. Preparations for his visit to Upper Egypt were being made on 26 Jan., A.D. 19; see Wilcken *Chrestomathie*, no. 413. For his death see Tacitus *Ann.* II 69, 3f.: Suetonius *Cal.* 1, 2: Cassius Dio LVII 18, 9: *C.I.L.* I² pp. 249 and 331 (*Fasti Antiates*).

22. Tacitus *Ann.* II 55; 57; 69f.; 74, 2; III 10f.: Cassius Dio LVII 18, 10. For Vitellius see also Suetonius *Vit.* 2, and for his governorship of Bithynia see above note 18. His speech against Piso, which in its published form was known to Pliny (*N.H.* XI 187), may well have been the source of Tacitus's highly rhetorical account both of Piso's enmity toward Germanicus while in Syria and of the latter's death.

23. Strabo XII p. 579; XIII p. 627: Tacitus *Ann.* II 47 (A.D. 17): Velleius Paterculus II 126, 4: Pliny *N.H.* II 200: Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* VI 1, 13: Cassius Dio LVII 17, 7: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 146f. Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 172 Helm. In Tacitus the cities are enumerated as follows: Sardis, Magnesia-near-Sipylus, Temnus, Philadelpheia, Aegae, Apollonis, Mostene, Hyrcanis, Hierocaesareia, Myrina, Cyme, Tmolus. Ephesus is added in Eusebius-Hieronymus. For Cibyra see Tacitus *Ann.* IV 13, 1 (A.D. 23). For its new era (ἔτος τῆς κτίσεως) see *I.G.R.* IV 915 and *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897), 1 p. 5, no. 14. The year from which it was reckoned is shown to be A.D. 24/5 by a coin of Macrinus dated ϛϘρ΄; see *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 140, no. 53 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 253. Nevertheless, Claudius is called κτίστης τῆς πόλεως in *I.G.R.* IV 902. This era seems to have been used in other places in the neighbourhood; see *C.I.G.* 4380 v: *I.G.R.* IV 889 and 897: Ramsay *C.B.* 1 p. 273, no. 193 (= *I.G.R.* III 477) and p. 304, no. 99. The granting of aid to the cities was celebrated by a coin, issued in Rome in A.D. 22, with the legend *Civitatibus Asiae Restitutis*; see Mattingly-Sydenham 1 p. 105, no. 19. For the name Caesareia borne by Bageis, Mostene and Sardis on coins of Tiberius or later emperors see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, pp. 46, 101f. and 136f.: *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, pp. 30 and 162: Sardis XI 1, p. 29, no. 279. For Sardis see also *Ins. Sardis* 39 = *I.G.R.* IV 1502 = *S.E.G.* IV 637. For Hyrcanis as Caesareia see *I.B.M.* 498. For the otherwise unknown Trocetta, above the south side of the plain of the Hermus, see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 183 and *Klaros* (Leipzig 1889), p. 10 = Keil-Premerstein 1 no. 16 A = *I.G.R.* IV 1498 (Καισ[αρεῖς] Τροκεττηνοί). For Cyme see *Coll. Wadd.* 1294 and *McClean Coll.* III 7924 (Κυμαίων Καισαρέων), a coin of Nero. Myrina was called Caesareia under Augustus (see Chap. XX note 14). For the cities which assumed the name see also Robert *Hellenica* II p. 77f. For Philadelpheia as Neocaesareia under

Tiberius, Gaius and Claudius see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 217f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, pp. 115f. and 119f.: *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 195, no. 55f. The δῆμος ὁ Νεοκαισαρέων which appears in a list of cities (*A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 102f.) was identified by Buresch with Philadelpheia. It has been frequently supposed, *e.g.* by Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 66, note 4), by Ruge (*R.E.* XI 376) and by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 74), that it was in gratitude for the relief granted by Tiberius that Cibyra took the name Caesareia, which occurs in inscriptions of the second and third centuries and on coins from Severus onward; see *I.G.R.* III 489 (= *O.G.I.* 566) and 500 1; IV 900, 907 (= *O.G.I.* 495), 908 and 911: *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 338f., no. 1: *Coll. Wadd.* 5831f.: *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 136f., nos. 30f. and 49f. Since, however, the earliest known inscription which shows the name (*I.G.R.* IV 900) is dated in A.D. 137, this seems doubtful. Monuments in honour of Tiberius as *Conditor uno tem[pore XII urbium t]errae motu ve[xatarum]* (κτίστης ἐνὶ καιρῷ δώδεκα πόλεων), dated in A.D. 31, were erected at Aegae and Mostene; see *C.I.L.* III 7096 and *I.G.R.* IV 1351 = *O.G.I.* 471 = Dessau 8785. Fragments of similar inscriptions from Cyme are perhaps to be found in *I.C.R.* IV 1739 (A.D. 31/2 ?) and *C.I.L.* III 7099 (A.D. 34/5). For the colossus erected in Rome see Phlegon frg. 42 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 621) = frg. 36 XIII Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1182). It is generally agreed that a copy of the base is preserved in the well-known pedestal from Puteoli (*C.I.L.* X 1624 = Dessau 156), dated in A.D. 30, which contains a dedication to Tiberius with fourteen figures bearing the names Sa[rde]s, [Magnes]ia, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Cyme, Temnos, Cibyra, Myrina, Ephesos, Apollonidea, Hyrca[nis], Mostene, [Aeg]ae, [Hiero]caesarea. A fragment at Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 9 = *I.G.R.* IV 1514), containing a resolution passed by the representatives of several cities, including Mostene, Cibyra, Magnesia, Hierocaesareia (?), Apollonis, Hyrcanis, Myrina and Temnus, probably refers to action taken in this connexion. A monument at Sardis to Tiberius by the city-tribe Τυμωλίς (*Ins. Sardis* 34 = *I.G.R.* IV 1503) may also commemorate the aid given by the Emperor, as may a coin of Magnesia with a head representing the Senate and the legend Θεὸν Σύνκλητον and, on the reverse, a portrait of Livia; see Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 88, no. 3 and *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 144, no. 47.

24. Tiberiopolis is known only from the geographical sources and from its coins; see Ptolemy V 2, 17: Hierocles 668, 9: *Notitae Episcopatuum*: *Coll. Wadd.* 6572f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 300f.: *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, pp. CV and 421f. A coin (*B. M. Cat.*, no. 1) bearing the legend Σεβαστὸς Τιβεριο[πο] λιτῶν with a representation of the emperor standing before a temple-front and, on the obverse, heads of an Augusta and the Senate may perhaps date from the time of Tiberius. Other coins, inscribed βουλή, δῆμος and γερουσία and dated by the name of an archon, show that the community was organized as a *polis*. The order in which the geographers mention Tiberiopolis indicates a situation in the valley of the upper Eğrigöz Çay (the most important tributary of the Rhyndacus), where there are several possible sites; see Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 790f.

25. For Pappa (Yunuslar) on the Via Sebaste (see Chap. XIX note 43) in the territory of the Orondeis see Chap. XII note 25. The name of the new city appears on coins of Antoninus Pius inscribed Τιβεριέων Παππηνῶν; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3778: *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 233: Ramsay in *Klio* XXII (1929), p. 376. This may be the correct form, but Τιβεριοπολιτῶν (τῶν καὶ) Παππηνῶν appears in inscriptions of its Council and People of the second and third centuries: see *I.G.R.* III 309, 1468 and 1469 and Chap. XII note 25. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 69) that, whereas a portion of the territory of the Orondeis was presumably given to the new city, the rest was under the charge of a *procurator Orondici*, who was probably the supervisor of an imperial estate; see *Not. d. Scavi* 1925, p. 410f., no. 6 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 104 and Chap. XIX note 44.

26. Tacitus *Ann.* IV 15, 4; 37; 55f.: Cassius Dio LIX 28, 1. Tacitus enumerates the eleven competing cities as Hypaepa, Tralles, Laodiceia, Magnesia, Ilium, Halicarnassus, Pergamum, Ephesus, Miletus, Sardis and Smyrna. Even before the death of Augustus the *demos* of Smyrna had erected a statue of Tiberius (*I.G.R.* IV 1391). Its success in obtaining the new temple was celebrated by the issue of a coin bearing the name of Tiberius and his figure in front of a temple and, on the reverse, the legend Σεβαστή, Σύνκλητος with heads of Livia and the Senate; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 268, no. 266f.

27. For the priests of Tiberius at Pergamum and Nysa see *I.G.R.* IV 454 and *C.I.G.* 2943 = *Syll.*[3] 781 and Chap. XVIII note 57. For his general refusal to accept divine honours see Cassius Dio LVII 9, 1f. and Suetonius *Tib.* 26, 1. For his letter to Gytheium see *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLIX (1929), p. 313 and *R.A.* XXIX (1929), p. 101f. The somewhat ambiguous language was regarded by Rostovtzeff in *Rev. Hist.* CLXIII (1930), p. 22f. as characteristic of the "hypocrisy" of which Tiberius was accused by the ancient historians. The ambiguity may have been due to his habitual *suspensa semper et obscura verba* (Tacitus *Ann.* I 11, 4), but it is perhaps more probable, as observed by Charlesworth in *Papers Brit. School Rome* XV (1939), p. 3, that he was attempting to make his refusal as polite as possible.

28. For the worship of Tiberius in the cities of the Empire see F. Geiger *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum munic.* = *Diss. phil. Halenses* XXIII 1 (1913), p. 10f. and L. R. Taylor in *T.A.P.A.* LX (1929), p. 96f., who pointed out that, in spite of his refusal to Gytheium, he received the "regular forms of cult" which had been instituted for Augustus, and that his acceptance of the emperor's divine position was consistent with his policy of observing the precedents set by his predecessor. For the worship of Tiberius at Lapethus see *I.G.R.* III 933 = *O.G.I.* 583 (A.D. 29). For his priest at Cos see Maiuri *N.S.* 462. The letter written by him in A.D. 15 to the magistrates, Council and People of the city, acknowledging the receipt of a decree and letters brought to him by envoys (*I.G.R.* IV 1042), may perhaps have referred to the creation of this cult. For his priests see also *I.G.* XII 3, 339 and 517 (Thera): *Ins. Sardis* 47 = *I.G.R.* IV 1523 = *S.E.G.* IV 637 (Sardis, second century): *B.C.H.* X (1886),

p. 516, no. 6 and *A.M.* XIX (1894), p. 116 (Tralles, where his cult was combined with that of Ἑκάτη Σεβαστή, *i.e.* Livia): *C.I.G.* 2815 = *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 114f., no. 35, as restored in *R. Phil.* XXXVIII (1914), p. 212f. (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* III 1473 (Iconium): *I.G.R.* III 474 (Lycian *Koinon*). At Ephesus, perhaps in recognition of the aid received after the earthquake (see above note 23), a priest was created for the twin sons of Tiberius's son, Drusus, born in A.D. 19 (Tacitus *Ann.* II 84, 1), one of whom died in 23 (Tacitus IV 15, 1), as well as a priestess of Livia (Augusta Demeter Carpophorus); see *S.E.G.* IV 515 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 124. For Tiberius as Θεός see *I.G.* XII 2, 205 = *I.G.R.* IV 71 (Mitylene): *I.G.* XII 2, 536 = *I.G.R.* IV 8 (Eresus): *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 14, no. 11 = *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 89 (Cos, before A.D. 29): *I.G.R.* III 715, 720 and 721 (Myra): *I.G.R.* IV 144 = *S.E.G.* IV 707 (Cyzicus).

29. *I.G.R.* IV 207 (Ilium, A.D. 31): *I.G.* XII 2, 206 = *I.G.R.* IV 72 (Mitylene, also κτίστης): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 41 (Mylasa): *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. ibid.* p. 12, no. 10 (Cos, see Chap. XX note 9): *I.G.R.* III 941 (Paphus on Cyprus); 845 (Diocaesareia, also κτίστης); 721 (Myra). For the enclosure (perhaps the *agora*) at Aphrodisias, surrounded, at least on three sides, by colonnades with a frieze composed of a garland interspersed with male and female heads of many types in high relief (of which 179 have been found), erected, according to the dedicatory inscription, by a certain Diogenes, son of Menander, and his brother (?) Menander, see G. Jacopi in *Arch. Jahrb.* LIII (1938), *Arch. Anz.* 744f.: Jacopi and L. Crema in *Mon. Ant.* XXXVIII 2 (1939), pp. 9f. and 209f.: E. Will in *R.A.* XII (1938), p. 228f. Jacopi and Crema showed (*Mon. Ant. ibid.* pp. 21f. and 224f.) that there is no reason to suppose, with S. Ferri in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 59f., that this colonnade was part of the "Gymnasium of Diogenes" which was repaired in the Antonine period by Carminius Claudianus (*C.I.G.* 2782, see Chap. XXIV note 54).

30. Tacitus *Ann.* III 60f. (A.D. 22); IV 14 (A.D. 23): Suetonius *Tib.* 37 (where it is incorrectly stated that Tiberius abolished the right of asylum everywhere). According to Tacitus, the following cities sent delegations to Rome: Ephesus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Aphrodisias, Stratoniceia, Hierocaesareia, Pergamum, Smyrna, Tenos, Sardis, Miletus, Samos and Cos, besides Paphus, Amathus and Salamis on Cyprus and the Cretans. One of the envoys from Miletus was probably Meniscus, [πρεσβ]εύσας πρὸς τὸν Σεβασ[τὸν] ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσυλίας τοῦ Διδυμέως Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως δικαίων (*O.G.I.* 472). The honours bestowed at Samos on the two Consuls of A.D. 23 εὐσεβείας χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον (*I.G.R.* IV 1724 = *S.E.G.* I 389) were perhaps an expression of gratitude for their aid in preserving the rights of the Temple of Hera.

31. *I.G.R.* IV 219 = Dörpfeld *Troja u. Ilion*, p. 472, no. 72, recording honours conferred on T. Valerius Proculus, φροντιστήν (perhaps a procurator) of Drusus Caesar (the son of Tiberius, or possibly, the second son of Germani-

cus), *καθελόντα τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ λῃστήρια καὶ ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνεπιβάρητον φυλάξαντα τὴν πόλιν.*

32. Tacitus *Ann.* I 74 (A.D. 15). Marcellus's full name appears on a coin issued in the colony of Apameia Myrleia (*Receuil* I p. 251, no. 38). For his trial see Anderson in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), p. 48 and R. S. Rogers *Criminal Trials . . . under Tiberius*, p. 9f. For the procedure adopted in 4 B.C. see Chap. XX note 58. Marcellus's condemnation is somewhat uncertain, for it depends solely on the obviously incorrect account of his case which appears in Suetonius *Tib.* 58.

33. Tacitus *Ann.* III 66f.; IV 15, 4. Silanus's proconsulship was placed in A.D. 20/1 by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 111). For his trial see Rogers, p. 66f.

34. Tacitus *Ann.* IV 15, 3: Cassius Dio LVII 23, 4f. Capito's praenomen appears in an inscription in his honour at Cos; see *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.*, p. 15f., no. 12=*Ann. Ép.* 1934, 90. Since he was praised by the *demos* for his *εὔνοια*, it can hardly be supposed that the Coans took part in accusing him. For his trial see Rogers, p. 73.

35. Tacitus *Ann.* III 32, 2f. Since Lepidus (Consul in A.D. 6) was still in Rome in 22 (Tacitus III 72, evidently referring to him), his proconsulship of Asia could not have begun before this year. His name appears on coins of Cotiaeium bearing the portrait of Tiberius (*Coll. Wadd.* no. 5890 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 163, no. 26f.), and he was presumably the Marcus Aemilius Lepidus *τὸ δεύτερον ἀνθύπατος* honoured as "patron and benefactor" by the *demos* of Cos; see *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. ibid.*, p. 8f., no. 6=*Ann. Ép.* 1934, 87. Much confusion has arisen between him and Manius Aemilius Lepidus (Consul in A.D. 11), whose name appears in full in *Ann.* III 22, 2 (A.D. 20) in connexion with the trial of his sister. In the various passages where the Codex Mediceus reads only *M. Lepidus* (*Ann.* I 13, 2; III 11, 2; 35, 1; 50, 1; IV 20, 3; 56, 3; VI 27, 4), the emendation *M'.*, which was suggested by Borghesi, was adopted by Nipperdey and by Furneaux and has found general acceptance; see *e.g.* *R.E.* I 551, no. 63 and *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 58f., nos. 363 and 369. Because of the adoption of this emendation in *Ann.* IV 56, 3f. (A.D. 26), where it is recorded that Lepidus, *cui ea provincia* (*i.e.* Asia) *obvenerat*, was chosen by the Senate as a special commissioner to supervise the building of the new provincial temple at Smyrna (see above note 26) but declined the appointment, it has been generally assumed that Manius Lepidus was proconsul of Asia in A.D. 26/7; see Waddington *Fastes*, p. 115f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 305 and *Mél. en Homage à la Mém. de Fr. Martroye* (Paris 1940), p. 89: *P.I.R. ll. cc.* The only basis, however, for the assumption that Manius held the proconsulship of Asia is an inscription from Pergamum (*C.I.L.* III 398=7089), *M'. Aimilio M'. f. Pal. Proculo praef. fabr. M'. Lepidi Au*[*g. proc.*], in which the restoration at the end, depending on the readings of early copyists, does not prove that the Manius Lepidus in question was either proconsul of Asia or the Consul of A.D. 11. Neither an inscription from

Mauretania (*C.I.L.* VIII 9247), *VE* (emended to *M'.*) *Lepidi procos. Asiae*, which is sometimes cited as evidence for the same view, nor a tombstone from Rome (*C.I.L.* VI 9859), *Manius Aemilius Lepi*[*di l.*] *Strato rogato*[*r*], affords any proof that Manius Lepidus was proconsul of Asia; in the former inscription *VE* may equally well be emended to *M.* There appears to be no reason, therefore, for altering *M.* to *M'.* in *Ann.* IV 56, 3; on the contrary, the phrase *cui ea provincia obvenerat*, alluding to Lepidus, seems to hark back to the words *Asiae sorte depellendum* and *missus in Asiam* used of Marcus Lepidus in *Ann.* III 32, 2f. It would seem, accordingly, that the name of Manius Lepidus should be removed from the *Fasti* of the proconsuls of Asia. Since Marcus Lepidus was evidently back in Rome in A.D. 26, when he was appointed special commissioner to Smyrna, his two-year term in Asia may be dated in 22-24 or 23-25. His second year of office may have been due to the disqualification of Servius Maluginensis for the post (see below note 37).

36. Tacitus *Ann.* IV 36, 4 (A.D. 25). His term of office was dated by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 115) in either 22/3 or 23/4; but if the two-year term of Marcus Lepidus may be supposed to have extended over these years (see above note 35), Fonteius must be placed in 21/2 or 24/5.

37. Tacitus *Ann.* I 80, 4; VI 27, 2f.: Suetonius *Tib.* 41 and 63: Cassius Dio LVIII 25, 5: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 6, 5, § 170f. (with the emendation ἀϊδίους in § 172 for the Mss. αἰδοῦς, as proposed by J. E. Powell in *Cl. Rev.* L [1936], p. 11). It was pointed out by Furneaux (notes to Tacitus *ll. cc.*) that the only governors known to have been forbidden to leave Rome were L. Aelius Lamia and L. Arruntius, imperial legates, respectively, of Syria and Hispania Citerior. The fact that out of 57 men (Tiberius, Germanicus and Drusus omitted) who are known to have been Consuls (*ordinarii* or *suffecti*) from A.D. 6 to A.D. 23 inclusive (see Liebenam *Fasti Consulares*, p. 9f., with corrections by Harrer and Suskin in *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 278), only eight (omitting Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis, who, as Flamen Dialis, was forbidden to go to the province, see Tacitus *Ann.* III 58f. and 71, 3f.) are known to have held the proconsulship of Asia during Tiberius's principate and seven to have held that of Africa during the same period (see A. C. Pallu de Lessert *Fastes d. Prov. Africaines*, I p. 93f.) suggests that either many did refuse these offices or were considered unworthy to hold them. It was suggested by Charlesworth (*C.A.H.* X p. 640) that the refusals were due to the fear of accusation in connexion with the administration of a province.

38. For Petronius (Consul suffectus in 19) see Keil-Premerstein I no. 18 = *I.G.R.* IV 1499 (ἐ[πὶ] *ἀνθυπάτ*[*ου* Πο]*υβλίου* Πε*τρωνίου τὸ γ'*) and a coin of Pergamum (*B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 140, no. 253f.) bearing the heads of Tiberius and Livia and the legend Σεβαστοὶ ἐπὶ Πετρωνίου τὸ ϛ'. His name also appears (but without iteration) on a coin of Smyrna (*B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 268, no. 266f.) which shows the figure of Tiberius standing in front of a temple. Since this coin evidently commemorated the construction of the temple in Smyrna (see above note 26), the term of Petronius could not have

begun before 27, and since he had returned to Rome in 36 (Tacitus *Ann.* VI 45, 3), his governorship of Asia was presumably in 28-34 or 29-35. For Silanus (Consul ordinarius in 19) see *C.I.L.* XIV 3665 = Dessau 6236; his proconsularship of Africa is usually dated in 33-39; see Hohl in *R.E.* X 1098f.

39. Tacitus *Ann.* VI 31f.; 41, 2f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 4, 4, § 96f.; Cassius Dio LVIII 26; LIX 27, 2f.: Suetonius *Cal.* 14; *Vit.* 2. See also Mommsen *R.G.* V^2 p. 376f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 45f.: Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 85f.: Marsh *Reign of Tiberius*, p. 211f.: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 747f.: N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 158f. It has sometimes been assumed, *e.g.* by Mommsen and Dessau, that Vitellius had extraordinary powers in the East, analogous to those held by Gaius Caesar and Germanicus, but, except for the somewhat ambiguous statement of Tacitus (VI 32, 5) quoted in the text, there is little evidence on which to base the assumption. Every known action of Vitellius (including the conquest of the Cilician Cietae, see below note 40), save possibly his removal of Pontius Pilate from the procuratorship of Judaea (Josephus *ibid.* § 89), could have been done by an imperial legate of Syria, vested with ordinary powers. The chronology of this whole episode is uncertain. Tacitus, after listing under the year 35 all the events which followed the arrival of the Parthian malcontents in Rome, namely, the despatching and death of Phraates, the selection of Mithradates for the Armenian throne, the appointment of Vitellius (Consul ordinarius in 34), the conquest of Armenia by Mithradates, the defeat of Orodes, the invasion of Armenia by Artabanus and his departure into exile and the entry of Tiridates into Mesopotamia, informed his readers (VI 38, 1), *quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi*. He then proceeded to list under the year 36 the behaviour of Tiridates in his new kingdom, the mission of Hiero to Artabanus, the latter's return and the flight of Tiridates to Syria. Since the events listed under 35 include also those of 34, and since much happened between the appointment of Vitellius and his appearance with Tiridates at the Euphrates, it would seem that he was appointed before the end of 34 (a suffectus taking his place as Consul). The meeting between Vitellius and Artabanus (which does not appear in Tacitus's sixth book) was dated under Gaius by Dio and Suetonius. In the narrative of Josephus, on the other hand, it is placed under Tiberius; this dating was accepted by Mommsen and supported with convincing arguments by E. Täubler (*Die Parthernachrichten b. Josephus*, pp. 39f. and 55f.), who, followed by Dessau and Anderson, showed that the ancient historical writers, hostile to Tiberius and grudging him this success, attributed to Gaius the glory of Artabanus's capitulation, the statement that the King did obeisance to Gaius's image being a fictitious embellishment, which originated with either Vitellius himself or one of his partisans.

40. Tacitus *Ann.* VI 41, 1. The correct form of the name, which in the Codex Mediceus is spelled *Cietarum* in this passage but *Clitarum* in *Ann.* XII 55, 1, is found as Κιητῶν on coins of Antiochus IV of Commagene (see below note 49) and in an inscription at Athens in honour of Hadrian by the Council and People of Coropissus, τῆ[ς] Κιητῶν μητροπόλεως (*I.G.* II^2

3307 = *O.G.I.* 574). It appears also as Κιητίδος or Κητίδος on coins of Philadelpheia in Cilicia and as Κιητῶν or Κητῶν on coins of Coropissus; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4437f. and 4749f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. 127 and 65: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* pp. 480 and 462. See also Wilhelm in *A.E.M.* XVII (1894), p. 1f. Since the site of Coropissus, however, is unknown (see Chap. XI note 25) and that of Philadelpheia, although perhaps in central Cilicia Aspera, is uncertain (see Chap. XXIII note 31), neither the inscription nor these coins can supply any clue to the situation of the region. On the other hand, coins of Olba of Severus and Caracalla and perhaps of the Antonines are inscribed Μητ. (or Μη.) Κη., presumably an abbreviation for Μητρόπολις Κητῶν; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4436: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 126, no. 30: *Ztschr. f. Num.* XII (1885), p. 370: *Num. Ztschr.* XXI (1889), p. 212, no. 1: Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 479. Since, however, Olba appears also as Μητ. Κενν(ατῶν) and the neighbouring Diocaesareia as Μητρο. Κενναττίδος or Κεννατῶν on coins of the late second and the third centuries (see above note 12), it seems uncertain whether the place was included in the territory of the Cietae. The question is further complicated by the fact that Ptolemy listed two regions called Κητίς. Of these, one (V 7, 3) included the coast cities of Cilicia Aspera from Anemurium on the west to the mouth of the Calycadnus on the east, the other (V 7, 6) a city called Olbasa, presumably an error for Olba (see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2399). Since in A.D. 52 the Cietae took the offensive in ravaging the coast cities and laying siege to Anemurium (Tacitus *Ann.* XII 55), it seems evident that at this time this region did not belong to them. It may be supposed, accordingly, that their original home was in central Cilicia Aspera and that in the course of time the name of their territory was extended toward the east and south to include both Olba and the coast.

41. Cassius Dio LIX 3, 4: Suetonius *Cal.* 15, 3. For the oath of Assus see *I.G.R.* IV 251 = *Syll.*[3] 797 = Bruns *Fontes*[7], no. 102 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 48 and Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 461f. For Jerusalem see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 5, 3, § 124. For Aritium see *C.I.L.* II 172 = Dessau 190 = Bruns *Fontes*[7], no. 101, dated [*a. d.*] V *Idus Mai*[*as*] in A.D. 37.

42. *I.G.R.* IV 145 = *Syll.*[3] 798; the decree is dated 9 Thargeliōn (1 June), but since the calendar of Cyzicus began (with Boedromiōn) in September (see Hasluck Cyzicus, p. 252f.), unless Gaius was made hipparch immediately after he was declared emperor, the year was A.D. 38. For Chios see Robert in *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 529f., where it was shown that *I.G.R.* IV 947 and 948 should be combined and that the decree refers to Gaius rather than, as previously supposed, to Germanicus. For Cos see *I.G.R.* IV 1102. For a dedication for Gaius's welfare found near Attaleia see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 29 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 3.

43. For the view that Gaius, carried away by a sense of power, set out to make himself an autocratic ruler see Willrich in *Klio* III (1903), p. 461f.: Momigliano in *Ann. d. R. Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa* I (1932), p. 216:

Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x p. 655f.: J. P. V. D. Balsdon *The Emperor Gaius* (Oxford 1934), p. 147f.

44. Cassius Dio LIX 4, 4. For Gaius's letter to the *Koinon* of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians and Euboeans, see *I.G.* VII 2711 III = Dessau 8792, dated 19 Aug. 37. For the dedications at Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 165 and 172 b = *I.G.R.* IV 80 and 78 b (= Dessau 8789). For Drusilla as Νέα Ἀφροδίτη at Cyzicus and Magnesia see *I.G.R.* IV 145 = *Syll.*[3] 798, l. 12 (see above note 42) and *Ins. Magn.* 156. She appears at Samos as Νέα Χάρις (*I.G.R.* IV 1721 = *S.E.G.* I 392) and at Halasarna on Cos, if the inscription is correctly restored, as Σεβαστὰ Ὁμόνοια (*I.G.R.* IV 1098). Gaius's youngest sister, Julia, as Σύνθρονος Νέα Νικη[φόρος] had a priestess in common with Athena Nicephorus and Athena Polias at Pergamum; see *I.G.R.* IV 464 = *O.G.I.* 474 (evidently before she was exiled by her brother in A.D. 39). For the title of Agrippina at Mitylene see above note 17.

45. For the death of Drusilla on 10 June, 38 see *C.I.L.* XIV 4535, l. 29 (*Fasti Ostienses*). For her deification see Cassius Dio LIX 11, 2f. It has been restored as on 23 Sept. 38 in *C.I.L.* VI 2028 e = Henzen *Act. Frat. Arv.* p. xlvi. For Gaius's claims for himself see Cassius Dio LIX 26, 5f.; 28, 2f.: Suetonius *Cal.* 22: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 1, 1, § 4 and 2, 1, § 11. See also *Seneca de Tranq. An.* 14, 9. It was observed by Charlesworth in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXVIII (1935), p. 15f. that Gaius did not definitely identify himself with Jupiter but was content to treat him as an equal and call him "brother."

46. Cassius Dio LIX 28, 1 (A.D. 40), where it is added that Gaius chose Miletus because he wished to appropriate the Temple of Apollo at Didyma. The construction of a temple of Gaius at Miletus is attested by an inscription from his statue erected by νεωποιοὶ οἱ πρῶτως νεωπο[ιή]σαντες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Γναίου Οὐεργιλίου Καπίτωνος τοῦ μὲν ἐν Μειλήτῳ ναοῦ Γαίου Καίσαρος τὸ πρῶτον, τῆς δὲ Ἀσίας τὸ τρίτον, who were citizens of the following cities of the province of Asia: Julia, Miletus, Pergamum, Antiocheia (on Maeander), Cyzicus, Apameia, Laodiceia, Caesareia (presumably Tralles, see Chap. XX note 7), Adramyttium, Philomelium, Halicarnassus, Smyrna and Sardis; see Wiegand in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 65, no. 3 = Robert *Hellenica* VII (1949), p. 206f. Julia was either Julia Gordus in Lydia, as supposed by Wiegand, or Julia in the plain of the Phrygian Caÿster (see Chap. I note 4). Wiegand pointed out that this was presumably the hexastyle temple which appears on a coin of Miletus with the head of Gaius; see *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 198, no. 43. The fact that these *neopoioi* were the representatives of thirteen different cities suggests that it was a provincial temple, analogous to those built at Pergamum under Augustus (see Chap. XVIII note 52) and Smyrna under Tiberius (see above note 26). It was suggested by Robert (*ibid.* p. 222f.) that the cities were the centres of the judiciary dioceses. Since, however, there is no other evidence for the existence of a provincial temple of the emperors at Miletus and since no meeting of the *Koinon* of the province is known to have been held in the city until the time of Hadrian (*I.G.R.* IV

780, see Chap. XVIII note 55), it must remain doubtful whether this temple was built by the province as a whole. It may, however, have never been finished. Wiegand pointed out that Dio's statement that Gaius wished to appropriate the temple at Didyma was doubtless a mere rumour, originating perhaps in a gift made by him for its construction, which had never been completed (see Chap. III note 83). According to Suetonius *Cal.* 21, he planned to finish it, but in the second century after Christ it was still unfinished (Pausanias VII 5, 4). It was supposed by Haussoullier (*Études*, p. 272f.) that a group of artisans called [*οἱ*] *ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας τεχνεῖται οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὸν ἐν Διδύμοις ναόν*, who honoured an envoy sent to Rome concerning the inviolability of the temple (*O.G.I.* 472), was engaged in the construction under Gaius. If, however, as has been suggested (see above note 30), this envoy went to Rome in A.D. 22, the interval between his mission and the bestowal of the honours seems to render this connexion doubtful.

47. Philo *Leg. ad Gaium* 188 and 207f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 8, 2, § 261f. = *Bell. Jud.* II 10, 1, § 185f.: Tacitus *Hist.* V 9. See also Willrich in *Klio* III (1903), p. 411f.

48. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 6, 10, § 237: Cassius Dio LIX 8, 2. His name and titles appear in an inscription from southeastern Syria (*I.G.R.* III 1244 = *O.G.I.* 419). See also Rosenberg in *R.E.* X 143f. For Abilene, a part of the region of Ituraea (between the Lebanon and Antilebanon ranges), and Lysanias see Beer in *R.E.* IX 2378f. and Stein in *R.E.* XIII 2507f.

49. Cassius Dio LIX 8, 2: Suetonius *Cal.* 16, 3. His full name is given as C. Julius Antiochus in *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III p. 214f., no. 1178, l. 21 (Claudius's letter to the Society of Athletes, see Chap. XXIII note 12). He appears as *Βασιλεὺς Μέγας Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανής* and his wife as *Βασίλισσα Ἰωτάπη* on coins, not only of Commagene but also of the various cities and regions in Cilicia (see below) over which they ruled; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie, etc.* pp. ccxv f. and 218f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 4214, 4252, 4799f. and 7244f.: *Ztschr. f. Num.* XVII (1890), p. 17f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Rev. Suisse de Num.* VIII (1898), p. 30, nos. 18-21 and *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde* (Geneva 1908), p. 218f.: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xlvi and 106f. Antiochus and Iotape are mentioned together in a list of names (presumably stephanephori) at Chios (*I.G.R.* IV 940, corrected in *J.O.A.I.* XIV [1911], *Beibl.* 53f.), and his name has been restored in a decree of the city; see *I.G.R.* IV 946 = 1701 and Robert *Études épigr. et philol.* p. 134f. Silver drachmae of Chios inscribed *Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου δῶρον* were presented by him, perhaps in return for the stephanephorate; see Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 133: *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. xlvi: Robert, p. 139. His name appears also on the monument of his grandson, C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus at Athens (*I.G.* II^2 3451 = *O.G.I.* 409-13). The *Βασίλισσα Ἰωτάπη Φιλάδελφος* whose name and portrait are inscribed on coins both of the Lacanatae (in Cilicia Aspera) and of Commagene (Babelon, p. 221f., no. 32f. and *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 109) was presumably Antiochus's wife rather than his daughter, who in A.D. 72 suc-

ceeded to a portion of his dominions (see Chap. XXIV note 26). The statement of Dio (LIX 8, 2) that Gaius gave Antiochus *τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Κιλικίας* is confirmed by the coins bearing the King's name and portrait (or those of Iotape) which were issued at Anemurium, Celenderis, Corycus, Sebaste and Selinus (see above). His possession of the inland regions of the Cietae and Lacanatis (see Chap. XXIII note 31) is also attested by the coins. Coins of Antiochus inscribed *Λυκαόνων* indicate that he received a certain amount of territory north of the Taurus in southern Lycaonia, which may have belonged to Archelaus I of Cappadocia (see Chap. XX note 24) and, inherited by his son (see above note 11), have passed, together with this monarch's Cilician dominions, to Antiochus. The evidence of these coins is borne out by the fact that Ptolemy's lists (v 6, 16) contain a *strategia* of Cappadocia named *Ἀντιοχιανή*, containing Derbe and Laranda (and the otherwise unknown Olbasa and Musbanda), situated in the part of Lycaonia adjoining Cilicia Aspera on the north and presumably subject to Antiochus, whose name was subsequently given to it; see Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2255. The name of the region has been restored as Lycaon(ia) An[tioch]ian(a) in *C.I.L.* V 8660 = Dessau 1364 and as [*Λυκαονίας Ἀντι*]*οχίας* in *I.G.R.* IV 390 by Ramsay in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 70, note 8. The friendship between Antiochus and King Agrippa appears in the betrothal of the former's son, Epiphanes, to Agrippa's daughter Drusilla (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 9, 1, §355).

50. The death of Pythodoris has been somewhat arbitrarily placed about A.D. 22/3; see *Receuil* I² p. 9. This date is based solely on the coins of her daughter Tryphaena (see below note 51) bearing the regnal years 17 and 18 and the probability that Tryphaena ceased to issue coins on the accession of her son, Polemo II, to the kingship in 38/9 (see below note 53). On the other hand, the fact that the era of Comana Pontica was reckoned from 33/4 or 34/5 (see below note 52), showing that the city was incorporated in the Empire at this time, suggests that Pythodoris may have lived until about 33. For her older son see Chap. XX note 53.

51. Strabo XII p. 556 (where, however, the names of Tryphaena and her sons are not given). For her coins, inscribed *Βασιλίσσης Τρυφαίνης* and bearing the dates *ιζ'* and *ιη'*, see *Receuil* I² p. 22f., no. 22f. For her benefactions at Cyzicus see *I.G.R.* IV 144 (= *S.E.G.* IV 707), 145 and 146 (= *Syll.*³ 798 and 799 I), 147 and 148. Rostovtzeff pointed out (*Hellenist. World*, p. 1454, note 349) that the mention in the first of these decrees of *τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰ*-[*κουμέν*]*ης ἐμπόρων καὶ ξένων τῶν ἐληλυθότων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν* shows the prosperity of Cyzicus at this time. For her husband, Cotys, see Tacitus *Ann.* II 64, 3f. (A.D. 19): Velleius Paterculus II 129, 1: Ovid *ex Ponto* II 9. For the continued disorder in Thrace after his death see Tacitus *Ann.* III 38, 4f. (A.D. 21); IV 5, 5 (A.D. 23) and 47f. (A.D. 26).

52. The era of Comana Pontica, used from the time of Gaius onward, was reckoned from A.D. 33/4 or 34/5; see *I.G.R.* III 105: *Receuil* I² p. 109f., no. 9f.: Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 643f.

53. Cassius Dio LIX 12, 2 (where Polemo is incorrectly called the son of Polemo I): *I.G.R.* IV 145 (=*Syll.*[3] 798, probably in A.D. 38, see above note 42) and 147. For Rhoemetalces see also *I.G.R.* I 829 (from Maroneia) and *I.G.* II[2] 1967 and 2292 (as archon in Athens in A.D. 37/8). He is probably the King Rhoemetalces who was stephanephorus at Chios (*I.G.R.* IV 940 and 941). A coin showing the Emperor seated on a curule chair and facing the King, bears the legend Βασιλεὺς Ῥοιμετάλκας Κότ(υος), while another coin bears, on one side, his name and portrait, on the other, the name and head of Gaius; see *B. M. Cat. Thrace*, p. 210. For Polemo see *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III 1178, l. 22 (see Chap. XXIII note 12), where he is called Julius Polemo ὁ Πόντου (βασιλεύς), and Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 8, 1, § 338. His coins with his portrait and the legend Βασιλέως Πολέμωνος (*Receuil* I[2] p. 24f.) bear regnal years extending (with intervals) from ἔτους ιβ′ to ἔτους κε′. Since those dated ἔτους ιζ′ show the heads both of Claudius and of Nero, this year is evidently A.D. 54/5, which fixes his accession in A.D. 38/9. His possessions in southern Russia included Anapa, east of the Strait of Kertch, if an inscription (Latyschev *Ins. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* II 400) has been correctly restored as βασιλεύοντος Βασιλέως [Πολέμωνος] Φιλογερμα(νι)κοῦ καὶ Φιλοπάτριδος ἔτους ηλτ′ μηνὸς Δείου (A.D. 41/2). On the other hand, a coin of the native ruler Mithradates, the son of Aspurgus (see Chap. XX note 33), dated ἔτους ϛλτ′ (A.D. 39-40) suggests that he was not wholly displaced by Polemo; see Minns *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 611 and Pl. VII no. 10. It was supposed by Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 149, note 2) that Polemo found only a limited recognition in his Bosporan dominions and, in fact, may never have visited them in person. For Claudius's action in taking these dominions from him see Chap. XXIII, note 25. For Cotys as king of Armenia Minor see Josephus *l.c.* and Tacitus *Ann.* XI 9, 3. For the three princes see also Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VIII p. 304f., and for their sister Pythodoris, the wife of Rhoemetalces, son of Rhascuporis, who succeeded his father as ruler of part of Thrace, see *I.G.R.* I 777 (=*O.G.I.* 378) and 1503 and Dessau in *Eph. Ep.* IX p. 694f.

54. Seneca *de Tranq. An.* 11, 12: Tacitus *Ann.* XI 8, 1: Cassius Dio LX 8, 1.

55. For Laco see *I.G.* V 1, pp. xvi and 307: *Syll.*[3] 789 and note 2: *Corinth* VIII 2, 67. For Sohaemus see Cassius Dio LIX 12, 2: Tacitus *Ann.* XII 23, 2.

56. See *e.g.* Willrich in *Klio* III (1903), p. 302: Momigliano *ibid.* p. 221f.: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 660: somewhat similarly Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 750. Balsdon, on the other hand, pointed out (*ibid.* p. 202f.) that Gaius made no attempt to alter the status of the former kingdoms of Galatia and Cappadocia and that by his assignment of Pontus, Armenia Minor and Commagene to native rulers Rome "lost nothing."

57. Suetonius *Cal.* 57: Cassius Dio LIX 29, 3: *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 118, no. 501.

58. Suetonius *Cal.* 58: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 1, 12, § 77f.: Cassius Dio LIX 29, 5f.

CHAPTER XXII

1. For the boundaries of Lycia see Arkwright in *J.H.S.* xv (1895), p. 93f. (the western boundary only): Kalinka in *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert* (Berlin 1898), p. 165f.=*J.O.A.I.* III (1900), *Beibl.* 41f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2270f. For the Indus see above p. 38. For the dissolution of the Tetrapolis in Cibyratis see above p. 242. Although in Strabo XIII p. 631 (the sole place in which this dissolution is recorded) only Bubon and Balbura are mentioned as added to the Lycian cities, Oenoanda, which lay farther south, must also have been included. The region was called Cabalis by Strabo (XIII p. 629f.) but Cabalia by Pliny (*N.H.* V 101) and Ptolemy (V 3,5), both of whom regarded it as in Lycia.

2. Strabo XI p. 520 and XIV p. 651, where the Chelidonian Islands were considered as the border between Lycia and Pamphylia, and the range called Solyma in Strabo XIV p. 666 (the Tahtalı Dağ) was regarded as the "beginning" of the Taurus; see Chap. I note 55 and Chap. XI note 11. The author of the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (234 and 254) also regarded the Ἱερὰ Ἄκρα (Gelidonya Burun) as the eastern boundary of Lycia, and this is borne out by the fact that no inscriptions in the Lycian language have been found east of Rhodiapolis (see below note 14). The list in Ps.-Scylax 100, in which Lycia is represented as including Perge, is clearly incorrect.

3. For Phaselis (Tekir Ova) see Strabo XIV p. 666f.: Beaufort *Karamania*,[2] p. 56f.: Fellows *Travels and Researches* (London 1852), p. 158: C. Anti in *Mon. Ant.* XXIX (1923), p. 756f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 1874f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 413f. According to Herodotus II 178, it was a Dorian city. For its foundation by Rhodians from Lindus see Philostephanus of Cyrene quoted in Athenaeus VII 51, p. 297-8 (*F.H.G.* III p. 29, frg. 1): Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Γέλα: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 84-5 Schöne=Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 93 Helm. The tradition is borne out by the dialect of a treaty made with Maussolus of Halicarnassus; see *T.A.M.* II 1183=*S.G.D.I.* 1269 and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), p. 151f. See also van Gelder *Gesch. d. Alt. Rhodier*, p. 66f. and Beloch *G.G.*[2] I 1, p. 261, note 3 and I 2, pp. 220f. and 235. For the surrender of Phaselis to Cimon in 466 B.C. see Plutarch *Cim.* 12, 3f. In the Athenian tribute lists the Phaselitae are listed under the rubrics Καρικὸς φόρος and Ἰονικὸς φόρος (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *Ath. Tribute Lists* I nos. 12-14, 22, 23 and 37) and not among the Λύκιοι καὶ συν[τελεῖς] (*ibid.* no. 9). Phaselis is also mentioned separately from the Lycians in Arrian *Anab.* I 24, 5f. and Diodorus XX 27, 1. According to Livy XXXVII 23, 1, it was *in confinio Lyciae et Pamphyliae*, and it appears as the westernmost city of Pamphylia in Mela I 79, Pliny *N.H.* V 96 and Athenaeus VIII 42, p. 350 A. During the second century before Christ it issued silver coins of the type used by the Lycian Federation (see below note 33) but without the distinctive legend Λυκίων; see *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 81, no. 16f. Strabo (*l.c.*), while regarding Phaselis as a Lycian city, added that it did not belong to the Lycian *Koinon*.

For tetradrachms countermarked, like those of Side and Aspendus (Chap. XI note 5), with the Seleucid anchor see Regling in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXVIII (1928), p. 110f. For the relations of Phaselis with Rome in 167/6 B.C. see Polybius XXX 9, 10, and for its capture by Servilius Isauricus in 77 or 76 see Chap. XII note 19. For Olympus see below note 16.

4. For Telmessus (Meğri or Fethiye) see Strabo XIV p. 665: *Reisen* I p. 35f.: Philippson V p. 91: *T.A.M.* II p. 2f.: Ruge in *R.E.* V A 410f. The Τελεμέσσ[ιοι] appear separately from the Λύκιοι καὶ συν[τελεῖς] in the Athenian tribute list for 446/5 (Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor *ibid.* no. 9), but the city was regarded as included in Lycia in the fourth century (Ps.-Scylax 100). For the conquest by "Pericles the Lycian" see Theopompus frg. 111 Müller (*F.H.G.* I p. 295f.) = frg. 103 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 558f.); see also Polyaenus V 42. For the use of the Lycian language (see below note 14) see *T.A.M.* I 1-5. For Telmessus as an Egyptian and, later, a Pergamene possession see Chap. I note 56. Telmessus is called a Lycian city in Strabo XIV p. 665, Mela I 82 and Pliny *N.H.* V 101 (*quae Lyciam finit*). The statement in Appian *Mith.* 24 that in 88 B.C. the Rhodians were aided against Mithradates (see above p. 218) by τινὲς Τελμισέων τε καὶ Λυκίων suggests that at this time Telmessus was not included among the cities of Lycia and that a long interval elapsed between the break-up of the Pergamene Kingdom in 133 and the time when, according to Strabo (*l.c.*), ἀπέλαβον πάλιν οἱ Λύκιοι; see O. Treuber *Gesch. d. Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887), p. 179f. The rendering of aid to the Rhodians and a coin of Telmessus bearing a radiate head of Helius led Holleaux to suggest (*Études* I p. 394, note 5 and p. 436, note 1) that during part of this interval, at least, the city was subject to Rhodes. It was pointed out, however, by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 59) that Appian's expression indicates a body of individual soldiers rather than a regular force and that the coin in question is to be dated in the time of Antiochus III (see Chap. I note 56), for those issued after the death of Attalus III show the head of Hermes; see *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 86. For the issue of coins after Telmessus joined the Lycian Federation see below note 33. In the second century after Christ, not only Telmessus but also Calynda and Crya, which lay between it and the Indus, were regarded as Lycian cities (see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 59 and c. 63 and below note 59), and inscriptions at Lydae in this region honoured Roman governors of Lycia from the time of Vespasian onward; see *T.A.M.* II 131-134 = *I.G.R.* III 520-523. The area of Lycia, including Olympus and Phaselis but not the region of Cabalis, was estimated by Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 223) at 8250 sq. km. (3245 sq. mi.).

5. For this range see *Reisen* II p. 156f.: Philippson V pp. 91, 94f. and 101. The name Massicytus is used so varyingly by the ancient writers that it is impossible to apply it definitely to any one part of this mountain-group; see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 9 B and Ruge in *R.E.* XIV 2154. The position of Massicytus with reference to various cities as given in Ptolemy V 3, 3 points to a situation in southeastern Lycia, and the application of the name to the more easterly Ak Dağ, suggested in *Reisen* II p. 146, note 1, is perhaps correct.

For this mountain and the ranges which continue it toward the northeast and north see *Reisen* II pp. 145f. and 163f.

6. For a description of this plain, called by modern writers (from the name of its chief town) the Plain of Elmalı, see Fellows, p. 380f.: Spratt and Forbes *Travels in Lycia, etc.* I p. 280f.: *Reisen* II p. 160f. For the probable site of Podalia at the southeastern corner of the plain on a hill on the western bank of the lake Avlan Göl and commanding the pass that leads over into the valley of the Arycandus see *Reisen* II p. 161f. Podalia is mentioned in Pliny *N.H.* V 101 and is included in the lists of Lycian cities in *I.G.R.* III 704 I and *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 63, but its only definitely known coin was issued in the third century after Christ; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3175 and *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. lviii f. Choma (also in *I.G.R.* III 704 I and *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 9 and 63) is described in Pliny *l.c.* as *praefluente Aedesa.* In *Reisen* II p. 162 it was placed at Armutlu, about thirteen miles southwest of Elmalı, an identification accepted with reserve by Ruge in *R.E.* III 2369. On Anderson's map of Asia Minor it appears at Çatal Tepe about the centre of the plain and near the junction of the two streams which form the chief affluent of Avlan Göl, while Heberdey in *Festschrift f. H. Kiepert*, p. 158 identified it with Eskihisar, in a side-valley about seven miles northwest of Elmalı, a site accepted by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 9 A). For its coins inscribed Χω. or Χωμ., probably of the first century before Christ, see *Coll. Wadd.* 3036f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 49: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 304.

7. See Fellows, p. 354f.: *Reisen* I pp. 31 and 131; II p. 8.

8. See Fellows, p. 355f.: Spratt and Forbes I pp. 103f. and 122f.: *Reisen* II p. 28.

9. For the Xanthus see Fellows, pp. 176 and 315f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 38f.: Philippson V pp. 94f. and 105. For the Alakır Çay see Spratt and Forbes I p. 171f. and *Reisen* I p. 145 and II pp. 145 and 148, and for our ignorance of its ancient name see *Reisen* II p. 73, note 3 and p. 145, note 2, where it is shown that it is not the Limyrus (the Düden Su, a tributary of the Arycandus; see also R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 9 B). For the Arycandus see Fellows, p. 373f.

10. For the pines see *Reisen* II pp. 4, 7, 144f. and 156: Cuinet *Turquie* III p. 682: Philippson V pp. 95f. and 105. For the exportation of timber from the southern and eastern coasts to Egypt see *Reisen* I p. 127 and II p. 139. For the cedar see Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* III 12, 3: Pliny *N.H.* XII 132; XIII 52; XVI 137: Fellows, pp. 381f. and 386: Spratt and Forbes I p. 272: *Reisen* II pp. 4 and 156: Cuinet III p. 682: Ravndal *Turkey*, p. 122 (around Telmessus). For the cypress (also on Rhodes) see Theophrastus IV 5, 2. For the juice called *Lycium* see Pliny *N.H.* XXIV 124f. and XXV 67: Dioscurides I 100: Celsus V 1; 26, 30; VI 7, 2; VIII 6. For jars inscribed with the name see *I.G.* XIV 2406, 2 and 4. For the *creta* see Pliny *N.H.* XXXV 196. There is no mention in the ancient writers of the mines of chromium and manganese near Telmessus which

were operated in the nineteenth century but later abandoned; see *Reisen* I pp. 36 and 138: Cuinet III pp. 364f. and 681: Philippson V p. 92. For the wine of Telmessus see Pliny *N.H.* XIV 74. It was perhaps made from the grapes referred to as ξύλινος καρπός in *T.A.M.* II 1 = *O.G.I.* 55 and *Clara Rhodos* IX (1938), p. 190f. (see Chap. V note 69) from Telmessus and the neighbourhood, for this expression is used to denote fruit in Diodorus III 63, 2, Strabo V p. 240 and Athenaeus III 15, p. 78 D. A wine from Lycia which had a medicinal effect is mentioned in Pliny *N.H.* XIV 117. For the fertility of the Plain of Podalia see *Reisen* II p. 160. Granaries were built by Hadrian at Patara, near the mouth of the Xanthus, and at Andriace, the port of Myra; see Chap. XXVI note 37. For the goats' hair see Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* IX 28, p. 606 A and Aelian *Hist. Anim.* XVI 30. For the fisheries see Pliny *N.H.* IX 180. For sponge-fishing see Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* V 16, p. 548 B and Pliny IX 149 and XXXI 131 and, in modern times, Baedeker *Konstantinopel u. Kleinasien*[2], p. 442. The mention of a πορφυοική from Lycia (see below note 29) suggests that there were also purple-fisheries, as at Rhodes (Vitruvius VII 13, 2).

11. For the route through Caria see Chap. II note 19. For its continuation through Lycia see *Tab. Peut.* X 2 supplemented by the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 706f.), where the following stations are recorded: Caunus, Calynda, Telmessus, Patara, Antiphellus, Limyra, Corydalla, Phaselis. For this route (in the reverse direction) see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 124f. For traces of the ancient road crossing the pass of Kızıl Bel, east of Calynda, and for the route leading from the plain east of Telmessus over a low pass into the valley of the Xanthus see Philippson V pp. 90f. and 94. A milestone dedicated to Diocletian and his colleagues by the *metropolis* of Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 257-8 = *I.G.R.* III 606), found between the river Xanthus and Pydnae (on the coast), probably belonged to a branch-route leading to the latter. Traces of the ancient road between Patara and Antiphellus were seen by Schönborn and by Ross (Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX pp. 1115 and 1119, cited by Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2272, no. 5), and ancient paving on the hillside northeast of Antiphellus was reported in *Reisen* II p. 60. The section of the road leading over the mountain between the mouth of the Myrus and the Plain of Finike was protected by a series of towers; see Spratt and Forbes I pp. 140f. and 157. A long bridge of 25 arches near Limyra (Spratt and Forbes I p. 161 and *Reisen* II p. 151) evidently formed part of this route, and a milestone (with obliterated inscription) was found at the eastern end of the Plain of Finike (*C.I.L.* III 14184). For the range (Tahtalı Dağ) wrongly called Solyma see Chap. XI note 11. For the route along the western shore of the Gulf of Antalya from Phaselis northward see Chap. XI note 14.

12. Since these cities were members of the Tetrapolis of Cibyra (see above note 1), it may be assumed that they were connected with the latter by a road. The course of the road between Balbura and Oenoanda is shown by a milestone with inscriptions of Severus and Diocletian found at Dont between the two cities (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897] 1, p. 41) and by remains in the same region (see Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX p. 991, cited by Ruge in *R.E.*

XIII 2272, no. 15, and Spratt and Forbes I p. 272). The course of the road from Oenoanda to the Plain of Elmalı is less certain. If the bridge at Eskihisar (perhaps Choma, see above note 6) is ancient, as was supposed by Spratt and Forbes (I p. 283), the road may have entered the plain from this, the northern, side. But if, as appears more probable (*Reisen* II p. 176), this bridge is modern, there is more evidence to show that the road, after crossing the central mountain-ring by the depression southeast of Oenoanda between the Elbis Dağ and the Girdev Dağ, entered the plain from the west; for milestones have been found south and west of the pass of Taslı Bel south of this depression (see *T.A.M.* I map and II 718 and 719 of Severus), and evidence of a road a short distance toward the southeast was found by Schönborn (Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX p. 829, cited by Ruge *ibid.* no. 19). Moreover, an inscription found immediately north of the Taslı Bel, in which the violator of a tomb was ordered to pay a fine to Oenoanda (*Reisen* II p. 159, no. 187), indicates that the region was in the territory of this city and therefore presumably connected with it by a road. Southeast of the Plain of Elmalı, the course of the road along the left bank of the Arycandus is shown by a milestone of Severus and Caracalla (*I.G.R.* III 730) found a few miles north of Limyra. For this section see Murray's *Handbook*, p. 122. Another road seems to have led into the Plain of Elmalı from Lake Söğüt (see Chap. XII note 4): for its probable course along the western shore of the lake, shown by stelae, and for a milestone of Constantine see *Reisen* II p. 172f. and *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 335. Southeast of the lake, about twelve miles northeast of Elmalı, the narrow entrance to the plain between projecting mountain-spurs was guarded by a fort with strong walls and towers; see *Reisen* II p. 165.

13. The remains of an ancient bridge across the Xanthus south of Araxa are shown on *T.A.M.* I map. The existence of a road running toward the west from the upper valley of the river is indicated by a milestone of Severus at Üzümlü near Cadyanda (*T.A.M.* II 655 = *I.G.R.* III 509). The difficult route taken by Philippson (V p. 97f.) from Üzümlü to Nif and along the Karanfil Çay (a tributary of the Indus) and over the mountains to Tabae was perhaps used in Antiquity. For a possible route along the course of the Alakır Çay past Acalissus (Asar Köy) and thence to Pamphylia see *Reisen* II p. 151, where it is observed that the well-fortified city at Saraycik, described also by Spratt and Forbes I pp. 174f. and 202f. and in *T.A.M.* II p. 427, which was perhaps Menedemium (H. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX *Text*, p. 6 B and Ruge in *R.E.* XV 786), may have been on this road.

14. Strabo XIV p. 664f. (from Artemidorus), where it is said that the Lycian Federation (see below note 32) was composed of twenty-three cities, *αἱ τῆς ψήφου μετέχουσαι*, which, as A. H. M. Jones observed (*Cities*, p. 104), meant "voting units," *i.e.* either cities or sympolities (see below note 24). For the cities of Lycia see Kalinka in *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert*, p. 168f. = *J.O.A.I.* III (1900), *Beibl.* 46f. and Jones, p. 99f. Inscriptions in the Lycian language (see below note 26) have been found in the following: Antiphellus, Arneae, Cadyanda, Candyba, Cyaneae, Isinda, Limyra, Myra, Phellus, Pinara, Rhodi-

apolis, Simena, Sura, Teimiusa (a κώμη), Telmessus (with Carmylessus), Tlos, Xanthus; see *T.A.M.* I p. 11f., where it is observed that there are no inscriptions in Lycian later than the fourth century before Christ. Of these places, Limyra, Patara, Phellus, Telmessus and, probably, Xanthus, and also Gagae are listed in Ps.-Scylax 100.

15. Tlos, Xanthus, Pinara (and probably Cadyanda) honoured Pixodarus of Halicarnassus soon after 340 B.C. (see Chap. III note 135) in return for a grant or present made by him; see *T.A.M.* I 45, but, as Treuber pointed out (*ibid.* p. 105, note 1), the inscription does not prove that Pixodarus actually ruled over these cities. Xanthus, Pinara and Patara surrendered to Alexander in the winter of 334/3 B.C. (Arrian *Anab.* I 24, 4). For Tlos (near Düver) see Fellows, pp. 177f. and 316f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 32f.: *Reisen* I p. 139f.: Philippson V p. 95: *T.A.M.* II p. 204f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 1621f. The description in Strabo (*l.c.*) κατὰ τὴν ⟨ὑπέρ⟩θεσιν τὴν εἰς Κίβυραν κειμένη suggests that it was connected with Cibyratis by a route leading over the mountains from Araxa, probably through Bubon (see below note 21). For Xanthus (Kınık) see Strabo XIV p. 666 ("the largest of the cities in Lycia"): Fellows, pp. 167f. and 336f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 14f.: *Reisen* I p. 85f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 94f. Attempts by would-be tyrants to seize Xanthus and Tlos are mentioned in a decree of Araxa; see Chap. X note 30. For Pinara (Minare) see Fellows, p. 319f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 7f.: *Reisen* I p. 47f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 185f. For Patara (Kelemiş) see Beaufort *Karamania*[2], p. 2f.: Fellows, pp. 166 and 346: Spratt and Forbes I p. 30f.: *Reisen* I p. 114f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 141f. For the harbour see Ps.-Scylax 100: Strabo *l.c.*: Livy XXXVII 17, 10: Appian *B.C.* IV 81. For Myra (Köycik) see Fellows, p. 358f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 130f.: *Reisen* II p. 28f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XVI 1083f. For Trebenda, listed as a Lycian city by Ptolemy (V 3, 3), see *Reisen* II p. 58, no. 114 = *Syll.*[3] 1234 (Μυρεὺς ἀπὸ Τρεβένδων); it was evidently near Myra and connected politically with it (see Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2267 and below note 24). Nevertheless, shortly before the middle of the second century after Christ it had some sort of civic organization, for it passed a decree honouring Jason the Lyciarch; see *I.G.R.* III 704 I and below note 59. Its name appears also on an altar inscribed Ἐλευθέρα Τρεβενδατική (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897] I, p. 17, no. 53). For the port of Andriace see Appian *B.C.* IV 82 and L.W. 1311 = *O.G.I.* 572. Andriace and not Myra itself is evidently meant in *Acta Apost.* XXVII 5.

16. For Olympus (Delik Taş) see Strabo XIV p. 666: Beaufort *Karamania*[2], p. 44f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 191f.: *Reisen* II p. 139f.: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 33: Ruge in *R.E.* XVIII 315f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 362f. Probably a Hellenistic foundation, it is not heard of until the second century before Christ, when it issued coins similar to those of Phaselis (see above note 3) and without the legend Λυκίων; see *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 74. By the time of Artemidorus (100 B.C.), however, it had joined the Lycian Federation (see above note 14). For its occupation by the pirate Zenicetes and its subsequent capture by Servilius Isauricus see Chap. XII note 19. For the Chimaera see Ctesias quoted in Pliny *N.H.* II 236: Ps.-Scylax 100: Mela I 80: Pliny *N.H.* V

100. Strabo (XIV p. 665), on the other hand, (followed by Eustathius *Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 847), placed the Chimaera in the range of Cragus, a site identified in *Reisen* I p. 82f. (accepted by H. Kiepert *F.O.A.* IX) with the gorge of the stream northwest of Sidyma which flows into the sea near Alinca.

17. For Sidyma (Todurga) see *Reisen* I p. 57f.: Ruge in *R.E.* II A 2239f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 60f., where it was pointed out that the frequently-expressed view that it was the successor of an older city named Cragus (mentioned in Strabo XIV p. 665) is improbable. For Phellus and Antiphellus see Strabo XIV p. 666, where, however, the description *ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ* is inaccurate; for Phellus, *in recessu* (Pliny *N.H.* V 100), had a harbour (Ps.-Scylax 100). The situation of Phellus, long in doubt, has been placed with reasonable certainty on the side of a height overlooking the southeastern corner of the bay of Port Sevedo, near Bayındır; see Benndorf in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXIX (1892), p. 67 and Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 1951f. For Antiphellus (Andifli) see Spratt and Forbes I p. 68f. and *Reisen* II p. 60f. For Aperlae, on the isthmus at the eastern end of the Bay of Asar, see G. Hirschfeld in *A.E.M.* IX (1885), p. 192f.: Benndorf *l.c.*: *Reisen* II p. 52: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 17. Simena (Kekova, long supposed to be the site of Aperlae) lay farther east; see Hirschfeld, p. 193f.: *Reisen* II p. 48f.: *Denkschr. l.c.*: Ruge in *R.E.* III A 140. Two inscriptions (*Reisen* II p. 50, nos. 87 and 88), perhaps of the pre-Roman period, mention the interest on money borrowed by the *demos*.

18. See Spratt and Forbes I p. 110f.: *Reisen* II p. 18f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XI 2236. The extent of the city's territory is shown by the number of places in the neighbourhood containing grave-inscriptions which ordered the fine for violation to be paid to Cyaneae; see *Reisen, l.c.* Among these was Teimiusa (Tristomya), called *ἡ Τειμιουσέων κώμη* in *Syll.*[3] 1234; see *Reisen* II p. 55f., and nos. 106, 107, 110, 113 and 115 and Ruge in *R.E.* V A 128. Since two other inscriptions (nos. 108 a and 109), however, order the payment of the fine to Myra, it would seem that it also had certain rights in the place.

19. For Limyra and Rhodiapolis see Spratt and Forbes I pp. 147f. and 181f. (with plan opposite p. 166): *Reisen* II pp. 65f. and 76f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 710f. and I A 955f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 326. For Gagae (Aktaş) see Ps.-Scylax 100: Spratt and Forbes I p. 183f.: Ruge in *R.E.* VII 465f. For Arycanda, south of the eastern Ak Dağ (see above note 5) see Fellows, p. 376f. and *T.A.M.* II p. 288f.

20. For Cadyanda see Fellows, p. 307f.: Spratt and Forbes I p. 40f.: *Reisen* I p. 141f.: Cousin and Diehl in *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 39f.: Ruge in *R.E.* X 1477f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 240f. For the coins, inscribed Καδυ., see *Coll. Wadd.* 3034f. For the subscription-list (only partly preserved) see *T.A.M.* II 650. For Araxa (Evren) see Fellows, p. 310f. and p. 387f. (where the site is erroneously called Massicytus): *T.A.M.* II p. 259. For a decree granting citizenship, *κυρίας ἐκκλησίας γενομένης*, with mention of *ἄρχοντες* see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VIII-IX (1925-6), p. 313f., no. 1, with lettering of the late third century before Christ, found in Rhodes. It is dated *ἔτους ὀγδόου μηνὸς Γορπιαίου*, but there

is no indication of the era. If the inscription actually dates from the third century, the year may be a regnal year of one of the Ptolemies (see below note 28). Attacks on Araxa by Bubon and (its tyrant?) Moagetes and wars with Cibyra and Termessus (by the Lycian Federation) are mentioned in a recently found decree of the city, probably dating from the second century (see Chap. X note 30).

21. For Bubon see Spratt and Forbes I p. 264f. For the route to Araxa (see above note 20) see Hoskyns in *Geogr. Journ.* XII (1842), p. 157, who reported "many khans" but not "a single village." For Balbura (Katara) see Spratt and Forbes I p. 267f.: *Reisen* II p. 183f.: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 37. For coins issued probably during the second century before Christ see *Coll. Wadd.* 3027f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 46. For Oenoanda (Inceveliler) see Spratt and Forbes I p. 273f.: *Reisen* II p. 177f.: Pace in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1916-20), p. 66: Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2230f. For an autonomous coin issued in the late third or early second century see *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. xciii and 73. For the road to the Plain of Podalia see above note 12.

22. For the probable site of Termessus Minor at Asar Kemer near Oenoanda see *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 55 and Heberdey in *R.E.* V A 776, accepted with reserve by Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 2231. It seems to be referred to in Strabo XIII p. 631, where, however, the description "situated above and very near Cibyra" is incorrectly applied to Termessus Major; see Chap. XI note 11. Otherwise, the only ancient authors who mention the place are Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*) and Eustathius (*Comm. in Dionys. Per.* 859), both of whom called it Τερμησσὸς Μικρά and described it as a colony of Termessus Major. The community, however, was regularly called Τερμησσεῖς οἱ πρὸς Οἰνοάνδοις; see L.W. 1232: *I.G.R.* III 481 (=Dessau 8870), 489 (=*O.G.I.* 566), 490, 491, 495, 1505 and 1507: *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 224, no. 6; XXIV (1900), p. 338f., nos. 1, 4 and 6: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV I, p. 50f., no. 68: *Rev. Biblique* I (1904), p. 551, no. 2=*Cl. Rev.* XXVIII (1914), p. 197, no. 4 (a painted stele at Sidon). Its relationship to the mother-city appears in *I.G.R.* III 489 and *B.C.H.* XXIV no. 1, where the latter is described as ἡ ἀνέκαθεν συγγενίς. The date of its foundation was placed by Heberdey (*Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXVIII [1931], p. 19) prior to 189 B.C., when it may be supposed that the power of Termessus Major extended to this region and an outpost against Cibyra seemed necessary. Autonomous coins, probably of the first century before Christ, suggest that at this time the place was independent of the mother-city; see Hill in *Num. Chron.* XVII (1897), p. 26f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 276f. Coins inscribed Τερ. Οἰ. (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 179 and Hill, p. 27) may be supposed either to give the full name of the city or to indicate a joint coinage with Oenoanda. The fact that the inscriptions recording honours conferred by the Council and People (all of the second and third centuries after Christ) have been found not at Termessus Minor but at Oenoanda suggests that the latter may have been the administrative centre. For a suggestion that Termessus Minor may have belonged to

the Tetrapolis of Cibyra see A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 406f., note 20 and Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 80.

23. Pliny *N.H.* V 101. In addition to the communities known from other sources, Pliny's list (thirty names in all) includes *Canas* (perhaps an error for Arycanda) and the succession *Ascandiandalis, Amelas, Noscopium*, long regarded as all unknown but emended by Robert (*Villes*, p. 161f., accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 1052f. and *Phil. Woch.* LVII [1937], 1259) to Cadyanda, Lissa, Melanoscopium; instead of the last of these, which is unknown, Zingerle in *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 154f. suggested Melaenae Chorion (*i.e.* Χωρίον). To these may be added the hitherto unknown Orloanda, which, according to a decree of Araxa, probably of the second century before Christ, was admitted to the Federation at the request of the Araxans; see Chap. X note 30.

24. For the sympolity of Aperlae with Apollonia, Isinda and Simena see *I.G.R.* III 692 and 693: *Reisen* II p. 51, nos. 90-92: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 17f., nos. 56 and 58 and p. 31f., nos. 36, 37 (=*B.C.H.* XVIII [1894], p. 547) and 40. The individual citizen was called Ἀπερλείτης ἀπὸ Ἀπολλωνίας or ἀπὸ Ἰσίνδων or ἀπὸ Σιμένων. Aperlae and the συμπολιτευόμενοι seem to have formed one Council and People; see *I.G.R.* III 690= 1523. For a sympolity of Acalissus (see above note 13) with the neighbouring Idebessus (with the individual as Ἀκαλισσεὺς ἀπὸ Ἰδεβησσοῦ) and Cormus see *T.A.M.* II 830, 833, 836 (=*I.G.R.* III 646, 647 and 653), 837, 846, 847, 849, 852, 854, 859, 867, 870 and 875. For a sympolity of Arneae (in the mountains north of the Myrus) with other communities see *T.A.M.* II 765 and 766=*I.G.R.* III 640 and 642 and *T.A.M.* II 767=Rott *Kleinas. Denkmäler*, p. 380, no. 106. See also *Reisen* II p. 49: Robert *Villes*, p. 55f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 108 and notes 18 and 20. For a probable combination between Myra and Trebenda see above note 15.

25. *Iliad* II 876; V 471f. and 628f.; XII 307f.; XIV 426; XVI 419f.; XVII 140f. There was a *Sarpedoneion* at Xanthus in 42 B.C. (Appian *B.C.* IV 78f.), and a χαριστήριον was dedicated in the early first century before Christ, also at Xanthus, to the "heroes Sarpedon and Glaucus" (*T.A.M.* II 265=*I.G.R.* III 607 B=*O.G.I.* 552). The memory of the heroes was also perpetuated in the names of the demes Sarpedonius at Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 264 and 265=*I.G.R.* III 607 A and B=*O.G.I.* 553 and 552), Sarpedonius and Bellerophontius at Tlos (*T.A.M.* II 548, 552, 590 and 597 a), and Telephius at Patara (Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*). As was observed by A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 100f., it is probable that these names were adopted during the period of Hellenization in the third century before Christ. An example of the same antiquarian tendency is to be found in the deme-name Ἰοβάτειος (from Iobates, a legendary king of Lycia) at Xanthus and Tlos; see *T.A.M.* II 283, 309, 313, 372, 386, 389 and 589.

26. For the history of Lycia from the Persian period onward see O. Treuber *Gesch. d. Lykier*, p. 90f. and Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2273f. The names of the dy-

nasts appear on coins with Lycian inscriptions issued in the fifth and fourth centuries; see *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. xxvi f. and 1f. and Head *H.N.*[2] p. 690f. For the capture of Telmessus by the dynast Pericles see above note 4. It is probable that . . . is, son of Harpagus, whose achievements are praised on the "Stele from Xanthus" (to be dated perhaps at the end of the fifth century) was one of these rulers; see *T.A.M.* I 44 and p. 47f. For Maussolus in Lycia see Ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* II p. 1348 A and Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 24, 1; see also Treuber, p. 104 and Judeich *Kleinas. Stud.* p. 242. For his treaty with Phaselis see above note 3. For the Lycian language, used throughout the district as late as the fourth century (see above note 14), see *T.A.M.* I p. 9f.: F. Bork *Skizze d. Lükischen* (Königsberg 1926), p. 36f.: Deeters in *R.E.* XIII 2282f.: A. Götze in *Kulturgesch. d. Alt. Orients* III 1 = Müller-Otto *Handbuch* III 1, 3, 1 (Munich 1933), p. 170f.

27. Arrian *Anab.* I 24, 4f.; III 6, 6: Plutarch *Alex.* 17, 3f. For Nearchus's capture of Telmessus see Polyaenus V 35. The statement of Justin (XIII 4, 15) that he obtained Lycia and Pamphylia after Alexander's death is due to some misunderstanding (Treuber, p. 139, note 3).

28. Diodorus XVIII 3, 1; 39, 6: Curtius Rufus X 30: Appian *Syr.* 53: Arrian frg. 1, 6 Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 841). For Lycians in Antigonus's army and the possession of Patara by his admiral in 315 B.C. see Diodorus XIX 29, 3; 64, 5; 69, 1; 82, 4. For Ptolemy's capture of Xanthus and Phaselis (together with Caunus, see Chap. III note 62) and for the destruction of Demetrius's ship at Patara in 305/4 see Diodorus XX 27, 1 and 93, 3. Ptolemy's later seizure of Lycia was dated about 295 by Beloch (*G.G.*[2] IV 2, p. 335), in 285 (with Caunus, see Chap. IV note 21) by Ernst Meyer (*Grenzen*, p. 34). The earliest evidence for Ptolemaic rule is to be found in two decrees of Lissa in western Lycia, dated in the eighth and eleventh years of Ptolemy II, *i.e.* 278/7 and 275/4 B.C.; see *T.A.M.* II 158 and 159 = *O.G.I.* 57 and 58. A decree of Telmessus (*Clara Rhodos* IX [1938], p. 183, see Chap. I note 56) is dated [ἔτους . . .]καὶ εἰκοστοῦ (between 265/4 and 257/6) and a decree of Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 262) in his twenty-ninth year (256 B.C.). For his renaming of Patara see Strabo XIV p. 666. For his possession of Lycia and Pamphylia see also Theocritus XVII 88f. For the inclusion of Lycia among the possessions inherited by Ptolemy III see *O.G.I.* 54 (see Chap. IV note 28). Decrees of Lissa (*T.A.M.* II 160 = *O.G.I.* 727) and Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 1 = *O.G.I.* 55) are dated, respectively, in his second year (245 B.C.) and his seventh year (240 B.C.).

29. For the power of Egypt in Caria see Chap. IV note 25. For the "alliances" with Miletus, Amyzon and the cities of Caria see *Milet* I 3, no. 139 (see Chap. IV note 21): *I.B.M.* 1035 = Welles, no. 38 (see Chap. IV note 48): Livy XXXIII 20, 11 (see Chap. IV note 49). For the διάπρα(σιν) τῶν κατὰ Λυκίαν ἀργυ(ρικῶν) προσόδων and the ἐγλαβόντας τὴν κατὰ Λυκίαν [πο]ρφυρικὴν εἰς (ἔτη) ε′ see *Pap. Tebtunis* I 8 = Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, p. 7f., no. 2, probably to be dated in 218/17 (see

Chap. IV note 31). For the taxes at Telmessus on the produce of fruit-trees (vines? see above note 10) and on the use of pastures and the tithes on various kinds of cereals and vegetables see *T.A.M.* II 1 = *O.G.I.* 55. For the dating of city-decrees by regnal years see above note 28. The decrees of Lissa, Xanthus and Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 1) there cited, as well as a decree of Araxa (see above note 20), record action by a κυρία ἐκκλησία, and ἄρχοντες appear in those of Araxa and Xanthus and the earlier decree of Telmessus (between 265 and 257). For Egyptian supremacy in Lycia see also A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 99f. and *Greek City*, pp. 22 and 45.

30. The latest evidence of Egyptian rule is the dedication of a temple of Artemis at Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 263 = *O.G.I.* 91) in behalf of Ptolemy V (not earlier than 204 B.C., see Chap. I note 42). For Antiochus's occupation of the coast cities see Chap. I note 49. For the "consecration" of Xanthus see *T.A.M.* II 266 = *O.G.I.* 746. Antiochus's ground for this action was his "kinship" with these deities, an allusion to the Seleucids' claim of descent from Apollo (see Chap. IV note 6). Since, however, there was a temple of Artemis in Xanthus (see above) and since the city's coins issued during the second century bear the head of Apollo (*Coll. Wadd.* 3201 and *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 92), the real reason was perhaps the fact that they were already the patron-deities of the place. They were presumably the πατρῷοι θεοί mentioned in an inscription on a statue erected by the Council and People of Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 496 = *I.G.R.* III 605) found in the Temple of Leto about four miles southwest of the city, which seems to have had an ancient cult-legend; see Strabo XIV p. 665: *Reisen* I p. 118f.: *T.A.M.* II p. 181f.

31. For Antiochus's possession of Patara during the war see Livy XXXVII 15, 6f.; 24, 13; 45, 2; XXXVIII 39, 2f. = Polybius XXI 44 (46), 3. For the assignment of the Lycians (except Telmessus, see Chap. I note 56) to Rhodes see Chap. IV note 61. For their resistance to Rhodian rule and for their liberation in 167 and the dedication by the *Koinon* in Rome (*C.I.L.* I² 725 = *O.G.I.* 551) see Chap. IV notes 63, 64 and 67. For the status of the cities after this action see Treuber, p. 169f.

32. For this organization, called τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων or Λυκίων τὸ Κοινόν (or ἔθνος) see Strabo XIV p. 664f. (τὸ Λυκιακὸν σύστημα) presumably from Artemidorus: Treuber *ibid.* p. 171f.: G. Fougères *De Lyciorum Communi* (Paris 1898), p. 15f.: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 927f.: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2276f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 101f. and *Greek City*, p. 45: Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 70f. For its probable origin in the third century (between 276 and 204) see Treuber, p. 149, Fougères *l.c.* and Larsen, p. 72f.

33. The following cities issued coins inscribed Λυ. or Λυκίων with the initials of the place of issue and bearing the head of Apollo: Antiphellus, Aperlae, Arycanda, Cadyanda (or Candyba), Cyaneae, Gagae, Limyra, Myra, Patara, Phellus, Pinara, Rhodiapolis, Sidyma, Telmessus, Tlos and Xanthus; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3015f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. 1 (Sidyma) and 41f. The initials Τρ. or Τρε. and Τυ. (*Coll. Wadd.* 3199 and *B. M. Cat.*

Lycia, p. 90f.) probably do not refer to Trebenna (on the western edge of the Pamphylian plain) and Tymena (a *κώμη*, see Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*) but to Trebenda (see above note 15) and the community of the *Τυβμισσέων* or *Τυβενισσέων* (*Reisen* II p. 54, no. 96 and *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897] I, p. 18); see Jones *Cities*, p. 103f. The abbreviation Δι. (*B. M. Cat. Lycia*, p. 58 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 304), formerly supposed to denote Dias (known only from Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.*), has been shown by E. S. G. Robinson (*J.H.S.* XXXIV [1914], p. 42, no. 46) to be the initials of a magistrate of Xanthus. On the other hand, Olympus may be added, for although its coins did not bear the word *Λυκίων*, it was enumerated by Artemidorus among the members of the Federation (Strabo XIV p. 665, see above note 16). For coins of Bubon, after it joined the Federation, without *Λυκίων* see *Coll. Wadd.* 3032f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycia*, p. 47. The initials Κρα. or Κρ. and Μασ. or Μα. with *Λυκίων* appear on coins of the usual type issued from the second century before Christ to the time of Augustus; see *Coll. Wadd.* 3045f. and 3085f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycia*, pp. 51f., 63f. and 285 (for Αμ. on p. 40 = Μα. see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 306). Some of the coins inscribed Κρ. bear also the initials of Patara, Telmessus, Tlos or Xanthus; see Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 328f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 3055f., 3185f., 3192f. and 3202: *B. M. Cat. Lycia*, pp. 87 and 92. On the other hand, the coins inscribed Μα. *etc.* seem to have been issued only at Myra (*B. M. Cat. Lycia*, p. 66f. and p. 70, no. 9), except for a single specimen which bears the letters Ξα. Μα. (*Coll. Wadd.* 3203). The names Cragus and Massicytus (see above note 5) evidently refer to the two great mountain-ranges occupying, respectively, the western and central portions of Lycia. For lack of a better explanation of the initials which appear on the coins, it has been generally assumed that these represent two large monetary districts, the cities of which combined to issue coinage of the federal type, the one group consisting of the communities of western Lycia, the other chiefly, as it would appear, of Myra, except in so far as Xanthus was a member (perhaps for a time only) of this group also. A division of cities, although not identical with that of the coins, between those *περὶ μὲν τὸν Κράγον τὸ ὄρος* and *πρὸς δὲ τῷ Μασικύτῳ ὄρει* appears also in Ptolemy V 3, 3.

34. Strabo XIV p. 664f., where the Assembly is called *τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον*. On the other hand, decrees of the Lycian *Koinon* passed during the later period, when Lycia was a Roman province, mention an *ἔννομος βουλή* and an *ἀρχαιρεσιακὴ ἐκκλησία*, indicating the existence of a small, deliberative body and a larger, elective assembly, whose members were called, respectively, *βουλευταί* and *ἀρχοστάται*; see *I.G.R.* III 473, 474, 492, 704 III B-C and 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), cc. 12, 15, 17, 20-23, 25-27, 30 *etc.*, and Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 81f. If a decree of Pinara (*T.A.M.* II 508 = *I.G.R.* III 681 = Larsen in *C.P.* XXXVIII [1943], p. 180f.), mentioning gifts to [*βου*]*λευταῖς καὶ ἀρχοστάταις*, is to be dated, as believed by Kalinka and Larsen (*C.P.* XXXVIII p. 246f. and XL p. 93f.), in the first century before Christ, it shows that the statement in Strabo is incomplete and that both bodies existed in the period of independence. If so, as Larsen observed (XL p. 83), by *συνέδριον* Strabo meant

the *ἐκκλησία*. This dating, however, is open to the objection that it is difficult to explain the expression [*σε*]*μνότατος δικαιοδότης* (l. 25-6) as referring to anyone but a Roman governor; see also Robert in *R.E.G.* LVII (1944), p. 230f.

35. Strabo XIV p. 665. For a *ταμιεύσας τοῦ Κοινοῦ* in the first century before Christ see *T.A.M.* II 583 = *I.G.R.* III 563 = *O.G.I.* 556. For the naval and land victories of Aechmon see *T.A.M.* II 264, 265 and 319 = *I.G.R.* III 607 A and B and 620 = *O.G.I.* 552-554 and Chap. XII note 18. Brutus, on his invasion of Lycia in 42 B.C. (see below note 43), was opposed by *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λυκίων στράτευμα* (Cassius Dio XLVII 34, 1). The titles *ἱππαρχήσ*[*α*]*ς καὶ στρ*[*α*]*τηγ*[*ήσας*] and *ἱππάρχης τοῦ ἔθν*[*ους*] are found in inscriptions from the period of Lycian independence; see *T.A.M.* II 261 a and 575 and (as *ἱππάρ*[*χ*]*ω*. . .) perhaps in *T.A.M.* II 508 = *I.G.R.* III 681 (see above note 34). A *ὑποιπαρχήσας* appears in *T.A.M.* II 420 = *I.G.R.* III 680 (at the beginning of Tiberius's principate). The prestige attached to these commands is shown by inscriptions of the Roman period in which the person honoured is represented as descended from men bearing these titles; see *T.A.M.* II 145; 495; 905; 916 = *I.G.R.* III 524; 603; 739, cc. 17 and 30; 735: *T.A.M.* II 790: *I.G.R.* III 495. The title of *στρατηγός*, actually held in the second century after Christ (*I.G.R.* III 735), was obviously purely honorary. The Lycians who aided the Rhodians against Mithradates (Appian *Mith.* 24) were hardly the federal army but probably a body of individual soldiers (see above note 4).

36. According to Strabo *l.c.*, *dikasteria* were appointed "in common" and *dikastai* chosen from the cities in proportion to the number of their representatives in the Assembly. It was supposed by Fougères (p. 31) on the analogy of the courts of the Achaean League that these *dikasteria* dealt not only with controversies between the Federation and a city and between cities but also (perhaps as the result of an appeal) with lawsuits within a single community. As Fougères observed, cases were probably conducted according to laws framed for the general use of the Lycian cities; a *νομογραφήσας Λυκίοις* appears in *T.A.M.* II 420 = *I.G.R.* III 680. The question arises as to a connexion between this federal court and the *μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια* of which an *ἐπιστατήσας* was honoured in inscriptions from Tlos, Patara and Rhodiapolis; see *T.A.M.* II 583 = *I.G.R.* III 563 = *O.G.I.* 556 (first century before Christ): *T.A.M.* II 420 = *I.G.R.* III 680 (time of Tiberius or later): *T.A.M.* II 915 = *I.G.R.* III 736 (second century after Christ). It was believed by Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 556, note 6), followed by Kalinka (notes on *T.A.M.* II 420 and 583), that these were standing courts composed of Lycians, which, although they did not have jurisdiction, as Fougères suggested, over controversies between cities, might be summoned by any city of the Federation for the conduct of lawsuits. On the other hand, the expression *μετάπεμπτον δικαστήριον* (or *μετάπεμπτοι δικασταί* or *μετάπεμπτος δικαστής*) is frequently used in inscriptions from the cities of Ionia, Lydia and Caria to denote judges brought from some other city for the conduct of cases awaiting trial (see Chap. IV note 81); see Michel 357 = *S.G.D.I.* 215: *S.E.G.* IV 233 and

621: *Ins. Magn.* 90 and 101: *I.G.* XII 2, 658 (=*B.C.H.* L [1926], p. 469f.); XII 5, 869: *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 410f., no. 12; LI (1926), p. 28f., no. 2 (?). See also Hitzig in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung, Roman. Abt.* XXVIII (1907), p. 238: Plassart in *B.C.H.* XXXVIII (1914), p. 143, note 1: Robert in *B.C.H.* L (1926), p. 473 and LII (1928), pp. 178 and 418 and *R.E.G.* LVII (1944), p. 230: Larsen in *C.P.* XXXVIII (1943), p. 249f. Unless it may be supposed that in Lycia the term had a different meaning from that used in other places in Asia Minor, it seems evident that here also the term *metapempton dikasterion* denoted imported judges. As Larsen observed (p. 251), the man described as ἐπιστατήσας in *T.A.M.* II 420 and 915 cited above (the opening lines of *T.A.M.* II 583 are lost) was a citizen of the city in question; it appears, therefore, to have been customary to appoint a Lycian as presiding officer for an imported court. On the other hand, it hardly seems necessary to suppose with Larsen (*l.c.*) that the fact that the *metapempta dikasteria* are mentioned in the plural indicates that "several courts or panels of judges were summoned at one and the same time." Since, as Larsen pointed out, the existing evidence does not make it possible to give the office of *epistates* a definite place in the *cursus honorum* of a Lycian official, there seems to be no reason why it should not be supposed that the man in question acted in this capacity on several different occasions. Furthermore, there seems to be no ground for regarding a *dikasterion* as a "panel"; for in Michel 357 (cited above) the *metapempton dikasterion* was composed of only two *dikastai* (with their *grammateus*). Larsen also supposed (p. 253) that the ξενοκρίται mentioned in *T.A.M.* II 508=*I.G.R.* III 681 (from Pinara) were the foreign judges belonging to a *metapempton dikasterion*. This view was based on the mention of a ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα in an inscription from Sparta of the second century after Christ (*B.S.A.* XXVI [1923-25], p. 163, no. A 10, see also p. 180)—apparently the only other instance of the use of the word—where it seems to refer to a *dikastes* sent by Sparta to Alabanda. As Plassart observed (*l.c.*), the term ξενικὸν δικαστήριον is evidently used to denote foreign judges in *Ins. Priene* 59 and Pausanias VII 9, 5 and probably also in *Syll.*[3] 364, ll. 52, 87 and 97 (Ephesus) and *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 101f., no. 6. It is, nevertheless, possible, as supposed by Plassart and in the *Greek-English Lexicon*, that these ξενοκρίται, like the ξενοδίκαι found elsewhere, were a board which tried suits involving aliens (see Hitzig, p. 232f.) and so a local court.

37. For the Λυκιάρχης see Strabo *l.c.*: Treuber, p. 181: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2276f. There seems to be no valid ground for the opinion of Fougères (p. 28), accepted by Ruge, that this office was combined with that of the *strategos* (see above note 35); see A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 405 and Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 75. The only known Lyciarch of the period of independence is the man honoured in *T.A.M.* II 583 (see above note 35) as Λυκιαρχήσας τοῦ ἔθνους τὰς τρεῖς συναγωγὰς τοῦ Κοινοῦ (*i.e.* three meetings during his term of office). For the γραμματεύς and the ὑπογραμματεὺς Λυκίων (τοῦ Κοινοῦ) in the period of independence see *T.A.M.* II 420 and 660=*I.G.R.* III 680 and 515 (=*O.G.I.* 571) and *Reisen* II no. 237. For the frequent combination of

this office during the Roman period with that of the *archiereus* of the Augusti see below note 54.

38. *O.G.I.* 99: *I.G.* II² 3218 (see Chap. XII note 13): *T.A.M.* II 274 = *I.G.R.* III 612 = *O.G.I* 198 (A.D. 23-40).

39. For these coins see above note 33. For the ἱερεὺς (ἱερασάμενος) τοῦ κοινοῦ θεοῦ Πατρῴου Ἀπόλλωνος see *I.G.R.* III 473, 488 (= *O.G.I.* 565) and 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), c. 5, all of the Roman period. In the first of these inscriptions the priest is referred to as an ἐθνικὸς ἄρχων and the words ἐν τῷ ἐξιόντι ἔτει indicate that he was elected annually. In addition to the federal cult, Apollo Patrous was worshipped at Patara, where he had an oracle, a προφήτης and a festival; see Herodotus I 182; Mela I 82: Servius *Comm. in Aen.* IV 143: *I.G.R.* III 680 (= *T.A.M.* II 420), 704 II B and 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), cc. 53, 59 and 63. He had also a cult at Apollonia (or Aperlae); see *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) 1, p. 18, no. 58 (ordering the fine for the violation of a tomb to be paid to him). For the Letoüm near Xanthus see above note 30. Of the six statue-bases bearing honorific inscriptions which have been found in the ruins (*T.A.M.* II 492 and 495-497 [= *I.G.R.* III 600 and 603-605], 498 and 499), only one (no. 497) was erected by the *Koinon*, while the others were erected by the city of Xanthus. For the ἐθ[νι]κὴ πανήγυρις see *T.A.M.* II 496 = *I.G.R.* III 605 and for the quadrennial recurrence see *T.A.M.* II 261 = *I.G.R.* III 635. A ἱεροκῆρυξ τοῦ ἔθνους at Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 366) may have been connected with this festival. For the festival called Κοινὰ Λυκίων in the Roman period see below note 57.

40. For the cult of Roma of the Lycian *Koinon* see Chap. X note 30: *T.A.M.* II 583 = *I.G.R.* III 563 = *O.G.I.* 556 (Tlos, of the first century before Christ, see above note 35): *T.A.M.* II 223 = *I.G.R.* III 595 (Sidyma): *I.G.R.* III 474 (Balbura) and 490 (Termessus Minor). The last three date from the second century after Christ. For local priesthoods of Roma apparently at Trysa (found between Cyaneae and Myra) and at Aperlae see *I.G.R.* III 687 and 692 (combined with Zeus and Apollo). For the *Koinon's* offering to Jupiter Capitolinus (*C.I.L.* I² 725) see Chap. IV note 67. The suggestion of A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 105) that at the beginning of the first century before Christ the Lycians were "under the authority of the governor of Cilicia" is based solely on the presence of the words [Π]αμφυλία καὶ Λυκία in an unconnected fragment of the Roman law of 101/100 B.C. against piracy (*S.E.G.* III 378 A, see Chap. XII note 13).

41. For Mithradates's unsuccessful attempt to invade Lycia see Chap. IX note 30. According to a statement quoted by Athenaeus (XII 35, p. 527-8) from Agatharchides of Cnidus (frg. 11 Müller [*F.H.G.* III p. 194] = frg. 16 Jacoby [*F.Gr.Hist.* II p. 210]), the people of Arycanda, unable to pay the interest on the indebtedness incurred as the result of their extravagance, "were influenced by their hopes of Mithradates, thinking that they would be rewarded by the abolition of their debts." Since Agatharchides wrote during

the latter part of the second century before Christ and his work seems to have ended with Philip V of Macedonia, the quotation, if genuine, clearly cannot refer to Mithradates Eupator. It is difficult also to connect it with any of the earlier monarchs of Pontus. The suggestion was made by Ed. Meyer *Gesch. d. Königreichs Pontos*, p. 53, note 1, followed by Treuber (p. 151, note 1), Niese (*G.M.S.* II p. 640), Geyer (*R.E.* XV 2208) and Jacoby (*F.Gr. Hist.* II C, p. 153), that the Mithradates in question was the son (more probably the nephew) of Antiochus III, one of the leaders under whom the King sent an army from Syria to Sardis in 197; see Chap. I note 49. There is little reason to believe, however, that this army ever came near enough to Arycanda to arouse any hope among the inhabitants, for no army, marching from Syria to Sardis, would pass through Lycia. On the other hand, the hope of a cancellation of debts suggests the policy actually put into practice by Mithradates Eupator during his invasion (Appian *Mith.* 48 and 62, see above p. 225), and it is possible that, as was suggested by Bevan (*House of Seleucus* II p. 295), Athenaeus was wrong in attributing the statement to Agatharchides; if so, it would seem that the Pontic army did advance some distance into Lycia, although not necessarily as far as Arycanda. On the other hand, this Mithradates may have been some local leader, who adopted what often proved a successful means of obtaining the support of the bankrupt element among the citizens.

42. Appian *Mith.* 61: *T.A.M.* II 899, a fragment of a senatus consultum containing the name of Sulla, connected by the editor with this recognition. For Sulla's reorganization see above p. 233f. The suggestion of Holleaux (*Études* I p. 393f.) that the mention of a Rhodian ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας in *I.G.* XII 1, 49 = *Syll.*³ 619 shows that Sulla granted a portion of Lycia to Rhodes has been refuted by the observation that the inscription dates from the period 188-167 B.C.; see Chap. IV note 62.

43. Appian *B.C.* IV 65 and 76f.: Plutarch *Brut.* 30f.: Cassius Dio XLVII 34 = Zonaras X 18: Velleius Paterculus II 69, 6: Philo *Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit* 118f. (VI p. 33f. Cohn-Wendland). See also Treuber, p. 191f. and Gelzer in *R.E.* X 1011f. The destruction of Xanthus and the mercy shown to Patara are mentioned in several of the Greek "letters of Brutus" (see Chap. XVII note 54), *i.e.* no. 11 (to Rhodes), no. 25 (to the Lycians) and no. 43 (to Myra), while others, nos. 17, 21, 23, 27 and 45, addressed to Patara, the Lycians and Myra, contain various orders to these communities. An epigram from Olba in Cilicia, apparently mentioning the burning of Xanthus, was connected with this war by the editors; see *J.H.S.* XII (1891), p. 263f., no. 49 = *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 41 = *T.A.M.* II p. 100. For a coin struck by Brutus after this campaign, on which he bears the title of *Imp(erator)*, see H. A. Grueber *Coins Rom. Rep. Brit. Mus.* II p. 450f. and p. 478, no. 62.

44. Appian *B.C.* V 7. According to Cassius Dio XLVII 36, 4, Antony and Octavian, before the battle of Philippi, promised money to both the Lycians and the Rhodians.

45. *I.G.R.* III 482 = *O.G.I.* 555, a dedication at Oenoanda to "Caesar and the *demos*" by Moles, ὁ Ξάνθου ἐπιστατήσας τοῦ Καίσαρος ναοῦ and ἱερατεύσας Καίσαρος. Dittenberger pointed out (note 2) that the "Caesar" in question was probably Octavian and suggested as the date the period immediately after the battle of Philippi. Since, however, Octavian was not in Asia at this time, it seems more reasonable to connect the foundation of the cult with his visit in 30/29 (see above p. 440f.). It is hardly necessary to assume (see Dittenberger's note 2) that Moles was a citizen of Oenoanda who had opposed the sending of troops from the city to aid Brutus against Xanthus (Appian *B.C.* IV 78, see above note 43), for he may well have moved from Xanthus to Oenoanda after the expiration of his office in the former.

46. *T.A.M.* II 556 = *I.G.R.* III 546 (Tlos): *I.G.R.* III 719 and 721 (Myra, see Chap. XXI note 19): *I.G.R.* III 694 (Apollonia) and 474 (cult of Tiberius by the *Koinon*). For a priest of Germanicus and Drusus at Patara and statues of Germanicus and Agrippina erected by the *demos* of Myra see Chap. XXI note 19.

47. For these coins bearing the portrait and name of Claudius, one of which only (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 38, no. 5) shows the letters Αν., see Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde* (Geneva 1908), p. 21f.

48. According to Cassius Dio LX 17, 3, Claudius τοὺς Λυκίους . . . ἐς τὸν τῆς Παμφυλίας νομὸν ἐσέγραψεν. This statement has frequently been questioned, partly on the ground that the repair of the roads in Pamphylia by an imperial procurator in A.D. 50 (see Chap. XXIII note 22) indicates that Pamphylia was at this time a separate, procuratorial, province, and partly because, according to Tacitus *Hist.* II 9, Galba in A.D. 69 assigned *Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati regendas*, from which it was inferred that Pamphylia was at the time attached to the Galatian province, as has sometimes been supposed to have been the case under Augustus (see Chap. XIX note 4). It was shown, however, by Syme (*Klio* XXX [1937], p. 227f.) that there is no good reason for rejecting Dio's statement. Roads were built by procurators in the senatorial province of Bithynia in A.D. 57/8 (*C.I.L.* III 346 = *I.G.R.* III 15, see Chap. XXIII note 65) and A.D. 78 (see Chap. XXIV note 13), and so it may not be inferred from the procurator's repair of the roads in Pamphylia that it was a procuratorial province; so also Horovitz in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 64f. The combination of Lycia and Pamphylia into a single province in the time of Nero, moreover, is definitely proved, as Syme pointed out, by the fact that C. Licinius Mucianus, who was imperial governor of Lycia probably soon after A.D. 57 (*I.G.R.* III 486 = *O.G.I.* 558 = Dessau 8816: Pliny *N.H.* XII 9 and XIII 88), is known from an inscription at Attaleia (*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] [1914], p. 36, no. 38 = *Ann. Ép.* 1915, 48) to have been governor of Pamphylia as well. Syme also observed (p. 230f.) that Tacitus's use of the word *provincias* shows that at the time of the union in 69 Galatia and Pamphylia were separate provinces. The statement of A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 68) that Claudius "united the southern part of Galatia

with Lycia" is evidently based on the view that before A.D. 43 Pamphylia was part of the Galatian province. For the annexation of Pamphylia to Lycia under Vespasian and the organization formed by its cities see above p. 576.

49. This is an inference from the fact that Q. Veranius, who seems to appear as imperial governor of Lycia in an inscription at Sidyma (*T.A.M.* II 177 = *I.G.R.* III 577) and was honoured, presumably in the same capacity, at Cyaneae (*I.G.R.* III 703), was also honoured at Cibyra by the *demos* as *legatus pro praetore* of Claudius (*I.G.R.* IV 902). His governorship is to be placed between his tribuneship of the Plebs in A.D. 41 and his consulship in 49 (see *P.I.R.* III p. 399, no. 266), but since he could not have been praetor before 43, it is hardly probable that, as suggested in *Reisen* I p. 62, he was the first governor of the new province.

50. Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 4 = Eutropius VII 19, 4 = Orosius VII 9, 10 = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 188 Helm (Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 159 Schöne), *Achaeam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum libertate adempta* (*quae liberae ante id tempus fuerant*) . . . *in provinciarum formam redegit.* The date, according to Hieronymus, was A.D. 74, but if these changes were made, it was perhaps in 72 at the time of Vespasian's general rearrangement of the provinces in eastern Asia Minor (see Chap. XXIV notes 20-22). The general belief that the Lycians had been restored to their former status of freedom, probably by Nero, according to Treuber (p. 208) and A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 68), by Galba, according to Syme (*ibid.* p. 231), based, as it is, solely on the authority of Suetonius, reproduced by the later writers, is somewhat questionable. It is true that Claudius had restored the independence of Rhodes (see Chap. XXIII note 24) and that Nero had declared Achaea free (see above p. 565) and that Byzantium and Samos had been free cities (Pliny *N.H.* IV 46 and V 135), but a liberation of the Lycians either by Nero or by Galba is hard to explain. The three known imperial legates of Lycia under Vespasian are: Sex. Marcius Priscus (*T.A.M.* II 131, 270, 275, 396 and 461 [= *C.I.L.* III 14181] = *I.G.R.* III 522, 610, 609, 659 and 678); Cn. Avidius Celer Fiscillinus Firmus (*T.A.M.* II 1188; 132 [= *I.G.R.* III 521, Avil[ius] Firmus]; 701 [= *I.G.R.* III 506]: *I.G.R.* III 725: see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 284, no. 1403); L. Luscius Ocrea (*I.G.R.* III 466). One legate of Titus is known, T. Aurelius Quietus, Consul suffectus in 82 (*I.G.R.* III 690 = 1523 = Dessau 8796 and *T.A.M.* II 21 = *I.G.R.* III 1510). The consulships of Ocrea and Priscus have been tentatively dated in 74 and 78 respectively (*R.E.* XIII 1866 and XIV 1580), but no definite conclusion can be reached as to the order in which Vespasian's three legates governed the province.

51. *I.G.R.* III 724 (at Myra), honouring a [*πρεσβευτὴ*]*ν καὶ ἀντιστρ*[*άτηγον Λυκίας κ*]*αὶ Παμφυλία*[*ς*] of Vespasian, who was perhaps one of the three governors mentioned in note 50. Additional evidence may be found in an inscription from Attaleia (*Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII [1923-24], p. 418, no. 116 = *S.E.G.* VI 648 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 27) in honour of Julia Severina *γυναῖκα Λουκίου Λου*[*κ*]*ίου* ΟΠΑ, *legatus pro praetore* of Vespasian, whose

cognomen should evidently be read as Ὀ(κρ)ᾶ, *i.e.* L. Luscius Ocrea (see above note 50); his name is presumably to be restored in the fragmentary inscription on the same block, the ending of which is [πρεσβευ]τὴν Αὐτοκράτο[ρος ἐπαρ]χείας Παμφυλίας. For C. Caristanius Fronto, legate of Titus and Domitian *provinc. Pamphyliae et Lyciae* see Dessau 9485 and *I.G.R.* III 300 and Chap. XXIV note 35. It was pointed out by Ramsay in *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 132 that an inscription of Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia in 144-46, from Comama (*C.I.L.* III 6885) shows that this part of Pisidia was included in the province at this time and that the addition was probably made under Vespasian.

52. See Treuber, p. 217, note 1. For the buildings see *T.A.M.* II 651 = *I.G.R.* III 507 (Cadyanda): *T.A.M.* II 396 = *I.G.R.* III 659 (Patara): *T.A.M.* II 270 and 275 = *I.G.R.* III 610 and 609 (Xanthus): *I.G.R.* III 466 (Balbura): *I.G.R.* III 690 = 1523 = Dessau 8796 (Simena).

53. See Heberdey *Opramoas, Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis* (Vienna 1897), p. 7f. = *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739 = 1524, with corrections in the chronology by Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LXXIII (1920-24), p. 35f., based on the view that τὴν εὐτυχεστάτην τοῦ [K]υρίου ἡμῶν ἐπάνοδον (c. 13) refers to the expected return of Trajan in A.D. 117 (see Chap. XXV note 39) and not, as Heberdey believed (p. 62), to the second journey of Hadrian in 129. According to this chronology, the first public office of Opramoas, that of ἀρχιφύλαξ (see below note 55), was held in A.D. 114. For other inscriptions of Opramoas see *T.A.M.* II 907, 908, 915 and 916 = *I.G.R.* III 731, 738, 736 and 735 (Rhodiapolis): *T.A.M.* II 578 (= *I.G.R.* III 679) and 579 (Tlos): *T.A.M.* II 1203 = *L.W.* 1341 = *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 441, no. 90 (Phaselis). For other decrees and inscriptions of the Lycian *Koinon* dating from the period when Lycia was a province see *T.A.M.* II 15, 284, 497, 660 (= *O.G.I.* 571) = *I.G.R.* III 539, 621, 604, 515: *I.G.R.* III 473, 474, 488 (= *O.G.I.* 565) and 704 III B-C. For the ἔννομος βουλή and the ἀρχαιρεσιακὴ ἐκκλησία see above note 34. The ἀρχαιρεσιακὴ ἐκκλησία in *T.A.M.* II 838 *d* = *I.G.R.* III 649 (Idebessus) and in *I.G.R.* III 704 II B (Patara) was a local assembly. For the Lycian *Koinon* during the imperial period see Fougères, p. 51f.: Keil in *C.A.H.* XI p. 591f.: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 106f.

54. While our sources contain no definite statement about the duties and powers of the Lyciarch (see above note 37) during this period, the importance of the office is shown both by the great respect with which the holder was regarded, as, for instance, the application to him of the adjective διασημότατος, and by the claim of descent from Lyciarchs or kinship to them as a mark of distinction; see *T.A.M.* II 189, 190 and 905 = *I.G.R.* 584, 585 and 739, cc. 5 and 12: *I.G.R.* III 495. It may be assumed that, as in the period of independence, the Lyciarch was still the presiding-officer of the federal Assembly; this, however, may not be inferred from the expression Λυκιαρχῶν πρ[ωτ]ευσάντων τοῦ ἔθνους in *I.G.R.* III 495; for this or a similar term appears frequently as a general mark of honour; see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc.

17, 23, 25, 27, 33, 54, 57, 60 and 64. For the view that the Lyciarch and the *ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν* were identical see Mommsen in *J.O.A.I.* III (1900), p. 5f. = *Ges. Schr.* V p. 537, followed by Dittenberger in *O.G.I.* 556, note 2, by Fougères in *Mél. Perrot* (Paris 1903), p. 103f., where his previous belief that the two offices were different (*de Lyc. Com.* p. 79f.) was retracted, and by Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 85. For the contrary view see, in addition to Fougères *l.c.*, Treuber, p. 225f.: Heberdey *Opramoas*, p. 59: Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2279: Keil, p. 592. As Fougères originally pointed out, in at least four instances (*T.A.M.* II 175 and 905 = *I.G.R.* III 582 = 1515 and 739, cc. 17-18 and 19 and *I.G.R.* III 706) the Lyciarchate and the office of *archiereus* were held by different men in the same year, and in two instances (*I.G.R.* 704 II A and *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 44-45) the same man held the two offices in different years. The cases cited by Mommsen in support of his view show that certain men held both offices but not that they held them in the same year, and Fougères's later argument that the Lyciarchs mentioned in *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 18 and 19 held the title only as heads of delegations sent to the governor lacks positive proof. Nevertheless, the question arises whether the term Lyciarch was not merely an honorary title held not only by the *archiereus* of a given year but also by former incumbents of the priesthood. Thus Jason, described in a decree of Myra (*I.G.R.* III 704 II A) as *γεγον[ὼ]ς ἀρχιερεύς* and *ὁ κράτιστος Λυκιάρχης*, appears in a decree of the *Koinon* (*I.G.R.* III 704 III B) both as *γεγονὼς Λυκιάρχης* and as *ὁ ἀξιολογώ[τα]τος Λυκιάρχης*, and Opramoas, who was probably *archiereus* before A.D. 136 (Ritterling *ibid.* p. 45), appears as Lyciarch in federal decrees or imperial letters dated under at least six different Chief Priests from 138 onward (*T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 26, 33, 42, 57, 60, 61 and 62). On the other hand, the dating of a statue erected by the *Koinon* in the year of a certain Lyciarch (*T.A.M.* II 497 = *I.G.R.* III 604) and the use of the terms *Λυκιαρχήσας* (*I.G.R.* III 500 and *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 26 and 59), *γεγονὼς Λυκιάρχης* (*I.G.R.* III 461, 462 and 704 III B) and *ὁ γενόμενος Λυκιάρχης* (*T.A.M.* II 741) suggest an office rather than a title. The office, moreover, was described as *Λυκιαρχία*; see *I.G.R.* III 585 (= *T.A.M.* II 190); 704 II B; 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), cc. 24 and 53; 767: *T.A.M.* III 1, 277 = *B.C.H.* XXIII (1899), p. 188, no. 52; *Mont. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 214, no. 152. The view that the Lyciarchate and the priesthood were not identical is supported by the fact that in many cases the *archiereus* appears also as the *grammateus* of the *Koinon*; see *e.g.* *T.A.M.* II 143, 145, 195, 288, 422 a, 423, 424, and 495 = *I.G.R.* III 527, 524, 586, 628, 671, 670, 672 and 603: *I.G.R.* III 487, 493, 704 II A and 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), cc. 15, 20, 24 and 69. For, were they identical, it would mean that the three functions of presiding-officer, priest of the Augusti, and secretary of the *Koinon* were in these cases performed by a single person, a combination which, as Ruge observed (*l.c.*), is improbable. For lists of the known *Archiereis* and Lyciarchs (all during the Roman period) see Appendix II D.

55. For the *ἀρχιφύλαξ* and the *ὑποφύλαξ* see Fougères, p. 117f. Both posts had been held by a young man who died at the age of eighteen (*I.G.R.* III 463), and another *ἀρχιφύλαξ* is described as a *νεανίας* (*I.G.R.* III 490). This

office was held by Opramoas at the beginning of his career (*T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 5-7, 9, 12, *etc.*). For the collection by the *archiphylax* of the taxes paid to Rome see *I.G.R.* III 488 (= *O.G.I.* 565) and *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 5 and 12; in the former he is described as *ἀρχιφυλακήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κράγῳ συντελ*[*είᾳ*]. It was presumably because of the early age at which these offices might be held that in several cases a father held them in behalf of his son, thus enabling the latter to begin his political career in his early youth; see *T.A.M.* II 284 and 838 A, D-F, 915 and 905 (= *I.G.R.* III 648, 649, 736 and 739), c. 20.

56. For the endowment of Opramoas see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 18, 20, 21, 30f. His earlier gift of 5000 denarii was to be used *εἰς τὴν καταλλαγὴν τοῦ νομίσματος*, but the exact purpose of this appropriation for "exchange" is unknown. For the endowment of Licinius Longus see *I.G.R.* III 492. See also Larsen in *C.P.* XL (1945), p. 91f. For other gifts (including some given during the period of independence) see *T.A.M.* II 155, 261, 495 and 508 = *I.G.R.* III 526, 635, 603, and 681: *I.G.R.* III 473. The inscription from a tomb at Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 77) orders that a fine of 50,000 denarii for violation should be paid *τῷ Λυκίων* [*ἔθν*]*ει*.

57. For the festival see above note 39. It was presumably the *Κοινὰ Λυκίων* mentioned in the inscriptions of several victors in the *pankration* who were citizens of Oenoanda; see L.W. 1233 = *I.G.R.* III 497: *C.I.G.* 4380 n, corrected in *Reisen* II p. 183, note 3: *B.C.H.* X (1896), p. 229f., nos. 9, 10, 11 and 13. Special contests founded by private persons and called by the names of the founders but evidently conducted by the *Koinon* appear in inscriptions from Xanthus and Patara; see *T.A.M.* II 307 (*Ἀντιπάτρεια*) and 428 (*Κάσσεια*). A similar contest (*Εὐαρέστεια*) was founded at Oenoanda (*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897] 1, p. 49f., no. 65: *I.G.R.* III 497: *B.C.H.* X p. 229f., nos. 9-13 and XXIV [1900], p. 342, no. 6) and apparently another at Termessus Minor (*I.G.R.* III 489 = *O.G.I.* 566: *B.C.H.* XXIV p. 338f., no. 1).

58. For these honours conferred by the *Koinon* see *T.A.M.* II 284 and 660 (= *O.G.I.* 571) = *I.G.R.* III 621 and 515: *I.G.R.* III 473, 474, 488 (= *O.G.I.* 565) and 739 (= *T.A.M.* II 905), cc. 5, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 30. They were also conferred by individual cities; see *T.A.M.* II 288, 495, 539 and 666: *I.G.R.* III 640 (= *T.A.M.* II 765), 692, 746 and 1507; *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 341f., no. 4: *J.H.S.* XV (1895), p. 102, no. 5. For the similar privilege of *προεδρία ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ πορφύρα* enjoyed at Ephesus by the reputed descendants of the ancient kings, who continued to be called *βασιλεῖς*, see Strabo XIV p. 633. For the bestowal of *πρῶται, δεύτεραι, τρίται* and *τέταρται τιμαί* by the *Koinon* see *T.A.M.* II 15, 206, 420 and 495 = *I.G.R.* III 539, 592, 680 and 603: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 12, 15, 17 and 20. For the *τέταρται, πέμπται* and *ἕκται τιμαί* and the *προεδρία διη*[*νεκής*] of Opramoas's father see *T.A.M.* II 915 and 905 = *I.G.R.* III 736 and 739, cc. 15, 17 and 20. For the honours of Opramoas *κατ' ἔτος* see *T.A.M.* II 905, c. 26.

59. For the cities which received gifts from Opramoas see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 55, 59 and 63: *T.A.M.* II 578 (= *I.G.R.* III 679) and 579: L.W. 1341 = *T.A.M.* II 1203. The list in *T.A.M.* II 905, c. 63, confirmed in part by the other inscriptions, contains the names of the following cities: Acalissus, Antiphellus, Aperlae, Arneae, Arycanda, Balbura, Bubon, Cadyanda, Calynda, Choma, Corydalla, Crya, Cyaneae, Gagae, Limyra, Myra, Neisa, Oenoanda, Olympus, Patara, Phaselis, Phellus, Pinara, Podalia, Rhodiapolis, Sidyma, Symbra, Telmessus, Tlos and Xanthus. Some of these appear also among the cities which sent resolutions in praise of the Lyciarch Jason (*I.G.R.* III 704 I-II), from which Candyba, Myle and Trebenda may be added; see also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 780 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 107f., who pointed out (note 19) that it may be assumed that all these were members of the Federation. Of these 33 cities, all but Calynda (presumably the city of this name, regarded as Carian in 163 B.C., when it voluntarily placed itself under Rhodian rule, see Chap. IV note 71), Crya, Myle, Podalia, Symbra and Trebenda are known to have had the organization of a *polis*; Myle is otherwise not definitely known, Symbra appears only in Ptolemy V 3, 3, and Trebenda, although it seems to have had some kind of municipal organization, was, at least for a time, a dependency of Myra (see above note 15). On the other hand, inscriptions show that during the Roman period the seven following cities were *poleis*: Araxa (*T.A.M.* II 701f.); Arsada (*T.A.M.* II 539, perhaps of the period of Lycian independence); Comba (*T.A.M.* II 734 = *I.G.R.* III 572); Lydae (*T.A.M.* II 131f.); Octapolis (*T.A.M.* II 164f.); Termessus Minor (*I.G.R.* III 489f.); Trebenna (*I.G.R.* III 767, see above note 33). Of these forty cities, the following twenty issued coins under Gordian III: Acalissus, Antiphellus, Aperlae, Arneae, Arycanda, Candyba, Choma, Corydalla, Cyaneae, Gagae, Limyra, Myra, Olympus, Patara, Phaselis, Phellus, Podalia, Rhodiapolis, Tlos, Trebenna; see *Coll. Wadd.* p. 166f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 40f.: *Ztschr. f. Num.* V (1878), p. 7 and pl. I 9: *Rev. Num.* XXIII (1920), p. 110f., no. 20. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 406, note 19) that the list of Lycian cities in Ptolemy V 3, if it may be supposed that Κύδνα, Σαγαλασσός and Ἀραβένδαι in § 3 are errors, respectively, for Cadyanda, Acalissus and Arycanda, contains the names of all the cities found in the inscriptions of Opramoas and Jason except Arneae, Cyaneae, Myle and Trebenda. Ptolemy's list also includes Araxa, Comba, Lydae and Octapolis, but apart from these, it contains only Daedala τόπος (*i.e.* not a city) and Andriace, the port of Myra.

60. See *e.g.* *I.G.R.* III 704 II A and 714 (Myra): *T.A.M.* II 408, 421, 427 and *I.G.R.* III 704 II B (Patara): *T.A.M.* II 577f. (Tlos): *T.A.M.* II 277, 285 and 300f. (Xanthus): *T.A.M.* II 22f. (Telmessus). Olympus is described in Pliny *N.H.* V 100 as *oppidum Olympus ibi fuit*, but it had a Council and People under Hadrian (*T.A.M.* II 1172 = *I.G.R.* III 752).

61. For the governor's ratification (συγκατατίθεσθαι, κυροῦν, ἐπικυροῦν) of honours bestowed by an ἐπιβόησις of the Assembly see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 12, 14, 15, 17 and 21. For the case of Opramoas under the

governor Seneca see *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 24, 26, 28 and 29: Heberdey, p. 60f.: Fougères, pp. 91f. and 126. For the case of Jason under Junius Paetus see *I.G.R.* III 704 I and III and Fougères, p. 126f. At the end of the second century even a decree of the city of Sidyma providing for the creation of a *gerousia* had to be ratified by the governor; see *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582 and Chap. XXVII note 15.

62. For the federal cult of Tiberius see above note 46. For the festival of Livia see *T.A.M.* II 549 = *I.G.R.* III 547 = *O.G.I.* 557 (perhaps after the annexation of Lycia as a province). For a cult of Germanicus at Patara see Chap. XXI note 19. For the cults at Aperlae and Sidyma see *I.G.R.* III 692 and *T.A.M.* II 177 = *I.G.R.* III 577. A ἱερεὺς (ἱερατεύσας or ἱερασάμενος or -μένη) τῶν Σεβαστῶν (as opposed to the federal ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν) appears in the following places: Arneae (*T.A.M.* II 766 = *I.G.R.* III 642); Balbura (*I.G.R.* III 475 and 476); Bubon (*I.G.R.* III 464); Cadyanda (*T.A.M.* II 661 and 665 = *I.G.R.* III 516 and 514); Cormus (*T.A.M.* II 902 = *I.G.R.* III 658); Cyaneae (*T.A.M.* II 773 = *I.G.R.* III 641); Idebessus (*T.A.M.* II 831, 835-6, 838, 848, 862 = *I.G.R.* III 648-653); Oenoanda (*I.G.R.* III 493 and 500 III); Patara (*T.A.M.* II 328); Phaselis (*T.A.M.* II 1200 = *I.G.R.* III 764 = *J.H.S.* XXVIII [1908], p. 188f., no. 17, [ἀ]ρχιερεύσας also of Athena Polias); Rhodiapolis (*T.A.M.* II 905, c. 3); Sidyma (*T.A.M.* II 175, 189, 191 (?), 197 and 200 = *I.G.R.* III 582, 584, 590, 596 and 594); Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 284 and 287 = *I.G.R.* III 621 and 631); see F. Geiger *De Sacerdotibus Augg. Munic.* = *Diss. Philol. Halenses* XIII 1 (1913), p. 134f. As distinguished from these inclusive cults, there was a special cult of an Augusta (Θεὰ Σεβαστή) with a priestess at Telmessus and at Termessus Minor; see *T.A.M.* II 93 = *I.G.R.* III 540 and *I.G.R.* III 1507.

63. Endowed contests at which prizes of value were given (θέμιδες) were held in the following cities: Balbura, Oenoanda and perhaps Termessus Minor, Meleagreia by gift of Meleager in A.D. 158 (*C.I.G.* 4380 e = 4380 h: L.W. 1223: *I.G.R.* III 467 and 499: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV [1897] 1, p. 49f., nos. 64 and 67); Cadyanda, by bequest of Phaniane (*T.A.M.* II 681, 682 [= *I.G.R.* III 519], 687 (?) and 688); Neisa, Diogeneia by bequest of the Lyciarch Diogenes (*T.A.M.* II 741); Olympus, by gift of Artemo (*T.A.M.* II 944 = *J.H.S.* XXXIV [1914], p. 30, no. 39); Phaselis, by bequest of Eucratidas (*T.A.M.* II 1207); Telmessus, Procleianeia (*T.A.M.* II 24 = *I.G.R.* III 538); Xanthus, by bequest of Ti. Claudius Caesianus Agrippa (*T.A.M.* II 301-306 = *I.G.R.* III 622-626). To these may be added a quadrennial θέμις at Bubon (*I.G.R.* III 461 and 462) and a periodic θέμις at Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 22, 23, and 27). There were also ἀγῶνες as follows: Oenoanda, quadrennial Isolympia Vespasianeia (*I.G.R.* III 487); Cadyanda, annually in honour of the "ancestral deities" Serapis and Isis, paid for by appropriations voted by the city (*T.A.M.* II 677 and 679); Phaselis, ἀγὼν Παλλάδειος by gift of Aurelia Apphia (*T.A.M.* II 1206); Rhodiapolis, ἀγὼν Ἀσκληπίων, perhaps a private foundation (*T.A.M.* II 910 = *I.G.R.* III 733); Tlos, Croneia and Pythica (*T.A.M.* II 585) and a quadrennial πανήγυρις endowed by Opramoas

(*T.A.M.* II 578 [=*I.G.R.* III 679] and 579). There was a *panegyris* at Myra in honour of the Goddess Eleuthera (*I.G.R.* III 704 II A and 714 and *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 53 and 63); at Patara in honour of Apollo (*T.A.M.* II 905, c. 53); at Olympus in honour of Hephaestus (*T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 53, 55 and 63); at the Letoüm, held by Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 495=*I.G.R.* III 603). The only known non-athletic contests were the *τῶν λογογράφων ἀ[γών]* at Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 27) and the *πανήγυρις θυμελική* founded by C. Julius Demosthenes at Oenoanda (*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 344, nos. 10 and 11).

64. *I.G.R.* III 492 and 500 III (Oenoanda): *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, c. 59 (Myra and Patara): *T.A.M.* II 15=*I.G.R.* III 539 (Telmessus): *T.A.M.* II 287=*I.G.R.* III 631 (Xanthus). See also *T.A.M.* II 143=*I.G.R.* III 527 (Lydae). If the honorific inscription from Pinara, *T.A.M.* II 508=*I.G.R.* III 681, is really to be dated in the first century before Christ (see above note 34), the mention of wild-beast fights and hunts presented at Tlos, Pinara, Cyaneae (?), Corydalla (?) and Telmessus shows that spectacles of this kind antedated the annexation of Lycia. The *λουσώριον* at Termessus Minor (*I.G.R.* III 481=1501=Dessau 8870) and the *βουκονιστήριον* at Oenoanda (*I.G.R.* III 484) were presumably arenas in which fights were held. For the monuments of gladiators see *T.A.M.* II 355 (*primus ? palus secutor*) and 356 (*primus palus myrmillonum*) from Xanthus: *T.A.M.* II 117 (*secunda rudis* [*Samniti*]*um*, with portrait) from Telmessus. The man portrayed as a *retiarius* who *σὺν τῶν συνκελλαρίων* made a dedication to Hermes at Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 107=*I.G.R.* III 541) was evidently a gladiator. For gladiatorial combats and wild-beast hunts in the eastern provinces in general see L. Robert *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris 1940) and Chap. XXVII note 60.

65. For envoys sent by the *Koinon* regarding Opramoas and Jason see above note 61 and *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 40 and 53. For other federal envoys, who went "at their own expense" see *T.A.M.* II 143, 147 and 155=*I.G.R.* III 527, 534 and 526: *I.G.R.* III 493. For those sent by cities see *T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 37 and 38 (Myra and Tlos): *T.A.M.* II 155=*I.G.R.* III 526 (Lydae): *T.A.M.* II 191, 197 and 198=*I.G.R.* III 590, 596 and 589 (Sidyma): *T.A.M.* II 261 and 288=*I.G.R.* III 635 and 628 and *I.G.* XIV 1878=*I.G.R.* I 312 (Xanthus, the second example perhaps federal). The envoy who went *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν νόμων* (*T.A.M.* II 583=*I.G.R.* III 563=*O.G.I.* 556) is evidently to be dated before the formation of the province, perhaps, as Dittenberger suggested, in 42 B.C.

66. For Veranii (see above note 49) see *T.A.M.* II 198, 288 and 905=*I.G.R.* III 589, 628 and 739, cc. 43 and 63: *I.G.R.* III 705: *T.A.M.* II 378 (Sidyma and Xanthus): *I.G.R.* IV 914 and 915 (Cibyra). The descendants of Licinius Musaeus, presumably a contemporary of Mucianus (see above note 48), are listed in the genealogy of his great-great-granddaughter, Licinia Flavilla, and her kinsman, Flavianus Diogenianus, *I.G.R.* III 500=*Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897) I, p. 41, no. 60 (where the family-tree is presented in full). For

other mention of members of this family, including Musaeus's grandson, Licinius Longus, *archiereus* of the Augusti (see above notes 56 and 64), see *T.A.M.* II 250 and 532 (=*I.G.R.* III 576) and 905 (=*I.G.R.* III 739), c. 21: *I.G.R.* III 492-496 and 706. Other Licinii were C. Licinius Philinus and his son, C. Licinius Fronto, each of whom was *archiereus* of the Augusti (*T.A.M.* II 678 b and 448=*I.G.R.* III 684); C. Licinius Fronto (perhaps the same man) and his son, C. Licinius Secundinus (*I.G.R.* III 704 III B and D); Licinius Stasithemis, Lyciarch and *archiereus* of the Augusti (*T.A.M.* II 247 and 905, cc. 42 and 60(?): *I.G.R.* III 704 I and 706); C. Licinius Jason, his son, Cratippus, and grandson, Flavianus Jason (*T.A.M.* II 381=*I.G.R.* III 633); Q. Licinius Eleutherus and his brother, Zosimus (*T.A.M.* II 482=*I.G.R.* III 683). See also Larsen in *Journ. of Near Eastern Stud.* V (1946), p. 55f.

67. The following tribe-names were borne by Lycian notables: Clustumina (*T.A.M.* II 288=*I.G.R.* III 628); Quirina (*T.A.M.* II 291, 423, 425, 495 and 497=*I.G.R.* III 634, 670, 673, 603 and 604: *I.G.R.* III 472); Sergia (*T.A.M.* II 381=*I.G.R.* III 633: *I.G.R.* III 493-495); Velina (*T.A.M.* II 667-8=*I.G.R.* III 513=*O.G.I.* 563); Voltinia (*T.A.M.* II 136, 138-141, 143, 144, 155-157=*I.G.R.* III 525-533 and 536). There seems to have been no arrangement in Lycia, as in many provinces, whereby those inhabitants of a definite district who received Roman citizenship were assigned to one tribe. Since the father and son who belonged to the Clustumina bore the name Q. Veranius, and since Q. Veranius Philagrus of Cibyra (*I.G.R.* IV 914 and 915) was also a member of this tribe, it may be assumed that the governor Veranius (see above note 49) belonged to the Clustumina and that these men, on taking his name, were admitted to his tribe. Similarly, since those who were members of the Sergia bore the name C. Licinius, it may be supposed that they also took the tribe as well as the *nomen* of Mucianus.

68. See *T.A.M.* II 176=*I.G.R.* III 597-8, a list of the members of the newly-formed *gerousia* at Sidyma containing 52 βουλευταί and 50 δημόται (see Chap. XXVII note 15). Similarly, in a distribution of money at Termessus Minor a distinction was made between τοῖς πεντακοσίοις and τοῖς δημόταις (*B.C.H.* XXIV [1900], p. 338f., no. 1), the former evidently corresponding to οἱ φ′ at Oenoanda (*I.G.R.* III 492). At Xanthus a victorious athlete held ἀρχάς, δημοτικὴν μὲν μίαν βουλευτικὰς δὲ πάσας (*T.A.M.* II 301=*I.G.R.* III 623); see also *Reisen* II no. 69 (Myra). What may have amounted to an hereditary membership in the local Council appears in the expressions πατρὸς καὶ προγόνων βουλευτῶν and πατρὸς ἐκ προγόνων βουλευτῶν (*T.A.M.* II 303 [=*I.G.R.* III 626] and 305 from Xanthus) and πατρὸς βουλευτοῦ τῶν δύο πόλεων (Xanthus and Sidyma) καὶ πάππου καὶ προγόνων [βο]υλευτῶν (*T.A.M.* II 308). This seems to be the class referred to at Balbura as τάξις ἡ πρωτεύουσα or οἱ πρῶτοι ἐν πό[λει] (*C.I.G.* 4380 e and 4380 f), at Bubon as τάξις τῶ[ν] πρωτευό[ν]των τῆς πόλε[ως] (*I.G.R.* III 464) and at Phaselis as [τὸ πρ]ῶτον τάγμα τῆς πόλεως (*T.A.M.* II 1200 [=*I.G.R.* III 764] and 1202); see also Treuber, p. 229f.

69. For the family of Licinius Musaeus see above note 66. For C. Julius Demosthenes, father of Julius Antoninus, see also *I.G.R.* III 487 (restored from *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 52f.). For Ti. Claudius Agrippinus ὑπατικός, the son of Julia Lysimache and Claudius Dryantianus and the husband of Opramoas's niece, Aelia Platonis, see *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 65f. and *T.A.M.* 905, cc. 59 and 63 (where he is called συγκλητικός): *T.A.M.* II 414=*I.G.R.* III 674. See also *P.I.R.*² II p. 166f., no. 776. He must be distinguished from Ti. Claudius Agrippinus of Patara, son of Ti. Claudius Jason, who was *praefectus fabrum*, tribune of Legio III Gallica and Legio I Italica, prefect of the *Ala Phrygum* and then federal Chief Priest; see *T.A.M.* II 422-425 and 495=*I.G.R.* III 670-673 and 603. For the rise of Lycians to Senatorial rank see also C. S. Walton in *J.R.S.* XIX (1929), p. 54f. and A. N. Sherwin-White *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1939), p. 243f.

70. For Claudius Telemachus, *archiereus* of the Augusti during the governorship of Pompeius Falco (between A.D. 103 and 107, see Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LXXIII [1920-24], p. 42), see *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, c. 1. It is uncertain whether this man or his presumable descendant, Ti. Claudius Telemachus, Lyciarch, of the time of Commodus (*T.A.M.* II 175=*I.G.R.* III 582=1515), was the Lyciarch Ti. Claudius Telemachus who was lifelong agonothete at Xanthus (*T.A.M.* II 301-306=*I.G.R.* III 622-626). For the members of this family described as συγκλητικός and ὑπατικός see *T.A.M.* II 194, 279 and 280=*I.G.R.* III 581, 614 and 613. See also *T.A.M.* II 273=*I.G.R.* III 629 and *P.I.R.*² II p. 252f., no. 1037 (with a genealogical table). For appellations showing a relationship to Romans in public office (see above note 69) see *T.A.M.* II 18, 135, 145, 915, 916 and 905=*I.G.R.* III 537, 535, 524, 736, 735 and 739, cc. 59 and 63: *I.G.R.* III 463, 474, 495 and 500 II, l. 67f.

71. For this earthquake, about A.D. 140, see Chap. XXVII note 6. For the gifts of Opramoas to the cities see *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, c. 63 (see above note 59) and Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 780. The sum of 380,000 denarii, given to 22 cities does not include the amounts given to Crya, Symbra, Podalia, Neisa and Sidyma, which have been lost from the text of the inscription. Nor does it include either the gifts to Myra, to which Opramoas promised to give 100,000 denarii, later agreeing to bear the cost of all the repairs, or the 12,000 denarii given to Olympus for the celebration of the festival of Hephaestus, or, probably, the gift of 10,000 denarii to Phaselis εἰς δια[νομὰς καὶ] θεωρίας (*T.A.M.* II 1203). The suggestion of C. S. Walton in *J.R.S.* XIX p. 55f. that Opramoas's purpose in bestowing these gifts was to make a favourable impression on the emperors is hard to accept, especially in view of his bequests. For these bequests see *T.A.M.* II 578 (=*I.G.R.* III 679) and 579. For the gifts of Licinius Longus and his brother see *I.G.R.* III 492 and 493.

72. See Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 780f. For Sidyma see also *T.A.M.* II 201. The endowment of 56,058 λε[πτοῦ ἀργυ]ρίου δραχμαί at Telmessus (*T.A.M.* II 15=*I.G.R.* III 539) consisted, as Broughton observed (p. 781), of

"light" Rhodian drachmae, worth ten or twelve asses (as opposed to the Attic drachma or denarius of sixteen asses, see Chap. XVIII note 40), rather than, as Kalinka supposed (*T.A.M.* II p. 9), the depreciated drachmae worth a sixth of a denarius, which were current in Athens in the time of Hadrian (*I.G.* II² 2776). The expression is analogous to the *ἀργυρίου Ῥοδίου λεπτοῦ δραχμαί* in *C.I.G.* 2693 *e* and 2693 *f* from Mylasa (see Hultsch in *R.E.* v 1619).

73. The statement in Script. Hist. Aug., *Vita Hadr.* 5, 2, *Licia denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant*, as far as Lycia is concerned, is without confirmation, and Casaubon's emendation *Libya* is now generally accepted as referring to disorder in Cyrenaica (Cassius Dio LXVIII 32). For the *δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία* addressed to the Emperors in A.D. 311/12 see *O.G.I.* 569 (at Arycanda), and for their reply see *C.I.L.* III 12132=13625 *b*. For the imperial order which called forth this petition see Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IX 4, 1f. and 7, 1 and Lactantius *de Mortibus Persec.* 36, 3 (quoted in Dittenberger's note 7).

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Suetonius *Claud.* 10: Cassius Dio LX 1: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 2, 1, § 162f. and 3, 1, § 212f. This version, according to which Claudius, carried off against his will by the soldiers, was a passive instrument in their hands, has been accepted generally by modern writers. It was pointed out, however, by V. M. Scramuzza *The Emperor Claudius* (Cambridge, Mass. 1940), p. 12f. that it differs materially from the earlier account in Josephus *Bell. Jud.* II 11, 1f., § 204f., where Claudius is represented as taking the initiative by sending Agrippa from the Praetorian Camp to the Senate to request his election and convey his promise to be a constitutional ruler.

2. The most important of these departmental chiefs were Pallas (*a Rationibus*), Narcissus (*ab Epistulis*), Callistus (*a Libellis*) and Polybius (*a Studiis*); see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 318f.: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* x p. 686f.: M. Bang in Friedländer *Sittengesch. Roms*$^{9\text{-}10}$ IV p. 26f.: A. Momigliano *Claudius the Emperor and his Achievement* (Oxford 1934), p. 43: Scramuzza, p. 84f.

3. For the *fiscus* see Mommsen *R. St. R.* II^{3} p. 998f.: Hirschfeld *V.B.* pp. 8, 29f. and 471f.: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VI 2389f. and *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 78f.: A. N. Sherwin-White in *Papers Brit. School Rome* XV (1939), p. 20f.: Last in *J.R.S.* XXXIV (1944), p. 51f. For the procurator's right of jurisdiction see Tacitus *Ann.* XII 60 and Suetonius *Claud.* 12, 1. See also Mommsen *R. St. R.* II^{3} p. 1022f., whose criticism (note 2) of Tacitus's comment, *libertos, quos rei familiari praefecerat, sibique et legibus adaequaverit*, based on the view that the higher procurators, who obtained this right of jurisdiction, were members of the Equestrian Order, was shown by Hirschfeld (p. 474, note 1) to be not altogether valid. For the effects of the possession of this right on the authority of the proconsuls and the increased control over the finances which it gave the emperor see Momigliano, p. 45. For Claudius's control of the senatorial *aerarium* see C. H. V. Sutherland in *A.J.P.* LXVI (1945), p. 162f. and Frank in *Econ. Surv.* V p. 40f.

4. Cassius Dio LX 33, 6 (A.D. 52/3). Cilo is called *procurator Ponti* in Tacitus *Ann.* XII 21 (A.D. 49), in connexion with his services in bringing to Rome Mithradates, the claimant to the kingship of the Cimmerian Bosporus, and the consequent bestowal on him of the *consularia insignia*; this grant seems to be referred to in the generalization in Suetonius *Claud.* 24, 1, *ornamenta consularia etiam procuratoribus ducenariis indulsit.* The statement of Dio that Claudius renewed Cilo's procuratorship for two years is borne out by a coin of Nicaea bearing the portrait of the youthful Nero and the legend ἐπὶ Ἰουνίου Χίλωνος ἐπιτρόπου; see Seltman in *Num. Chron.* VIII (1928), p. 102 and Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 83f. He may be supposed, accordingly, to have held office in A.D. 53-55. Dio's description of Cilo as ἄρξας (although Claudius in prolonging his term of office is represented as saying ἐπιτροπεύσει) led Hirschfeld to suppose that he was a procuratorial governor of Bithynia and

that this province was temporarily made imperial, as also in 57/8, when the procurator of Bithynia, Julius Aquila, constructed a road in the province (see below note 65), and again in 78, when another road was built by the procurator Antonius Naso (see Chap. XXIV note 13), whose name also appears on Bithynian coins; see *V.B.* p. 374 and *Klio* II (1902), p. 304, note 3 = *Kl. Schr.* p. 566, note 9. This view was rejected by Brandis in *R.E.* III 527f. (followed by Syme in *Klio* XXX [1937], p. 229 and Horovitz in *R. Phil.* LXV [1939], p. 64), who pointed out that between the terms of Cilo and Aquila and of Aquila and Naso Bithynia was governed by the usual senatorial proconsuls; such an alternation, accordingly, between senatorial and imperial rule as Hirschfeld's theory presupposes, is difficult to accept. A further argument for the rejection of Hirschfeld's view may be found in the fact that the obverse of the coin of Cilo cited above is identical with that of another coin of Nicaea (*Receuil* I p. 402, no. 36) bearing the portrait of Nero and the name of the proconsul Attius Laco, which suggests that both men were in office at the same time; see Bosch, p. 83 and Heichelheim in *A.J.A.* XLVIII (1944), p. 176f. Furthermore, the road-building carried on by Aquila and Naso, as was pointed out by Bosch (p. 88, note 87), proves only that this was done at the expense of the imperial treasury and not that the two men were acting as governors of the province. The view of Rostovtzeff (*B.S.A.* XXII [1916-18], p. 15f.), accepted by Momigliano (p. 106), that Cilo's participation in the negotiations leading to the surrender of Mithradates, as well as the road-construction of Aquila and Naso, shows that their functions and those of Ofellius Macedo (of whom nothing is known save that he appears as procurator of Pontus and Bithynia in Dessau 8849) exceeded the functions of the ordinary procurators in senatorial provinces seems also to be unwarranted.

5. These were Cn. Vergilius Capito and Claudius Balbillus. Capito is known from an (unpublished) inscription from Didyma (see *Milet* I 9, p. 158), in which he is called εὐεργέτης and entitled, evidently incorrectly, ἔπαρχος Ἀσίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου. His name has been restored in a fragment from Miletus (*Milet* I 9, no. 328 = *Ann. Ép.* 1909, 136) recording the construction of a bath, in which the donor's title should perhaps be read as [ἔπαρχος Αἰγ]ύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπίτ[ρο]πος. His benefactions seem to have included a gymnasium (*C.I.G.* 2881), and the festival called Καπιτώνια (Haussoullier *Études*, p. 281) was presumably named after him. Perhaps a native of Miletus, Capito was *archiereus* of the temple of Gaius in the city and also three times *archiereus* of the province of Asia; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 65, no. 3 and Chap. XXI note 46. He was prefect of Egypt from 47/8 to 52; see O. W. Reinmuth *The Prefect of Egypt from Aug. to Diocl.* = *Klio Beih.* XXXIV (1935), p. 132. This office, apparently mentioned in the inscriptions cited above, was presumably, as the higher post, held after the procuratorship of Asia.

Balbillus is honoured for his εὐεργεσία at Ephesus in *Ephesos* III p. 127f., nos. 41 and 42 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 78) = Charlesworth *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge 1939), p. 39f., no. 12, in the

first of which he is called ἐπίτροπος τοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ]. His procuratorship may be dated by the mention in the second of these inscriptions of Divus Claudius. However, the date can scarcely be later than 55, since this Balbillus (who before his procuratorship held a post in Alexandria) may without hesitation be identified with Ti. Claudius Balbillus who appears in inscriptions (*I.G.R.* I 1110 = *O.G.I.* 666 and *Ann. du Serv. d. Ant. de l'Égypte* XIII [1913-14], p. 96 = Preisigke *Sammelbuch* I 5797, dated A.D. 59) and papyri as prefect of Egypt, an office to which he was appointed by Nero in 55; see Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 22, 1, where, in the Codex Mediceus, he is called C., evidently an error for Cl(audius), Balbillus: Pliny *N.H.* XIX 3: Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* IV 2, 13. See also Reinmuth *l.c.* and *P.I.R.*² II p. 184, no. 813. He was evidently the Ti. Claudius Bal[bill]us ἐπίτροπος Καίσαρος who appears in an inscription from Delos (*Ins. Delos* 1861) and presumably the Cl. Balbillus whose daughter, Βασίλισσα Claudia Capitolina, the wife of Junius Rufus (probably M. Junius Rufus, prefect of Egypt in 94-98, see Reinmuth, p. 133), gave the city of Pergamum a sum of money promised by her father for some sacred purpose (*I.G.R.* IV 459). His freedwoman Aglais Claudia appears in *I.G.* XIV 1323 = *I.G.R.* I 288. A man named Ti. Claudius Balbillus headed the list of the Alexandrian envoys sent to Claudius in 41 and in the Emperor's reply was referred to as ὁ ἐμὸς ἑταῖρος (*Pap. Brit. Mus.* 1912 = H. I. Bell *Jews and Christians in Egypt* [London 1924] = Charlesworth, p. 3f., no. 2, ll. 16, 36 and 105), and an "astrologer" named Balbillus warned Nero of the dangers attendant on the appearance of a comet (Suetonius *Nero* 36, 1) and (in spite of his profession) was permitted by Vespasian to conduct a "sacred contest" at Ephesus (Cassius Dio LXVI 9, 2, where he is called Barbillus). While the identity of the procurator and the prefect was accepted by Stein, he refused to admit that this man was either the envoy or the astrologer; see *Aegyptus* XIII (1933), pp. 123f. and 331f. and *P.I.R.*² I p. 349, no. 38 and II p. 184, nos. 812 and 813. The identity of all three, however, maintained by H. Stuart Jones in *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 18f. and Cichorius in *Rh. Mus.* LXXVI (1927), p. 102f., has been widely accepted and is, indeed, highly probable; see Kroll in *R.E. Suppl.* V 59f.: Fuhrmann in *Rh. Mus.* LXXX (1931), pp. 96 and 208: von Premerstein in *Herm.* LXVII (1932), p. 178f.: Piganiol in *Mél. G. Glotz* (Paris 1932) II p. 723f.: Sherwin-White in *Papers Brit. School Rome* XV (1939), p. 21, note 68. The Ephesian festival Βαλβίλληα (or Βαρβίλληα), known from a large number of agonistic inscriptions (see *Aegyptus* XIII p. 125, note 4, where 26 are listed), evidently took its name from him and was presumably founded by him as one of his benefactions to the city (see above). He was evidently the maternal grandfather of Julia Balbilla, who accompanied Hadrian and Sabina to Egypt in 130 and wrote an epigram on the occasion of their visit to the statue of Memnon; see *C.I.G.* 4730 = Kaibel 991, somewhat differently restored by J. M. Edmonds in *Cl. Rev.* XXXIX (1925), p. 109 and by W. Peek in *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Inst. f. Aegypt. Alt. in Cairo* V (1934), p. 96f., no. 2. She described Balbillus as σοφός and her paternal grandfather as Antiochus Βασιλεύς, *i.e.* Antiochus IV of Commagene; for a *stemma* see Kroll *l.c.* and *Aegyptus* XIII p. 135. Since she described her mother as Βασιλῆις and since Balbillus's daughter Capitolina

was called Βασίλισσα (see above), this title seems to have been an inheritance of the family, perhaps from a princess of Commagene, who was the mother of Balbillus (so Honigmann in *Herm.* LIX [1924], p. 477f. and Kroll *l.c.*), or perhaps from the Ephesian family which, according to Strabo XIV p. 633, was regarded as descended from Androclus and retained the title of Βασιλεύς (so Piganiol, p. 725).

6. Tacitus XII 22, 4 (A.D. 49). His name appears on Bithynian coins bearing portraits of Claudius, Messalina and Britannicus with the legend ἐπὶ Γ. Καδίου Ῥούφου ἀνθυπάτου (with and without πάτρωνος); see *Receuil* I p. 236, no. 6, p. 400f., no. 27f. and p. 517f., no. 20f. and Bosch *Kl.M.* II 1, p. 82. For Rufus's expulsion from the Senate (and his restoration by Otho in 69) see Tacitus *Hist.* I 77. In view of his prosecution by the Bithynians it seems improbable that he may be identified, as has often been suggested, with the . . . us L. f. Rufus ἀνθ[ύπατος] to whom the envoys of seven Bithynian cities erected a monument in Rome as their "patron and benefactor" (*C.I.L.* VI 1508 = *I.G.* XIV 1077 = *I.G.R.* I 139).

7. L.W. 1212 = *I.G.R.* IV 914, in which, as I expect to suggest elsewhere (*Studia Romana, Essays in Honor of A. C. Johnson* [Princeton 1950]), in the expression τὴν τοῦ σείτου πρᾶσιν (l. 13f.), read by Falkener and adopted by Waddington, πρᾶσιν should probably be emended to πρᾶξιν. For the word used in this sense see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 259 and 1290 (corrected in *Klio* XII [1912], p. 165). The offending official was hardly a procurator, as was supposed by Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 590). The word ζεῦ[γ]ος (l. 14), evidently used here instead of the more common ζυγόν, denotes a *iugum* or taxable unit of land, which varied in different places and at different times; see Viedebantt in *R.E.* IX 2508f.

8. For Mitylene see *I.G.* XII 2, 63 = *I.G.R.* IV 43 = Charlesworth *ibid.* p. 13, no. 13. For Ilium see Tacitus *Ann.* XII 58, 1: Suetonius *Claud.* 25, 3; *Nero* 7, 2. For the *immunitas* of Ilium see Chap. XVII note 3 (Caesar's grant) and Chap. XX note 20. For the probable spuriousness of the "ancient letter" from the Senate to "King Seleucus" said by Suetonius to have been read at the hearing of the case see Chap. IV note 40. It was suggested by Mommsen (*R. St. R.* III p. 682, note 3) that the present action made Caesar's grant both more definite and more extensive. For the stoa of Philocles and the statues of Nero and Claudius's children see *I.G.R.* IV 208 and 209. For a coin of Ilium with the portraits and names of Agrippina (Augusta) and Nero (Caesar), *i.e.* between A.D. 50 and 54, see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 39, no. 1.

9. Tacitus *Ann.* XII 61. See also *Ephesos* II no. 55. For Xenophon see *C.I.L.* VI 8905 = Dessau 1841, where he is called *medicus Augusti*: *I.G.R.* IV 1045, 1048, 1053, 1058 and 1086 (= *Syll.*[3] 804, ἀρχιατρὸς τῶν Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν): *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 193f.: Maiuri *N.S.* 475-478: *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX (1933), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 22f., no. 19 = *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 93: *Aevum* IX (1935), p. 254 (announcement of the discovery of a

series of letters of Claudius relating to him). See also Herzog *K.F.* p. 189f. and in *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 218f. and M. Segre in *Historia* VIII (1934), p. 444f. He was priest at Cos of the Augusti, Asclepius and Hygeia. For the suspicion of guilt attaching to him in connexion with Claudius's death see Tacitus *Ann.* XII 67, 2f. For the cult and titles of Claudius and Agrippina on Cos see Maiuri *N.S.* 462, 469 and 680: *I.G.R.* IV 1099 and 1103: *Hist. Ztschr. ibid.* p. 230, note 3 and p. 239, note 3. For the festival Κλαύδεια see *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 182f., no. 25.

10. Tacitus *Ann.* XII 58, 2. For the remission of the *tributum* in similar circumstances by Tiberius see Chap. XXI note 23. For the aid given by Augustus see Chap. XX notes 7 and 36. The festival called Κλαυδίηα at Laodiceia-on-Lycus (see below note 13) may have been founded to commemorate aid given to the city on the occasion of this earthquake. For Samos see *A.M.* XXXVII (1912), p. 217f., no. 19 (A.D. 47) and no. 20 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1711). The addition of the worship of Livia (Θεὰ Ἰουλία Σεβαστή), whom Claudius caused to be deified in 41 (Suetonius *Claud.* 11, 2 and Cassius Dio LX 5, 2), to that of Hera, with one priestess for both, and the statues of Livia's father and mother, erected by the *demos* (*I.G.R.* IV 982-984), are probably to be connected with the favours received from Claudius at this time. For Smyrna and Ephesus see Malalas X p. 246 Bonn. The frequent statement (see *e.g.* Bürchner in *R.E.* III A 754 and Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 718) that the theatre of Smyrna was restored by Claudius is based solely on the presence of the name Κλαύδιος in an inscription the very existence of which is doubtful; see Frick in *Arch. Ztg.* XVI (1858), p. 134*, note: Berg and Walter in *A.M.* XLVII (1922), p. 23, note 2: Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, pp. 179 and 242. For dedications to Claudius at Ephesus by the resident Romans of Asia and by bequest of Ti. Claudius Damonicus see *Ephesos* III no. 19=*Ann. Ép.* 1924, 69 (A.D. 43) and L.W. 143=*B.C.H.* I (1877), p. 293f., no. 86. For the Κλαυδία βουλή at Tralles see *P.A.S.* I p. 98f., nos. 5 (=L.W. 610) and 10=*A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 321f.,nos. 5 and 10: *R.E.G.* XIV (1901), p. 303f., nos. 1 (=*A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 111f., no. 12), and 2-3 (restored by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 413f.): *Coll. Wadd.* 5417: *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 343, no. 113. For a priestess of Agrippina at Tralles see Chap. XXI note 17.

11. See V. M. Scramuzza in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* LI (1940), p. 261f. For Sardis see *C.I.L.* III 409=*Ins. Sardis* 10=*I.G.R.* IV 1505 and *Ins. Sardis* 39=*I.G.R.* IV 1502. For Cibyra see *I.G.R.* IV 902 (where the σεβαστὰ ἔργα, as Robert observed in *Ét. Anat.* p. 89, note 2, were buildings built for the city by the Emperor) and 898-899 (Britannicus). For Cyzicus see *C.I.L.* III 7061=Dessau 217=Charlesworth, p. 26, no. 39. For a monument with a στρῶμα near Magnesia ad Sipylum and the water-supply and aqueduct of a village in the region of the lower Hermus, dedicated to Claudius, see *I.G.R.* IV 1179=1331 (see Robert *Villes*, p. 89, note 5) and 1491. For Claudius as Σωτήρ and Εὐεργέτης see *I.G.R.* IV 12 (Eresus), 584 (Aezani), 1023 (Calymnos) and perhaps 1145 (Lindus). Monuments to him were erected at Aphrodisias by the *demos* and the *archiereus* of Claudius and Dionysus (*C.I.G.*

2739 = L.W. 1621), at Aezani by his *neokoroi* (*I.G.R.* IV 558), near Magnesia by the κατοικία of Tyanollus (*I.G.R.* IV 1332) and at Perge in Pamphylia by the *demos* (*I.G.R.* III 788). For honours by individuals see Scramuzza, p. 264.

12. *B.G.U.* 1074 = *Klio* VIII (1908), p. 415, ll. 1-3 = Charlesworth, p. 11, no. 6 (Jan., A.D. 43), a letter of Claudius to (τοῖς) ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἱερονείκαις στεφανείταις καὶ τοῖς τούτων συναγωνισταῖς: *Milet* I 3, p. 381, no. 156 = *Ann. Ép.* 1914, 210 = Charlesworth, p. 12, no. 9 (A.D. 48). For the exemption of the Artists under Domitian see *Ephesos* III p. 96f., no. 5, and for Hadrian's patronage of the Society see Chap. XXVI note 24. For the ὑμνῳδοί (see Chap. XVIII note 58) see *I.G.R.* IV 1608 *a*, *b* and *c* (*b* = *S.E.G.* IV 641 = Charlesworth, p. 13, no. 12 of A.D. 41). For the Athletes see *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III p. 214f., no. 1178 = Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 156, ll. 8-31 = Charlesworth, p. 11f., nos. 7 and 8 (A.D. 46 and 47), two letters of Claudius to συνόδῳ ξυστικῇ περιπολιστικῇ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα. For this society see F. Poland *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 147f., who, however, knew of no mention of the ξυστικὴ σύνοδος before A.D. 85 (*Inschr. v. Olymp.* 436). For Augustus's extension of the privileges of the Athletes see Suetonius *Aug.* 45, 3. For Vespasian's confirmation of Claudius's grant see Chap. XXIV note 15.

13. *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 1912 = H. I. Bell *Jews and Christians in Egypt* = Charlesworth, p. 3f., no. 2, l. 48f. It was pointed out by Bell (p. 5) that this clause of the edict refutes the view of Kornemann in *Klio* I (1901), p. 104 that in this respect the principate of Claudius, in contrast to those of Augustus and Tiberius, was a reaction to a Hellenistic monarchy. For the worship of Claudius at Cos see above note 9. For his priests see *Ins. Magn.* 157 (Magnesia): *C.I.G.* 2697 (Mylasa): *C.I.G.* 2739 = L.W. 1621 (Aphrodisias). For Aezani see *I.G.R.* IV 558 and 584 and perhaps 560 (Agrippina and Nero before his accession). For Acmonia see *M.A.M.A.* VI 250 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 198 = Charlesworth, p. 29, no. 50 (an inscription of Britannicus). A ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ at Cys in Caria in A.D. 52 (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 306f., no. 1), as Geiger observed (*de Sacerdot. Augg. Municip.* p. 128, note 2), was a priest of Divus Augustus. For the festivals (Κλαυδίηα) see *Ins. Magn.* 163: *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 253f., no. 148 (Laodiceia, see above note 10): *I.G.R.* IV 584 (Aezani). For Prusa see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 70, 2. For a priestess of Claudius's daughter, Antonia, at Attaleia see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-4), p. 416 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 25.

14. The dedication to Θεοῖς Σωτῆρσι Σεβαστοῖς on the front of a temple at Sidyma in Lycia (*T.A.M.* II 177 = *I.G.R.* III 577) apparently erected by Q. Veranius, imperial legate under Claudius (see Chap. XXII note 49), suggests that this was a temple of all the Augusti. While none of the inscriptions mentioning a ἱερεύς (ἱέρεια) or an ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν can be definitely dated in the time of Claudius, it seems probable that the statue of Livia erected by Dionysius, ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ στεφανηφόρος τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου at Lampsacus is to be placed in his principate rather than in that of Nero; see *I.G.R.* IV 180 and *R. Phil.* XXXVIII (1914), p. 213f.

For other inscriptions in which such a priesthood is mentioned, dating from the time of Claudius or Nero, see *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 92f., no. 8 (Aphrodisias): *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 296f., no. 3 = *I.G.R.* IV 1242 (Thyateira): *I.G.* XII 2, 549 = *I.G.R.* IV 18 (Eresus): *O.G.I.* 494 = Dessau 8860 = *R. Phil.* XLIV (1920), p. 67 (Didyma), where Messalla ὁ γενόμενος τῆς Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατος (see *P.I.R.* III p. 372, *sub* no. 96) was perhaps L. Vipstanus Publicola Messalla, proconsul of Asia in 58/9 (see below note 72): *Ins. Magn.* 113 = *Syll.*³ 807 (Magnesia-on-Maeander): *I.G.R.* IV 1086 = *Syll.*³ 804 and *Arch. Jahrb.* XVIII (1903), *Arch. Anz.* p. 193f. (Cos, see above note 9): *Syll.*³ 808 (Delphi, A.D. 54): *I.G.* VII 2713 = *Syll.*³ 814 (Acraephiae, A.D. 66/7): *I.G.* II² 3538 = *Syll.*³ 790 (Athens, under Nero). Offerings to τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς were performed at Cys in Caria under Claudius (A.D. 52) by the ἱερεὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, *i.e.* the priest of Divus Augustus; see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 306f., no. 1 and above note 13. For the office see also Brandis in *R.E.* II 480f. and Kornemann in *Klio* I (1901), p. 106f. It was pointed out by Kornemann (p. 83) that the practice of appointing one single priest for the worship of all the rulers, both dead and living, was Ptolemaic (see *e.g.* the Rosetta Stone, *O.G.I.* 90, l. 4), while under the Seleucids there was one priest for all the dead monarchs and another for the living one (*O.G.I.* 245).

15. *I.G.R.* IV 1044, with an additional fragment published by M. Segre in *Aevum* IX (1935), p. 254, which shows that this response was given by Cn. Domitius Corbulo. His proconsulship of Asia (in one of the later years of Claudius's principate) is attested by coins of Docimeium issued under Claudius and inscribed ἐπὶ Κορβούλωνος ἀνθυ.; see *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 190, no. 14f.: Waddington *Fastes*, p. 126f.: Stein in *R.E. Suppl.* III 396.

16. F. K. Dörner *Der Erlass d. Statthalters v. Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus* (Greifswald 1935), p. 37f. (part of which is *S.E.G.* IV 516). The edict was inscribed in four copies, two of them in Greek and two in Latin. The proconsulship of Persicus, who was Consul ordinarius in A.D. 34, cannot be definitely dated; it was tentatively placed between 51 and 54 by Groag in *P.I.R.*² III p. 107. It appears also in *Ins. Magn.* 157 a. The comment of Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.*, Italian Trans. p. 89, note 2) that the edict shows "an affectionate solicitude for the provinces and a profound sense of duty" (on the part of Claudius) and that of Momigliano (*ibid.* p. 72) that the preamble indicates the "spirit of equity" which inspired Claudius's government seem, as Dörner observed (p. 57), to be overstatements.

17. For the sale of priesthoods (which assured to the purchaser certain perquisites and, often, exemptions) by the cities of Asia Minor see H. Herbrecht *De Sacerdotii apud Graecos Emptione Venditione* (Strasbourg 1855), p. 6f.: E. Heller *De Cariae Lydiaeque Sacerdot.* = *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol. Suppl.* XVIII (1892), p. 225f.: E. F. Bischoff in *Rh. Mus.* LIV (1899), p. 9f.: Herzog *K.F.* p. 43f.: W. Otto in *Herm.* XLIV (1909), p. 594f.: Picard and Plassard in *B.C.H.* XXXVII (1913), p. 224, note 9: P. Stengel *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*³ (Munich 1920), p. 45f.: Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), pp. 351f. and

360f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 228f. For inscriptions dealing with sales see (in addition to the present one) *Syll.*[3] 1002; 1003; 1006; 1009-1014: *O.G.I.* 218, l. 121: B. Lehmann *Quaestt. Sacerdot.* I, *De Titulis ad Sacerd. apud Graecos Venditionem pert.* (Königsberg 1888), p. 8f.: H. Seyrig in *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 219f. and p. 224, note 1: Robert in *B.C.H.* LII p. 435 and note 1 and LVII (1933), pp. 467f. and 481f.: M. Segre in *Rendiconti Ist. Lomb.* LXIX (1936), p. 811f. and I (1937), p. 83f. A record of sales is found in the following cities: Casossus (Caria), Chalcedon, Chios, Cos, Cyzicus (or Proconnesus), Ephesus, Erythrae, Halicarnassus, Hyllarima, Iasus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Miletus, Mylasa, Priene, Samos, Seleuceia-on-Calycadnus. Outside Asia Minor sales are known only at Tomi (a colony of Miletus) and on the islands of Andros and Thasos and in Egypt. The oldest known instance was at Miletus, about 400 B.C. (*Syll.*[3] 1002). The highest price known to have been paid for a priesthood seems to have been 19,070 (or 19,800) drachmae at Cos in the early first century before Christ (Herzog *K.F.* no. 10), but the amount of 12,002 drachmae, with a supplementary tax (see Chap. III note 39) of 10 per cent, was paid at Priene in the second century before Christ (*Ins. Priene* 174 = *Syll.*[3] 1003). At Erythrae a list containing sales of priesthoods (forty-one in all) during several years in the middle of the third century before Christ shows prices varying from 4610 to ten drachmae, with the addition in every case of a supplementary fee; see *Syll.*[3] 1014: Herbrecht, p. 23f.: Heller *ibid.* p. 226f.: Segre *ibid.* I p. 96f., who explained the much-disputed term ἐπίπρασις as a second sale, whereby the purchaser resold the priesthood (sometimes to himself), the reselling price, evidently because some of the perquisites were retained by the original purchaser, being usually lower than that paid in the first instance; see also F. Sokolowski in *B.C.H.* LXX (1946), p. 548f. At Hyllarima, in the early second century before Christ, one man bought a lifelong priesthood of eleven (or twelve) deities, including ὁ Ῥοδίων δῆμος, as well as of the spirits of two dead men and of "any other deity worshipped by the Hyllarimeis except those whose priesthoods were already sold"; the price, if the reading of the very indistinct numeral is correct, was the small sum of 160 drachmae; see Laumonier *ibid.* p. 351f. = Segre I p. 83f. The practice, although legal and, indeed, a recognized source of revenue for a city, was apparently regarded with disapproval by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (II 21, 3). For the perquisites of διμοιρία and ἀλειτουργ[η]σία of priests at Ephesus see *S.E.G.* IV 515 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 124.

18. For the ὑμνῳδοί at Ephesus see *I.B.M.* 481* (IV p. 238f. = *Ephesos* II no. 27), ll. 296, 600 and 604: *I.G.R.* IV 1665 (from Tire).

19. See Mommsen *R. St. R.* II[3] p. 859f. and Dörner, p. 55f. For the action of Augustus concerning the area of Artemis see Chap. XX note 10. A delimitation of a ἱερὸν χωρίον of the Goddess was ordered by an emperor bearing the cognomen of [German]icus in the presence of the proconsul P. Nonius Asprenas Caesius Cassianus; see Keil-Premerstein III p. 98f., no. 146 (perhaps also p. 96, no. 137) and Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 43 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 123 (found in the plain of the Caÿster, northeast of Ephesus).

This proconsul, placed under Domitian by Keil, is otherwise unknown (Groag in *R.E.* XVII 874). But, as was observed by Harrer and Suskin in *A.J.A.* XLIII (1939), p. 282, he may be P. Nonius Asprenas, Consul in 38; in this case the emperor in question was Claudius.

20. For Claudius's policy of urbanization see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 82f. and Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 679f. For Bithynium see Chap. XIII note 22. For the name Claudiopolis see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 39, 5: Cassius Dio LXIX 11, 2: Ptolemy V 1, 3: *T.A.M.* II 485 = *I.G.R.* III 677 (Κλαυδιοπολείτης Βειθυνός): *Receuil* I p. 269f. (Vespasian to Hadrian). For the road-construction of Aquila see Chap. XIII note 25. He is presumably to be identified with Julius Aquila, *Eques Romanus*, who in A.D. 49 commanded some Roman cohorts on the Cimmerian Bosporus (Tacitus *Ann.* XII 15), and with C. Julius Aquila who was procurator of Bithynia in 57/8 (see below note 65). For the annexation of Phazimonitis see Chap. XIX note 47. For Neoclaudiopolis and the question of its identification with Pompey's Neapolis (see Chap. XV note 35) see Chap. VIII note 6. Ruge pointed out (*R.E.* III 2662) that the identification of Neoclaudiopolis with the city of Claudiopolis listed by Ptolemy (V 4, 7) among the towns of the Trocmi, which was proposed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 447), is merely a conjecture, since the site of the latter place is unknown.

21. For Archelais see Chap. XXI note 9. For its foundation as a colony by Claudius see Pliny *N.H.* VI 8. The term *colonia* is applied to it in *Itin. Ant.* 144, 4 and *Itin. Hierosol.* 576, 8 and perhaps on a milestone (see Chap. XXI note 3). For Claudiopolis in Cappadocia (apparently north of the great gorges of the Euphrates) see Pliny *N.H.* V 85. It was perhaps the place called Glaudia on the road from Melitene to Samosata (see Yorke in *Geogr. Journ.* VIII [1896], p. 463f.) on *Tab. Peut.* XI 2 (K. Miller *Itin. Ant.* 684) and Claudias (Laudias), described as a *castrum praesidiarium* in Ammianus Marcellinus XVIII 7, 10. It was perhaps the Claudias listed by Ptolemy (V 6, 24) in the *strategia* of Laviansene, for, as Ramsay observed (*H.G.* pp. 69 and 302), this is (incorrectly) placed south of Melitene. A Claudiopolis is listed by Ptolemy (V 6, 22) in the *strategia* of Cataonia, but nothing is known about it, and Ramsay pointed out (*H.G.* p. 310) that Ptolemy listed in this *strategia* many places which were not actually included in it. For Laodiceia Catacecaumene and Iconium see Chap. XIX note 17. For Claudiolaodiceia see *Klio* X (1910), p. 234f., nos. 2 and 4 (βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος): *J.H.S.* XXXI (1911), p. 198, no. 55: *Coll. Wadd.* 4777f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. xxii. For Claudiconium see *I.G.R.* III 246, 263 (= Dessau 8848 = Charlesworth, p. 27, no. 41, ὁ δῆμος, of the time of Nero) and 1474: *Coll. Wadd.* 4761f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 4. Iconium is called a κολωνεία in *C.I.G.* 3993 and *I.G.R.* III 1474, and Kornemann supposed (*R.E.* IV 551) that it received colonial status from Claudius. It was pointed out, however, by Ramsay (*Cl. Rev.* XIX [1905], p. 413f.) and Ruge (*R.E.* IX 991) that it was not made a colony until the time of Hadrian (see Chap. XXVI note 47). The change in the names of these cities, combined with a dedication to Claudius by the

governor M. Annius Afrinus found on the southern shore of Lake Suğla (*C.I.L.* III 288=6799) and the appearance of Afrinus's name on coins of Iconium of the time of Claudius (*Coll. Wadd.* 4762f.), suggested to Ramsay (*J.R.S.* XII [1922], p. 159) that through him the Emperor "conducted a general reorganization of southern Galatia." The name Κλαυ(δία) Δέρβ(η), which appears on coins of Derbe in southern Lycaonia in the second century (*Coll. Wadd.* 4758 and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. xx), presumably dates from this time. But if it may be supposed that the city was in that part of Lycaonia which belonged to Antiochus IV of Commagene (see Chap. XXI note 49), the King, who seems to have named cities in Commagene and Cilicia after the Emperor (see below notes 29 and 31), may have given this epithet to Derbe in honour of Claudius; see Ruge in *R.E.* XIII 2255 and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 413f., note 21. For Seleuceia Sidera see Chap. XIX note 23, and for this branch of the Via Sebaste see Chap. XIX note 42. For the name Claudioseleuceia see Lanckoroński II p. 225, no. 194: *Coll. Wadd.* 3893f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* pp. cix, 252f. and 305. For the statue of Claudius see *I.G.R.* III 328. For a monument to Claudius at Sagalassus, south of Seleuceia, see *C.I.L.* III 6871=*I.G.R.* III 344 (A.D. 42). For statues of Claudius, Messalina and Britannicus (after A.D. 44) at Arneae in Lycia see *T.A.M.* II 760.

22. For the roads in Pamphylia (now combined with Lycia, see Chap. XXII note 48) see *C.I.L.* III 6737=*I.G.R.* III 768=Dessau 215 (*vias refecit*), verified in *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 127, no. 23. For milestones found near Smyrna and Tralles see *C.I.L.* III 476 (*quadragesimum . . . ab Eph*[*eso*]) and 7206 (*μίλια λα', i.e.* from Ephesus, see Chap. II note 18). Claudius's name is in the nominative, evidently the subject of some such expression as *viam faciendam curavit* (see Chap. XXIV note 12). For the road in Bithynia built by Nero through the agency of the imperial procurator see below note 65. For the significance of road-construction in a senatorial province in the name of the emperor see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XIII (1910), *Beibl.* 78, who listed (in note 4) other instances in the province of Asia.

23. For Claudius's policy of expansion see Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 148f.: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* X p. 674f.: Scramuzza *Claudius*, p. 179f.

24. Cassius Dio LX 24, 4; this was probably the *seditio* mentioned in Tacitus *Ann.* XII 58, 2. For the restoration of the independence of Rhodes see Tacitus *l.c.* (A.D. 53): Suetonius *Claud.* 25, 3; *Nero* 7, 2, where the date is wrongly given as Claudius's (fifth) consulship, *i.e.* 51 (see Fabia in *R. Phil.* XX [1896], p. 133f.). For the decree honouring the envoys who obtained this restoration see *I.G.* XII 1, 2=*I.G.R.* IV 1123=Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 52. An epigram of Antiphilus of Byzantium (*Anth. Pal.* IX 178) represents Rhodes as glorying equally in the light of Helios and of Nero. For Rhodian governors of the Chersonesus and the island of Syme in the later first century after Christ see Chap. IV note 62. For the letter written by Nero to the Rhodians after the arrival of the envoys who had come ostensibly to congratulate him on his accession and to sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus

but in reality because they were alarmed ἐπὶ τῇ ψευδῶς ἐπι[σ]τολῇ κομισθείσῃ see *I.G.R.* IV 1124 = *Syll.*[3] 810 = Dessau 8793 = Charlesworth, p. 32, no. 1 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 54, and for various explanations of this expression see Fabia, p. 138f.

25. Cassius Dio LX 8, 2, confirmed by a coin of Mithradates, dated in A.D. 41/2 (Minns *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 611).

26. The two Polemos are confused in Cassius Dio *l.c.*, where the statement is made that Claudius compensated Polemo for the loss of the Cimmerian Bosporus by giving him some territory in Cilicia. They were distinguished by Josephus, who mentions Polemo τὴν Πόντου κεκτημένος δυναστείαν (*Ant. Jud.* XIX 8, 1, § 338) and Polemo Κιλικίας βασιλεύς (*ibid.* XX 7, 3, § 145), who married Berenice, daughter of Agrippa I, and subsequently was deserted by her. For the *gentilicium*, Julius, of Polemo of Pontus, perhaps inherited from his father, see *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III 1178 and above note 12. The name of the Cilician ruler appears as Marcus Antonius Polemo on coins on which he is described as ἀρχιερεύς and δυνάστης Ὀλβέων τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ Κενναται(ῶν) καὶ Λαλασσέων, with the dates (either an era or a regnal year) ι′ and ια′; see Hill in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1899), p. 194f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 123f. In fabric and types these coins are similar to those of Aias, the Chief Priest of Olba, who was also "toparch" of the same two tribes at the beginning of Tiberius's principate; see Chap. XXI note 12. It was supposed by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* VIII pp. 271 and 311) that this Polemo was a descendant of Polemo II of Pontus. On the other hand, he was regarded by Hill (*l.c.*) and by Ramsay (*Church in the Rom. Emp.* p. 427) as the elder son of Polemo I and Pythodoris, of whom nothing (not even his name) is known except that he assisted his mother in governing her kingdom (see Chap. XX note 53). This identification was accepted in *C.A.H.* X p. 112, and it is indeed possible that after Pythodoris's death this son received a principality in Cilicia. In any case, Polemo the dynast may be identified with M. Antonius Polemo Βασιλεύς, whose name appears on a coin with the head and titles of Galba (*Coll. Wadd.* 4427), and with the man whose coins are inscribed Πολέμωνος Βασιλέως and, on the reverse, [Κ]οινὸν Λαλασσέων καὶ Κενναται[ῶν]; see Hill, p. 186f. The royal title was presumably conferred on him either by Claudius or by Nero.

27. For Claudiopolis (Mut) see Leake *Journal*, p. 108f.: E. J. Davis *Life in Asiatic Turkey* (London 1879), p. 330.: Heberdey and Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) 6, p. 119. For an inscription mentioning the *demos* see *J.H.S. Suppl. Papers* II (1893), p. 22f., no. 1. For a coin, issued under Hadrian, see *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 60 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 458. It was perhaps the *Claudiopolis quam eduxit coloniam Claudius Caesar* mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus XIV 8, 2 as in inland Cilicia on or near the Calycadnus, but there is no reason to suppose that this place was ever a colony. For the question of the relation of this Claudiopolis to Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Ninica Claudiopolis, presumably founded by Augustus,

see Chap. XIX note 46. It was suggested by Ramsay in *Rev. Num.* XII (1894), p. 169 that Claudiopolis (as well as Ninica Claudiopolis) was founded or renamed in honour of the Emperor by Antiochus IV of Commagene, but since its situation is not far from Olba and the territory of the Cennatae, it seems much more probable, as A. H. M. Jones suggested (*Cities*, p. 211), that the founder was Polemo (not, however, "Polemo II" of Pontus). For the *Koinon* of the Lalasseis and Cennatae see above note 26 and Chap. XXI note 12.

28. For Antiochus IV and his dominions in Cilicia and Lycaonia see Chap. XXI note 49. For the loss of Commagene see Chap. XXI note 54. For its restoration see Cassius Dio LX 8, 1 and Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIX 5, 1, §276 (inaccurate).

29. For the site of Germaniceia (Maraş) see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* V *Text*, p. 1 A and Honigmann in *R. E. Suppl.* IV 686f. Coins inscribed Καισαρ(έων) Γερμανικέων were issued in the latter half of the second century; see *B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* pp. xlix and 115. The city was listed by Ptolemy (V 14, 8), but its earliest known appearance in literature was its mention by Asinius Quadratus in the third century; see Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Γερμανίκεια. For the road over the pass of Arslan Boğazı to Anazarbus see Chap. XI note 38. For the routes to Samosata and Zeugma see *Itin. Ant.* 184f. and K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 763.

30. For these cities see Heberdey and Wilhelm *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV (1896) 6, pp. 147f. and 152f.: Paribeni and Romanelli in *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 174f.: Keil and Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 111: A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 212f. Their names appear as Ἀντιοχέων τῆς Παραλίου and Ἰωταπειτῶν on coins of the second and third centuries; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4324f.: Imhoof-Blumer in *Num. Chron.* XV (1895), p. 288f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 86. Antiocheia has the distinguishing epithet ἐπὶ Κράγῳ in Ptolemy V 7, 2. Iotape has been restored in Pliny *N.H.* V 92 (accepted by Ruge in *R.E.* IX 2004); it appears as Ἰωταπειτῶν πόλις in *I.G.R.* III 831 (Trajan). For the Council and People, an agonothete and a *demiourgos* at Antiocheia see Heberdey and Wilhelm, nos. 259 and 260. For the Council and People, a *demiourgos* and other officials at Iotape see *I.G.R.* III 831, 832 and 833-835 (=Paribeni and Romanelli, nos. 121-123): *J.O.A.I.* V (1902), p. 204: Paribeni and Romanelli, no. 127.

31. Philadelpheia is known from its coins, issued from Trajan onward, with the legend Φιλαδελφέων τῆς Κιητίδος or Κητίδος; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4437f. and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 127 and Chap. XXI note 40. It was listed by Ptolemy (V 7, 5) in the region of Selinitis, which included also Seleuceia (presumably Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus) and Diocaesareia, near Olba. Various sites have been proposed, all of them in the northeastern part of Cilicia Aspera; see Ruge in *R.E.* XIX 2093f. Since, however, the original home of the Cietae was perhaps in the centre of the district (see Chap. XXI

note 40), it may be supposed that Philadelpheia also was somewhere in this region. Eirenopolis and Germanicopolis were listed, together with Philadelpheia, in Isauria (*i.e.* Cilicia Aspera) in Hierocles 710 and the *Notitiae Episcopatuum,* and a city called Eirenopolis was placed by Ptolemy (v 7, 6) in Lacanitis, which, however, according to his arrangement was in Cilicia Campestris. There was, in fact, an Eirenopolis in Cilicia Secunda (eastern Cilicia Campestris) in the fourth century (Hierocles 705, 8 and *Not. Episc.* 1 822), which seems to have been originally called Neronias and in the fourth century was still known sometimes by this name; see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 48f. If, as seems probable, by Lacanitis Ptolemy meant Lacanatis, which, as part of Antiochus's possessions (see Chap. XXI note 49), was evidently in Cilicia Aspera, the error may be explained by supposing that a confusion between the two cities called Eirenopolis caused him to transfer the region to Cilicia Campestris; see Ruge in *R.E.* XII 519 and *l.c.* Coins inscribed Εἰρηνοπολιτῶν (or Ἰρηνοπολιτῶν) issued from Nero onward, which show an era reckoned from A.D. 52 or 53 (*Coll. Wadd.* 4326f.: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. lxi f. and 87f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 440f.), were assigned to the eastern Eirenopolis by Ramsay (*Rev. Num.* XII [1894], p. 169f., note 2) and Imhoof-Blumer. It was pointed out, however, by Hill (*B. M. Cat. ibid.*) and Ruge (*R.E.* XVII 48) that it is difficult to understand why, if these coins were issued by a city which was also called Neronias, none of them, although they date from the first to the third century, bears this name; see also A. H. M. Jones *Cities,* p. 438. The era, moreover, suggests a city in Cilicia Aspera, for Antiochus's victory over the Cietae in 52 may well have been celebrated by the foundation of a "City of Peace" either in their territory or elsewhere in his kingdom. The situation of the place is unknown, for the identification with Irnebul, in the mountain-region south of the Ermenek Göksu Çay (the southern branch of the Calycadnus), proposed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 365) and accepted by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII *Text,* p. 18 A) and (with some doubt) by Ruge (*R.E.* V 2135), is based solely on a fancied resemblance between the two names. Germanicoplis is known from coins, issued under Hadrian and inscribed Ἀδριανὴ Γερμανικόπολις; see *Coll. Wadd.* 4735 and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 81. The location at Ermenek, north of the valley of the Ermenek Göksu Çay (see Heberdey and Wilhelm *ibid.* p. 129 and F. X. Schaffer in *Pet. Mitt., Erg.-heft* CXLI [1903], p. 71), which was proposed by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 366) and accepted by R. Kiepert (*F.O.A.* VIII) and Ruge (*R.E.* VII 1258), is also based only on a supposed resemblance between the names.

32. For the relations between Claudius's government and the Parthians see Anderson in *C.A.H.* X 754f.: N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia,* p. 169f.: Scramuzza *ibid.* p. 186f. For the general influence of Vitellius (see Chap. XXI note 39) over Claudius see Tacitus *Ann.* VI 32, 7; XI 2, 4: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XX 1, 2, § 12: Cassius Dio LX 21, 2: Suetonius *Vit.* 2f.

33. For the attempt to make Mithradates ruler of Armenia and its failure see Tacitus *Ann.* XI 8-9; XII 44-51; XIII 6, 1: Cassius Dio LX 8, 1. See also Momm-

sen *R.G.* v² p. 379f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 48f.: Anderson *l.c.*: P. Asdourian *Polit. Beziehungen zw. Armenien u. Rom,* pp. 83f. and 87: Geyer in *R.E.* XV 2215: Stein in *R.E.* I A 35f.: Debevoise, pp. 169f. and 174f. As the result of Tacitus's method of combining the events of several years into a single narrative (see Chap. XXI note 39) the chronology is uncertain. For an attempt to reconstruct it from 51 to 54 see B. W. Henderson in *Cl. Rev.* XV (1901), p. 159f. The return of Mithradates (related by Tacitus among the events of 47) is dated in 41 by Dio, and this is evidently the correct date; see Asdourian, p. 83, note 1. The opposition to him seems to have been crushed before the intervention of Vibius Marsus (Tacitus XI 10, 1), whose governorship of Syria came to an end in 45, when he was succeeded by C. Cassius Longinus (*P.I.R.*² II p. 118, no. 501).

34. The *castellum* Gorneae, where, according to Tacitus *Ann.* XII 45, 3, the Roman garrison was stationed, was identified, solely because of the resemblance of the names, by Kiepert (see *F.O.A.* V) with Bash Garni, a short distance northeast of Artaxata, where there are ruins dating perhaps from about A.D. 300; see Lynch *Armenia* I pp. 201 and 264.

35. The arrival of Radamistus was placed in 51 by Henderson (*ibid.* p. 164), who dated also in this year the capitulation at Gorneae, the death of Mithradates, the expedition of Paelignus, the coronation of Radamistus and the arrival of Helvidius Priscus with his legion in Armenia. While Henderson's chronology is much more convincing than that of previous writers, it may be questioned whether he has not crowded too many events into 51 and whether at least those related in Tacitus XII 44, where Pharasmanes's invasion of Armenia, represented as the cause of trouble between the Romans and the Parthians (*i.e.* the aggression of Vologases), is placed in 51, should not be pushed back into 50 or even earlier. Pollio's capitulation was ascribed by Tacitus (XII 45, 6 and 46, 5) to bribery, but it was pointed out by Gwatkin (*Cappadocia as a Roman Procur. Prov.* p. 37) that it did not take place until after the failure of Casperius's mission to Pharasmanes and that it did not necessarily mean the surrender of Armenia, since Pharasmanes was not pro-Parthian.

36. For this explanation of Paelignus's expedition (as opposed to the sarcasm of Tacitus XII 49, 2) and for a defence of his acceptance of Radamistus as king see Gwatkin *ibid.* p. 38. For the *auxilia provincialium* as distinct from the organized *auxilia* of the regular army and probably available for local service only see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VI p. 148f. and Gwatkin, p. 36f., who suggested that in this case they may have been only the retainers of the feudal lords or other leaders.

37. For the mission of Helvidius Priscus and his recall see Gwatkin *ibid.* p. 38f. Anderson pointed out (*C.A.H.* X p. 757, note 1) that it is difficult to believe that the Roman garrison remained at Gorneae during Vologases's occupation of Armenia; it may have left the country with Priscus. A frag-

ment of Cassius Dio (LXI 6, 6), however, placed by Boissevain in A.D. 54, relates that a certain Laelianus, who had been *praefectus vigilum*, was sent to Armenia to replace Pollio but proved even more insatiable in his desire for gain. The suggestion of Fabia in *R. Phil.* XXII (1898), p. 133f. that Laelianus is an error for Paelignus is, as Boissevain showed (*Cassius Dio* Vol. III p. 26), both palaeographically and historically improbable. If the fragment is correctly dated and is not to be connected with the expedition of Priscus to Armenia, it must be supposed either that the garrison did remain in Armenia or that Pollio returned to the country later.

38. Vologases's invasion of Armenia was listed by Tacitus (XII 50) among the events of A.D. 51. As was observed by Henderson (*ibid.* p. 161), however, he did not become king until the late summer of this year; for his earliest known coin is dated Gorpiaeus, 362 Sel.=Aug.-Sept. A.D. 51 (*B. M. Cat. Parthia*, p. XLIX and p. 178, no. 1f.), and even at this time his rule was disputed, for a coin of his predecessor, Gotarzes II, bears the date Apellaeus, 362 Sel.=Nov.-Dec. A.D. 51 (A. v. Petrowicz *Arsaciden-Münzen* [Vienna 1904], p. 118, no. 11). See also McDowell *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 191. The invasion, therefore, could not have taken place until 52, and the withdrawal after a winter spent in Armenia must have occurred in 53. The return of Radamistus, accordingly, may be dated in the summer or autumn of this year, and the acts of cruelty which led the Armenians to revolt against him presumably occurred in the following winter. His flight from the country was announced in Rome toward the end of 54 (Tacitus XIII 6, 1).

39. For this episode, beginning with the news of the Parthian invasion in 54 and ending with Tiridates's agreement to receive the crown from Nero in 63, see Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 7-9 (A.D. 54); 34-41 (A.D. 58); XIV 23-26 (A.D. 60); XV 1-17 (A.D. 62); 24-31 (A.D. 63): Cassius Dio LXII 19-23. See also E. Egli *Feldzüge in Armenien von 41-63* in Büdinger *Untersuchungen z. Röm. Kaisergeschichte* (Leipzig 1868) I p. 280f.: B. W. Henderson *Life and Principate of the Emp. Nero* (London 1903), p. 153f.: Asdourian *ibid.* p. 88f.: Stein in *R. E. Suppl.* III 397f.: W. Schur *Die Orientpolitik d. Kaisers Nero* = *Klio Beih.* XV (1923), p. 7f.: Dessau *G.R.K.* II p. 190f.: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 758f.: Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 179f. The determination of the chronology is rendered difficult by Tacitus's method of grouping together the events of two or more years; see above note 33. For attempts to correct the chronology of 58/9 and 62 see below notes 46 and 53. For the dependence of our historical sources on the "Commentaries" composed by Corbulo see Asdourian, p. 178f. and Schur in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 75f.

40. Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 8, 1, *retinendae Armeniae praeposuerat.* It was pointed out by Gwatkin (*Cappadocia, etc.* p. 45f.) that this was perhaps part of the official designation of Corbulo as commander and that it seems more probable that he had a purely military command created for the purpose of conducting this war than that he was made imperial governor of the combined provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia, as has been generally assumed,

e.g. by Stein (*ibid.* 397), Schur (*Orientpolitik*, p. 8), Anderson (*ibid.* p. 758f.) and Syme (*Klio* xxx [1937], p. 230). This assumption appears to be based on the statements of Tacitus (xiii 35, 4 and xv 6, 5) that troops for the war were levied *per Galatiam Cappadociamque* and that the *Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia* were made subject to Corbulo's orders. In the former case, however, the levies were held for the purpose of strengthening the legions brought from Syria and in the latter the reference is evidently to the local militia of the two provinces which might be placed at the disposal of the nearest military commander. The view, moreover, that C. Rutilius Gallicus, *legatus* of Galatia under Nero (Dessau 9499) and vested with a military command in the province (Statius *Silv.* i 4, 76), was a subordinate of Corbulo, which was held by Keil (*J.O.A.I.* xvii [1915], p. 197f.) and Groag (*R.E.* i A 1257), is an assumption. In the inscriptions in which Corbulo is mentioned (*C.I.L.* iii 6741, 6742 and 6742 a, see below note 59, and Dessau 9108, see below note 43) he is described merely as *Legatus Augusti pro Praetore* without mention of a particular province. Gwatkin also suggested that the ill-defined character of Corbulo's powers with reference to those of the governor of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, may have caused the dispute as to which should receive the Parthian hostages (see below note 42).

41. Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 7. For Agrippa II see above p. 547f. His kingdom consisted of Batanaea and Trachonitis (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xx 7, 1, §138); for mention of a former *strategos* of his, found in the latter district, see *I.G.R.* iii 1144 = *O.G.I.* 425. For Cotys see above p. 551. It is not known whether he died or was deposed. The statement in Cassius Dio lix 12, 2 that Gaius "afterwards" gave him τῆς Ἀραβίας τινά suggested to C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in *Festschr. f. O. Hirschfeld* (Berlin 1903), p. 399 that, either in 54 or earlier, he may have received this in exchange for Armenia Minor. For Aristobulus see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xx 8, 4, § 158 and *Bell. Jud.* ii 13, 2, §252 and, for his coins, *Receuil* i² p. 135f. Sohaemus has sometimes been identified with C. Julius Sohaemus who became king of Emesa in A.D. 54 (Josephus *Ant. Jud.* xx 8, 4, § 158) and is known from *C.I.L.* iii 14387 a = Dessau 8958, but, as was observed by Stein (*R.E.* iii A 797) and Anderson (p. 758, note 3), the identification is very doubtful. For the strategic importance of Sophene see above p. 375.

42. On the question of the identity of the leader of this rebellion (Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 7, 2) see Anderson in *C.A.H.* x p. 879. For the negotiations with Vologases see Tacitus xiii 9, where it is related that the quarrel between Corbulo and Quadratus over the right to receive the hostages was settled by Nero's decision that both had won a success which entitled them to wreath their fasces with laurel. It was supposed by Mommsen (*R.G.* v² p. 383f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* ii p. 53f.), by Henderson (*Nero* p. 163) and by Schur (*Orientpolitik*, p. 8) that these negotiations show that the Roman government was now ready to accept the compromise ultimately adopted, namely, that Tiridates should rule Armenia on condition of acknowledging the

supremacy of Rome. There seems to be no reason, however, for supposing that such a plan was considered at this time (see below note 45).

43. The two legions which Corbulo received from Quadratus (Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 8, 2) were presumably Legio III Gallica and Legio VI Ferrata, with which he advanced into Armenia (Tacitus XIII 38, 6 and 40, 3). A winter spent by the latter in that country is mentioned in Dessau 9108 = *J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), *Beibl.* 128f., no. 9 (in honour of one of its officers). Corbulo had also at least a detachment of Legio X Fretensis (Tacitus XIII 40, 3). The *adiecta* (*i.e.* to the army) *ex Germania legio* (Tacitus XIII 35, 4) was presumably the *legio quarta* which afterward took part in the campaign (Tacitus XV 6, 5 and 7, 2). It was evidently Legio IV Scythica, for Funisulanus Vettonianus, mentioned in Tacitus XV 7, 2 as the commander of the *quarta*, is described in *C.I.L.* III 4013 = Dessau 1005 as *Leg(atus) Leg(ionis) IV Scythic(ae)*. Tacitus's *ex Germania*, however, is an error, for this legion had been stationed in Moesia; see Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1557f. and H. M. D. Parker *The Roman Legions* (Oxford 1928), p. 135. Since there is no mention of this legion in connexion with the Armenian war until 62 (see below note 52), it may be supposed that it was retained for some time in Syria.

44. This tribe is called in the Codex Mediceus of Tacitus (*Ann.* XIII 37, 4) *Insochi*, which, since no such people is known, has usually been emended to *Moschi*. It was suggested, however, by M. O. B. Caspari in *Cl. Rev.* XXV (1911), p. 107f. that by Insochi are meant Heniochi, of whom one division, at least, lived west of the Moschi, perhaps west of the great bend of the Çoruh Su; see Strabo XI p. 496f.: Pliny *N.H.* VI 12 and 30: Kiessling in *R.E.* VIII 269f. This suggestion was approved by Kiessling and Anderson (*ibid.* p. 880). While it seems improbable that Tacitus, who had already mentioned the Heniochi in *Ann.* II 68, 1, now called the tribe Insochi, this name may well be due to an error of the copyist.

45. It was maintained by Henderson (*Nero*, p. 169), Schur (*Orientpolitik*, p. 30 and *Klio* XX [1926], p. 215f.) and Anderson (*ibid.* p. 761), on the theory that Nero's government had previously been ready to accept the compromise (see above note 42), that Corbulo in his suggestion to Tiridates was acting on instructions received from Rome. On the other hand, Hohl in *Deutsche Lit.-Ztg.* 1924, p. 916 and De Sanctis in *Riv. Storica Ital.* III (1925), p. 199 denied that Nero's Parthian policy showed any such consistency; and Momigliano in *Atti d. Secondo Congresso Naz. di Studi Rom.* I (1931), p. 369f. pointed out the indecision of the government in the conduct of the war as shown by the various changes in its policy, as well as the conflict between its aims and those of Corbulo, who, as observed by M. Hammond in *Harv. Stud.* XLV (1934), p. 89, note 4, "was interested not in the conquest of Armenia but simply in the policy of nominal suzerainty." The appointment of Tigranes (see below note 48) to the kingship in 60, regarded by Schur (*Orientpolitik*, pp. 15 and 32) as merely a temporary solution, seems to show that the Roman government was not as yet prepared to solve the problem

by a compromise but still adhered to the policy of naming the Armenian king. When, in 61, Vologases with Corbulo's approval made an offer practically identical with the present one (see below note 50), the Romans paid no attention to it.

46. The chronology of this campaign of Corbulo is rendered uncertain by Tacitus's failure to mention where the Roman army spent the winter of 58/9. The view of Egli (*ibid.* p. 286f.), accepted by Henderson (*Cl. Rev.* xv [1901], p. 212), that it was during this winter that Corbulo attempted to hold the conference with Tiridates is open to the objection that too many events are crowded into the campaigning-season of 59. Similarly, the chronology proposed by Schur (*Klio* xix [1925], p. 90), who dated the advance on Artaxata, the destruction of the city and the march to Tigranocerta in 58, crowds too much into this year. The most satisfactory arrangement is that offered by Furneaux in *Annals of Tacitus*[2] II p. [112], which has met with wide acceptance; see H. Stuart Jones in *R.A.* III (1904), p. 269: Hohl in *R.E. Suppl.* III 365: Stein in *R.E. Suppl.* III 399f.: Anderson *ibid.* pp. 762f. and 880: Hammond *ibid.* pp. 90f. and 104. According to this view, the invasion of Armenia and the surrender of Artaxata took place in 58 and the march to Tigranocerta and the capture of the city in 59. The winter of 58/9, therefore, was spent at Artaxata and that of 59/60 at Tigranocerta. While, as Furneaux and Henderson (p. 208) observed, it is not necessary to suppose with Egli (p. 285) that the phenomenon, described as a *miraculum* (Tacitus XIII 41, 4), which the Romans saw at Artaxata was the eclipse of the sun on 30 April, 59, which was observed by Corbulo in Armenia (Pliny *N.H.* II 180) and was visible also in Rome (Tacitus XIV 12, 3 and Cassius Dio LXI 16, 4), the destruction of the city may well have taken place about this time.

47. The statement in Tacitus XIV 24, 6 that the people of Tigranocerta sent envoys to Corbulo to surrender the city, differs materially from that in Frontinus *Strat.* II 9, 5, where it is related that Tigranocerta was besieged by Corbulo and held out obstinately until the head of an Armenian magnate was hurled by a ballista into the place where the city-council was meeting. Anderson attempted (*ibid.* p. 764) to reconcile the two versions by supposing that the citizens, after declaring themselves ready to open the gates, changed their minds and resisted Corbulo on his arrival.

48. For Tigranes V see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 5, 4, § 140 and Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 980f. His father was Alexander, the son of Herod's eldest son Alexander and Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus; he was, accordingly, the nephew of Tigranes IV, king of Armenia for a short time under Augustus (see Chap. XX note 50); see the genealogical table in *R.E. Suppl.* II 16.

49. Schur, pointing out (*Orientpolitik*, p. 19f.) that Tigranes could scarcely have undertaken this invasion without the knowledge of the commander of the Roman force in Armenia and that he, in turn, could not have consented to it without the approval of Corbulo, suggested that the latter pro-

voked a war against Vologases in order to prevent him from subduing the Hyrcanians, for whose envoys to Rome Corbulo had arranged a safe passage back to their native country (Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 25, 2f.). The connivance of Corbulo, however, was doubted by Geyer (*ibid.* 981). The view of Momigliano (*ibid.* p. 371f.) that the invasion of Adiabene was necessary in order to weaken the Parthian forces and his suggestion that a further motive was the possible usefulness of the possession of the district in the bargaining for an ultimate settlement may also be questioned.

50. It was suggested by Schur (*ibid.* p. 23) that Corbulo's unconditional acceptance of Vologases's offer can be explained only by supposing that he had reason to assume that his government still intended eventually to arrive at the compromise contained in the King's proposal. But in view both of the failure of the Parthian mission as shown by Vologases's resumption of the war (Tacitus *Ann.* XV 7, 1) and of the announcement of Paetus that he would make Armenia a province (Tacitus XV 6, 6), it seems difficult to find any grounds for such an assumption. Tigranes now disappears from the scene. For his son, Alexander, who under Vespasian became the ruler of part of Cilicia, see Chap. XXIV note 26.

51. Momigliano (*ibid.* p. 372f.), believing that Corbulo's position on the Euphrates was taken for the purpose of invading Mesopotamia in consequence of orders from the government, supposed that Corbulo asked to be relieved of responsibility for Armenia because he did not believe that the new plan of simultaneously defending Armenia and invading Mesopotamia would be effective.

52. These were Legio XII Fulminata, which had been in Syria since the time of Augustus, and Legio IV Scythica (see above note 43). The transfer from Moesia (Tacitus *Ann.* XV 6, 5) of Legio V Macedonica, which at the time of Vologases's advance against Paetus was still in Pontus (Tacitus XV 9, 2), appears to be mentioned in *C.I.L.* XIV 3608 = Dessau 986 = Charlesworth *Documents*, p. 38, no. 10, in honour of Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, who, after his proconsulship of Asia (see also L.W. 600 a = *P.A.S.* II no. 2 and perhaps *I.G.R.* IV 1362 = 1744), held early in Nero's principate (see below note 72), was made imperial governor of Moesia about A.D. 60; see S. E. Stout *The Governors of Moesia* (Princeton 1911), p. 13f. and Dessau in *J.O.A.I.* XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 349f.

53. For the date see Henderson in *Cl. Rev.* XV (1901), p. 272f., accepted by Stein (*ibid.* 403), Dessau (*G.R.K.* II p. 200) and Anderson (*ibid.* p. 768). The chronology proposed by Schur in *Klio* XIX (1925), p. 93f. and accepted by Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 1443, which placed the arrival of Paetus in the late autumn of 61 and his capitulation in the following winter, was based on the supposition that Nero's ninth acclamation as *Imperator* in his eighth tribunicial year (*C.I.L.* II 4888) should be dated in the latter half of 61 and connected with Paetus's premature message that he had ended the war (Tacitus

Ann. xv 8, 3). This dating, however, not only places too many events in 61 (leaving too few for 62) but fails to take into account that, according to the corrected chronology (see Dessau 8902, note 1 and *G.R.K.* II p. 196, note 1: Mattingly in *J.R.S.* xx [1930], p. 79f.: *C.A.H.* x p. 702, note 1), Nero's eighth tribunicial year was Oct., 61 to Oct., 62. It was therefore possible for a message sent from the Euphrates in the summer of 62 to reach Rome before the end of this tribunicial year.

54. It was supposed by Henderson (*Nero*, p. 182f.) that the Roman government adopted this new policy in all seriousness, and a somewhat similar view was held by Momigliano (*ibid.* p. 373f.). Schur, on the other hand, expressed the opinion (*Orientpolitik*, pp. 24 and 32) that Paetus was ordered to announce this programme, but with the full knowledge that the government was adhering to its previous plan of ultimately making Tiridates the vassal-king of Armenia.

55. The name and situation of Rhandeia are known only from Cassius Dio LXII 21, 1 and 4. Henderson (*Journ. of Philol.* XXVIII [1903], p. 271f.) placed it on the north side of the Arsanias just above the junction of this stream with the Peri Su. Arsamosata, which, according to Polybius VIII 23, 1, was in the so-called Καλὸν Πεδίον between the Euphrates and the Tigris (so also Ptolemy V 12, 8), probably lay in the fertile plain on the south side of the Arsanias east of Harput and above the junction with the Peri Su; see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* V *Text*, p. 8 A and Anderson *ibid.* p. 880.

56. The siege was evidently of considerable duration, although this does not appear in Tacitus's narrative; for Paetus's second message to Corbulo was not sent until after the return to the camp of the fugitives from the battle on the Pass of Ergani (Tacitus *Ann.* XV 11, 3), whereas the Roman army did not capitulate until Corbulo was only three days' march from Rhandeia (XV 16, 1). Enough time elapsed, accordingly, for the messenger to reach Syria and for Corbulo to call out the main part of his army and march northward to the neighbourhood of Tomisa.

57. The report that the Roman army was sent under the yoke, dismissed by Tacitus (*Ann.* XV 15, 2) as a mere rumour, was accepted by Suetonius (*Nero* 39, 1) and repeated by Eutropius (VII 14, 4) and Orosius (VII 7, 12). It is, of course, extremely improbable that the Parthians would have used this method of humbling a defeated army. On the other hand, the statement made by Corbulo that Paetus took an oath before the standards (*i.e.* in the camp-sanctuary) that no Roman would enter Armenia until it was made known whether Nero assented to the peace, which was regarded by Tacitus as fictitious (XV 16, 2f.), may well be true. A slightly different version appears in Cassius Dio LXII 21, 2.

58. The powers conferred on Corbulo, extending over client-rulers and officials, including *qui praetorum finitimas provincias regebant*, were likened

by Tacitus (*Ann.* xv 25, 6) to the command held by Pompey against the pirates under the Lex Gabinia (see Chap. XII note 41). Mommsen (*R.St.R.* II[3] p. 655, note 1 and p. 853, note 2), likening the position of Corbulo to that of Vitellius under Tiberius (see Chap. XXI note 39) and supposing that he received a *maius imperium* over all provincial governors, whereas Pompey's was restricted to those of praetorian rank, regarded the parallel as justified in fact but not in law. Gwatkin (*Cappadocia, etc.* p. 48), on the other hand, believing that by *praetores* only the imperial legates of praetorian provinces (*e.g.* Galatia) were meant, regarded the comparison as exact. But, as Anderson pointed out (*Cl. Rev.* XLV [1931], p. 190), the words *qui . . . regebant* may either include all governors of praetorian rank (*i.e.* of Bithynia as well as Galatia) or more probably, as elsewhere in Tacitus, denote all provincial governors in the East, including even the proconsul of Asia. It would appear, therefore, that Corbulo was authorized as *legatus Augusti pro praetore* to requisition from all Roman officials in the East what he considered necessary for the conduct of the war. The analogy, however, between his position and that of Germanicus in A.D. 17 (see above p. 497), suggested by Furneaux (note on *Ann.* xv 25, 6), is not altogether valid.

59. *C.I.L.* III 6741 (=Dessau 232), 6742 and 6742 a, in honour of Nero found in the plain south of Harput and northwest of the Ergani Pass, dated in 64/5 and erected *Cn. Domitio Corbulone leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore), T. Aurelio Fulvo leg(ato) Aug(usti) Leg(ionis) III Gal(licae).*

60. Suetonius *Nero* 13, 2, where, however, the closing is recorded in connexion with the crowning of Tiridates in Rome in 66. The statement is confirmed by coins of Nero issued in 64/5, 65/6 and 66/7, which bear the legend *Pace P. R. Terra Mariq.* (or *Ubiq.*) *parta Ianum clusit*; see Sydenham *Coinage of Nero* (London 1920), p. 91f. and Mattingly-Sydenham, I p. 156f., no. 167f.

61. For the journey to Italy and the coronation of Tiridates, which, alluded to briefly in Tacitus XVI 23, 3 and 24, 1, were presumably related in the lost portion of the author's sixteenth book, see Cassius Dio LXIII 1-6: Pliny *N.H.* XXX 16f.: Suetonius *Nero* 13. Cumont in *Riv. Fil.* LXI (1933), p. 145f. pointed out the analogy between the coronation-ceremony as described by Dio and scenes on reliefs of Mithra which depict the God removing a tiara from the head of a kneeling Helios and replacing it with a radiate-crown, the inference being that Nero was now the incarnation of Mithra.

62. Tacitus *Hist.* III 47, 1: Suetonius *Nero* 18: Eutropius VII 14, 5: Victor *de Caess.* 5, 2: Script. Hist. Aug. *Vit. Aurel.* 21, 11: *C.I.L.* III 6818=Dessau 1017=*J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 191, no. 12 (where the region is called Pontus Polemonianus). See also Cumont in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 109f. and A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 171. The latest known coin of Polemo is dated in his regnal year ΚΕ', *i.e.* A.D. 62/3; see *Receuil* I[2] p. 26, no. 35. The date of annexation is determined by the dates on the coins of Cerasus, Neocaesareia,

Trapezus and Zela, which are reckoned according to an era beginning in A.D. 64/5; see Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 643 and *Receuil* I² pp. 100, 116, 147 and 158. For Side and Polemonium see Strabo XII p. 548: Pliny *N.H.* VI 11: Arrian *Periplus* 16 Roos, where the place is called a *polis*. For Trapezus as a *liberum* (*oppidum*) see Pliny *l.c.* It is not known what became of Polemo; the frequent statement (*e.g. C.A.H.* X p. 774) that he retired to Cilicia is due to a mistaken identification with M. Antonius Polemo (see above note 26). For the *Classis Pontica* see Tacitus *Hist.* II 83 and III 47: Josephus *Bell. Jud.* II 16, 4, § 367 (a speech attributed to Agrippa II but regarded by von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* XLVII [1892], p. 207f. as dependent on a good source). For an attempt of the former naval commandant of Polemo to revolt at Trapezus in 69 see Chap. XXIV note 1. For this fleet in the second and third centuries see E. Ferrero in *Mem. Accad. Torino* XLIX (1900), p. 235f.: Fiebiger in *R.E.* III 2643: V. Chapot *La Frontière de l' Euphrate* (Paris 1907), p. 145.

63. The objective of the proposed expedition, according to Suetonius *Nero* 19, 2, Pliny *N.H.* VI 40 and Cassius Dio LXIII 8, 1, was the *Caspiae Portae* (*πύλαι αἱ Κάσπιαι*), which Pliny defined as *illae quae per Hiberiam in Sarmatas tendunt, i.e.* the Dariel Pass, which is called *Caspia via* in Tacitus *Ann.* VI 33, 4, *αἱ θῦραι αἱ Κάσπιαι* in Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 4, 4, § 97 and (perhaps more correctly) *Σαρματικαὶ πύλαι* in Ptolemy V 8, 5 and 9; see A. R. Anderson in *T.A.P.A.* LIX (1928), p. 135f. On the other hand, Nero's objective is described in Tacitus *Hist.* I 6 as *claustra Caspiarum et bellum quod in Albanos parabat.* Since, however, the Albani lived along the lower Kur and the western shore of the Caspian Sea (see Chap. XV note 13) and therefore far from the Dariel Pass, it was suggested by Mommsen (*R.G.* V² p. 394, note 1 = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 65f., note 3) that the Alani, who lived north of the Caucasus, are meant, and this view has been widely accepted; see *e.g.* Henderson *Nero*, p. 226f.: Täubler in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 14: Anderson in *C.A.H.* X pp. 777 and 883, who suggested that the purpose of the expedition was to occupy the North Caucasian region and prevent the Sarmatians from pressing forward to the Danube. An entirely different view of the objective was proposed by Schur (*Orientpolitik*, p. 62f. and *Klio* XX [1926], p. 217f.), who, defending Tacitus's *Albanos*, supposed that by *Caspiae Portae* was meant the Pass of Derbend between the eastern end of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea (see A. R. Anderson *ibid.* p. 152f.) and suggested that the plan was to "encircle" Armenia with Roman client-states and at the same time to control the trade-route supposed to lead from India and Bactria down the Oxus to the Caspian and thence up the Kur to the Euxine; see Strabo XI p. 509: Pliny *N.H.* VI 52 and 58: D. Magie in *Report of the Am. Hist. Assn.* 1919, p. 302f.: Anderson *C.A.H.* X p. 884. But, as Anderson observed, the "encirclement" presupposes an alliance with the Hyrcani, for which, except for the presence of their envoys in Rome in 59/60 (Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 25, 2, see above note 49), there is no evidence, and it has recently been shown by Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India* [Cambridge 1938],

p. 112f. and Appendix XIV) that the trade-route in question probably never existed.

64. Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 51, 1 (A.D. 58). See Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, p. 387f. and in *R.E.* VI 2391, who pointed out that Nero's edict was a reversal of the measure of Claudius which granted to procurators jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the *fiscus* (see above note 3).

65. *I.G.R.* III 335 = *O.G.I.* 538 = Charlesworth *Documents*, p. 40, no. 14 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 57. This procurator, L. Pupius Praesens, is known also from *I.G.R.* III 263 = Dessau 8848 (see above note 21), in which he was honoured as εὐεργέτης by the *demos* of Iconium while procurator of the Galatian province under both Claudius and Nero. His action at Sagalassus, therefore, may be dated early in Nero's principate. For the questionable view that the village of Tymbrianassus was imperial property see Chap. XIX note 44. For Aquila's road to Nicaea see *C.I.L.* III 346 = *I.G.R.* III 15 (A.D. 57/8), and for a theory, based partly on his construction of this road, that he and other procurators of Bithynia had a more important position than the procurators in the other senatorial provinces see above note 4. For his road to Amastris see Chap. XIII note 25 and above note 20. For the construction of the roads in Pamphylia by a procurator of Claudius see above note 22.

66. For the accusation of Celer see Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 33, 1f. (A.D. 57); according to XIII 1, 3, he was an *Eques Romanus* and he and the imperial freedman Helius (both of whom acted as Agrippina's agents in the murder of the proconsul Silanus, see below note 67) are described as *rei familiari principis in Asia impositi*. The observation of Hirschfeld (*Klio* II [1902], p. 299 = *Kl. Schr.* p. 561 and *V.B.* p. 70, note 1) that Celer was the imperial procurator of Asia (Helius being his assistant) is confirmed by two inscriptions from Ephesus (*Ephesos* III p. 130, nos. 43 and 44 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 79 *a* and *b*), in which a Publius Celer is described as *proc(urator)* [*Caesari*]*s n(ostri)*.

67. Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 1: Pliny *N.H.* VII 58: Cassius Dio LXI 6, 4f. For his relationship to Augustus through his mother Aemilia Lepida, daughter of M. Aemilius Lepidus and Julia, the youngest daughter of Agrippa, see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VIII pp. 192 and 198.

68. Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 33, 3f. (A.D. 57); XVI 21, 3; Quintilian VI 1, 14: Juvenal VIII 92f. For the restoration of Capito's senatorial rank through the influence of Tigellinus see Tacitus XIV 48, 2 (A.D. 62). The statement of Tacitus that Capito was accused by *Cilicum legati* raises the question as to the province in which he had served. The Cilicia in question was evidently Cilicia Campestris, since Cilicia Aspera was ruled by Antiochus IV. It has generally been assumed that the arrangement by which this district was attached to the province of Syria by Caesar or Antony (see above p. 433) and which was presumably still in force in A.D. 18, when Vonones, who had surrendered to

the governor of Syria, was transferred to Pompeiopolis in Cilicia (Tacitus *Ann.* II 4, 4 and 58, 3, see Chap. XX note 51 and Chap. XXI note 21), continued until A.D. 72, when the two Cilicias were combined into one province (see Chap. XXIV note 27). But on the basis of the statement, found only in Juvenal, that Capito was condemned by the Senate, Gwatkin suggested (*Cappadocia, etc.* p. 52f.) that Cilicia had been combined with Cyprus as a senatorial province, of which Capito was either the governor or the governor's legate. Granting, however, that Juvenal's expression *damnante Senatu* is accurate, it may nevertheless be questioned whether this argument is valid; for under Tiberius trials for *repetundae* in which imperial governors were involved might be brought before the Senate, presumably on the principle that a senator was entitled to a trial by the body of which he was a member (Mommsen *RSt.R.* II[3] p. 960). Such were the cases of C. Silius, *legatus* of the army in Germania Superior (Tacitus *Ann.* IV 19f.), and Pomponius Labeo, governor of Moesia (Tacitus VI 29), in the latter of which Tiberius's letter to the Senate indicates that the defendant, had he not anticipated condemnation by suicide, would have been tried by that body. Even the case of Lucilius Capito, the procurator of Asia, was referred to the Senate (see Chap. XXI note 34). It does not necessarily follow, therefore, that Capito was a senatorial official or Cilicia a senatorial province. In fact, as Anderson pointed out (*Cl. Rev.* XLV [1931], p. 190), the celebration of the festival of the *Koinon* of Syria, Cilicia and Phoenicia at Antioch (*I.G.* XIV 746 = *I.G.R.* I 445, see Chap. XXIV note 27) in the Flavian period—although perhaps a survival of an arrangement existing before the separation of Cilicia from Syria—shows that the district was for a long time attached to the latter province. There seems, accordingly, to be no valid reason why Capito should not be regarded as a legate of the imperial governor of Syria, placed in charge of Cilicia Campestris. The question of Cilicia, to be sure, is complicated by an inscription from Antioch-near-Pisidia (*J.R.S.* II [1912], p. 99, no. 31 = *Ann. Ép.* 1914, 128) honouring a certain Proculus, described as Nero's *procurator* [*pr*]*ovinciae* [*Capp*]*adociae et Ciliciae*. From this title Gwatkin inferred (p. 49f.) that under Nero (after the prosecution of Capito) Cilicia Campestris was taken from the Senate and joined to Cappadocia as a single province of which Proculus was procuratorial governor, charged with the civil administration. As Calder observed (*J.R.S. l.c.*), however, it seems more probable that Proculus was merely an ordinary fiscal procurator, charged with the collection of the revenues in both districts, and the mere use of the singular form *provinciae* hardly warrants the conclusion that the two were combined into one province. Bickerman, on the other hand, who, on slight evidence, attempted to show (*A.J.P.* LXVIII [1947], p. 353f.) that Cilicia Campestris was not attached to Syria until sometime between A.D. 18 and 35, supposed, partly on the basis of this inscription, that they were separated in 54. No governors of Cilicia are known between 44 B.C. and A.D. 77 (see Appendix I D), for L. Calpurnius Piso, legatus pro praetore (*J.O.A.I.* XVIII [1915], *Beibl.* 51), seems either to have had a special command or to have been governor of Syria; see Chap. XIX note 4.

69. Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 46, 1 (A.D. 61). For coins of Nicaea bearing the name of Priscus and the portrait of Nero see *Receuil* I p. 402f., no. 39f.: E. A. Sydenham *The Coinage of Nero*, p. 143f.: Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 84. For his accusation of Statilius Taurus, proconsul of Africa, whose legate he had been, in A.D. 53 and his consequent expulsion (as a *delator*) from the Senate (to which he was evidently restored later) see Tacitus XII 59.

70. Tacitus *Ann.* XIII 43 (A.D. 58). He had been proconsul of Asia under Claudius, perhaps in 52 or 53 (Waddington *Fastes*, p. 129). For statues erected to him as *ἀνθύπατος* by the *demos* of Samos see *I.G.R.* IV 972 and 995.

71. Tacitus *Ann.* XV 22, 1 (A.D. 62). A similar effort had been made under Augustus when an order was issued that no such action might be taken until sixty days after a governor's departure; see Cassius Dio LVI 25, 6. The practice, however, seems to have been continued; see Pliny *Pan.* 70. For the cost of delegations sent by a city (Byzantium) to the emperor and to the provincial governor see above p. 597.

72. *I.G.R.* IV 1410 = *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 181 (ll. 1-7), enacted during the proconsulship of M. Aefulanus. His term was presumably later than those of Marius Cordus (before Agrippina's death in 59, see *Coll. Wadd.* 5708 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 94, no. 143f.), Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus (before 60, see above note 52), L. Vipstanus Publicola Messalla (Consul in 48) and Pompeius Longinus Gallus (Consul in 49), both of whom were proconsuls when Nero was *Imperator* for the sixth time (between Jan., 59 and Jan., 60, see Anderson in *C.A.H.* X p. 762, note 3 and p. 764, note 2), *i.e.* in 58/9 and 59/60 (*J.O.A.I.* XXIII [1926], *Beibl.* 298f. = *S.E.G.* IV 530 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 98), and M. Vettius Niger (*Coll. Wadd.* 5706f. and *B.M. Cat Phrygia*, p. 94, no. 147f.). All these held office before 61/2.

73. Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 27, 1 (Laodiceia): Orosius VII 7, 12 and Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 154 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 183 Helm (Laodiceia, Hierapolis, Colossae). The earthquake was dated by Hieronymus in Ol. 210, 4 = A.D. 64, but the correct date is probably 60, as recorded by Tacitus. The disastrous effect on Hierapolis was pointed out by Cichorius in *Alt. von Hierap.* p. 23f. and L. Weber in *Χάριτες Fr. Leo . . . dargebr.* (Berlin 1911), p. 473, note 1, who observed that whereas the known coins of the city are plentiful from Augustus onward to the early principate of Nero (*i.e.* showing Nero without a beard), there are in existence only two or three issued between this time and the principate of Trajan.

74. For Nero see Sydenham *Coinage of Nero*, p. 48, no. 30 (with Agrippina) and p. 145, no. 3 (Cyme); p. 49, no. 38 (Synaus). For Agrippina see Sydenham, p. 44, no. 6 (Samos); p. 45, no. 8 (Hierocaesareia); p. 45, no. 11 (Sardis); p. 48, no. 32 (Mitylene).

75. For Nero as Asclepius Caesar at Cos see *I.G.R.* IV 1053 (=Charlesworth, p. 41, no. 16, by C. Stertinius Xenophon, see above note 9) and 1061 and Herzog *K.F.* p. 196. For statues of him erected by the demes of Hippia and Halasarna see *I.G.R.* IV 1090 and 1097. For Sagalassus see *I.G.R.* III 345. For Ephesus see *Arch. Jahrb.* XXXVIII-IX (1923-24), p. 309 (A.D. 66). For the dedication of the τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς at Ephesus to Nero and Agrippina see *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 85 and Chap. XXIV note 4. For Nymphaeum see *I.G.R.* IV 1440=1490=Keil-Premerstein III no. 1 (a better copy). For Aezani see *I.G.R.* IV 561=*O.G.I.* 475=*S.E.G.* VI 132=Charlesworth, p. 33f., no. 3. For a statue of Nero's wife, Octavia, at Samos see *I.G.R.* IV 969.

76. Tacitus *Ann.* XV 45, 3; XVI 23, 1: Pausanias V 25, 8; 26, 3; X 7, 1; 19, 2: Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV 84: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXI 148f. According to Dio, Rhodes alone escaped pillage; it was perhaps because of this favour that the *demos* erected a statue of Nero's wife Poppaea (*I.G.* XII 1, 39=*I.G.R.* IV 1125). Acratus's mission to Greece and Asia was placed by Tacitus in 64 in connexion with Nero's rebuilding of Rome after the great fire; but, since Barea Soranus, under whom it is said to have taken place, seems to have been proconsul of Asia before this time (see below note 77) and since the tense of *abripiebantur* in Tacitus XV 45, 3 suggests a lengthy process, his activity may have begun earlier.

77. Tacitus *Ann.* XVI 23 and 30f. (A.D. 66); *Hist.* IV 10: Cassius Dio LXII 26: Juvenal III 116 and Scholium to VI 552. Since the charge connected with his proconsulship of Asia was characterized by Tacitus as *vetus* in 66, his term of office is probably to be dated a few years earlier. But since he was proconsul when Acratus was in Asia (see above note 76), it cannot be placed earlier than 61/2 (see above note 72), and since Salvius Otho Titianus and Antistius Vetus seem to have been proconsuls from 63 to 65 (see Waddington *Fastes*, p. 137f.), it is difficult to place it later than 62/3.

78. Tacitus *Ann.* XVI 10f. (A.D. 65). The dating of his proconsulship in 64/5, proposed by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 138f.) on the ground that Tacitus's narrative suggests that the accusation took place soon after the expiration of his office, was accepted in *P.I.R.*² I p. 149f., no. 776.

79. Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXI 10. For pretenders who, claiming to be Nero, appeared in the East in 69 and 79, respectively, see Tacitus *Hist.* I 2; II 8f.: Cassius Dio LXIV 9, 3; LXVI 19, 3: Suetonius *Nero* 57 (where the time of the second pretender is incorrectly given as twenty years after Nero's death). The suggestion was made by Cumont (*Riv. Fil.* LXI [1933], p. 152f.) that the long-continued reverence for Nero among the Parthians was due to the coronation-ceremony of Tiridates as King of Armenia, in which Nero was regarded as the incarnation of Mithra (see above note 61).

CHAPTER XXIV

1. Josephus *Bell. Jud.* VII 2, 1, § 21f.: Tacitus *Hist.* II 81: Cassius Dio LXVI 9, 2 a. For Mucianus's march across Asia Minor see Josephus IV 11, 1, § 632. It was observed by Mattingly and Sydenham (II p. 3) that the large number of silver coins minted at Ephesus and Byzantium in 69/70 was probably due to the passage of these troops. For the revolt in Pontus see Tacitus *Hist.* III 47f. For the Pontic fleet see Chap. XXIII note 62.

2. Suetonius *Vesp.* 16, 1f.; 23, 2f.: Tacitus *Hist.* II 84. See also Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 105: Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* XI p. 15f.: L. Homo in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 453f.: Frank in *Econ. Surv.* V p. 44f.

3. Gaius II 21, *Stipendiaria sunt ea quae in his provinciis sunt quae propriae populi Romani esse intelliguntur, tributaria sunt ea quae in his provinciis sunt quae propriae Caesaris esse creduntur*; see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 1093f., followed by H. Mattingly *Imp. Civil Service of Rome* (Cambridge 1910), p. 7. For the view that in the imperial provinces the taxes had from the beginning been collected directly see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 69f.

4. For the *vicesima libertatis*, the *portorium* (*quadragesima portuum*) and the *vicesima hereditatium* see Cagnat *Étude hist. sur les Impôts Ind. chez les Romains* (Paris 1882), pp. 153f., 89f. and 175f.: Rostovtzeff *Staatspacht*, pp. 380, 389f. and 383f.: Hirschfeld *V.B.* pp. 106f., 77f. and 96f. For the collection of the *vicesima libertatis* by *publicani* under Claudius see *C.I.L.* VI 915 = Dessau 203 ([*socii*] *publici XX libertatis et XXV venal*[*ium*]). In the East, an ἄκτωρ κοινωνῶν εἰκοστῆς ἐλευθερίας at Ephesus (*J.O.A.I.* XXVI [1930], *Beibl.* 64 = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 87) may have been an agent of the *publicani*. The collection of this tax, however, was evidently taken over by the treasury before the end of the first century, for two imperial freedmen bore the title of *tabularius Caesaris* (or *fisci*) *XX libertatis*; see *C.I.L.* VI 8450 *a* and 8451, the former of which contains the addition of *peculiorum*, explained by Hirschfeld (p. 109, note 1) as the property of imperial slaves, which on their death passed to the emperor. The same title occurs also in *C.I.L.* VI 772 = Dessau 1522. The *promag*(*ister*) (ἀρχώνης) *XX lib*(*ertatis*) A. A[ni]cius Crispinus, apparently between 103 and 114, is mentioned in two inscriptions (one unpublished) at Ephesus; see *Ephesos* III p. 131, no. 45 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 80 and *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 388, no. 1589. His district was composed of Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Lycia-Pamphylia and Armenia Minor. His title, which had been held by the agents of the syndicates during the Republican period (see Chap. VII notes 16 and 21), evidently denoted under the emperors the agents of the central bureau who were charged with the collection of the tax; see Rostovtzeff, pp. 392f. and 404f.: Hirschfeld, pp. 84 and 88 and p. 103f., note 3: V. Ivanov *de Societat. Vectig. public. Pop. Rom.* p. 72f. For an imperial freedman who was *proc*(*urator*) *fisci libertatis et peculior*(*um*) in Rome, probably under M. Aurelius and Verus, see *C.I.L.*

VI 8450 = Dessau 1521. An imperial freedman called *p(rae)p(ositus) XX lib(ertatis) Bithyniae, Ponti, Paflag(oniae)* was evidently a subordinate; see *C.I.L.* III 6753 = Dessau 1396, probably of the time of Caracalla (see *Ephesos* III p. 137, no. 51).

For the collection of the *portorium* at Iasus by a *socior(um) p(ublici) p(ortoriorum) A(siae) ser(vus) vil(icus)* in A.D. 26 see *C.I.L.* III 7153. For other *vilici* (οἰκονόμοι) of the syndicates at Iasus and Miletus of unknown date see *O.G.I.* 522 and *C.I.L.* III 447 = 7149 = Dessau 1862. The father of Vespasian, described as τελωνήσας who *publicum quadragesimae in Asia egit* (Suetonius *Vesp.* 1, 2), was presumably a similar agent, and the οἰκονόμος Ἀσίας at Smyrna (*I.G.R.* IV 1474) may also have been a *vilicus* of the syndicate. The earliest known *promagister portuum* (ἀρχώνης λιμένων) was C. Vibius Salutaris (known from his gifts to Ephesus, see below note 43), who held this office in Sicily before A.D. 104, probably under Domitian; see *C.I.L.* III 14195[4] (= *Ephesos* II no. 28 a), 14195[5], 14195[6] (= *O.G.I.* 480), 14195[7] and 14195[9] = Dessau 7193-7195: *Ephesos* II no. 29. A. A[ni]cius Crispinus, however, who was *promagister* of the *vicesima libertatis* in Asia under Trajan (see above), had previously been *promagister XXXX p(ortuum) Asiae*. For another ἀρχώνης of the *portorium* in Asia in the late second century see *O.G.I.* 525 = Dessau 8858 (Halicarnassus) and *J.O.A.I.* XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 269f. = *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97 (Ephesus) and *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 318, no. 1559. The first of these inscriptions records the building of a τελώνιον at Halicarnassus, by two [π]ραγματ(ευταί) of the *promagister*. This was presumably the imperial customs-house, but the τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς which was built at Ephesus in A.D. 54-59 on a site given by the city (*J.O.A.I.* XXVI [1930], *Beibl.* 51f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 85, see Chap. XXIII note 75) and was under the care of πραγματευόμενοι in the time of Antoninus Pius (*O.G.I.* 496) was probably a municipal building used for the collection of a local tax. Whether the *teloniarius* at Ephesus mentioned in *C.I.L.* III 13677 was attached to this building or to a governmental bureau cannot be determined. The earliest definitely known procurator of the *portorium* in Asia Minor was L. Titinius Clodianus, probably in the late second century, whose district included both Asia and Bithynia; see Dessau 9490 and *R.E.* VI A 1550. For a *vice proc(uratoris)* who officiated at separate times in Asia and in Bithynia-Pontus see *C.I.L.* XIII 1807 = Dessau 1330 (C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus, subsequently procurator of Asia and finally, under Gordian III, Prefect of the Praetorian Guard, see Chap. XXIX note 14). The ἐπίτροπος τεσσαρακοστ(ῆ)ς who appears in *M.A.M.A.* IV 113 from Lysias in Phrygia did not necessarily officiate in an Asianic province.

For the collection of the *vicesima hereditatium* in Italy by *publicani* under Domitian and perhaps Trajan see Pliny *Pan.* 37 and 39 and *Epist.* VII 14. On the other hand, the mention of two subordinates named T. Flavius, one an imperial freedman who was *adiutor tabular. XX hereditatium*, the other a *servus Caesaris* who was *disp(ensator) XX hereditat.* (*C.I.L.* VI 8449 and 8475 = Dessau 1552 and 1542), seems to show that about this time the collection of this tax was transferred to the government. For the *promagister XX hereditatium* (in Italy), probably in the time of Hadrian, see *C.I.L.*

VI 1620 = Dessau 1342 (with subsequent advancement as *proc. hereditat.*) and *R.E.* X 1034f., no. 75. For others see *C.I.L.* IX 5835 (= Dessau 1415) and 5836; XI 1326 = Dessau 1416. For procurators of this tax in the time of Trajan see *C.I.L.* III 726 = Dessau 1419; VI 3720 = 31032 = Dessau 1418; VIII 9990 = Dessau 1352; IX 4753 = Dessau 1350. An imperial freedman named Ti. Claudius Saturninus who was *proc(urator) XX here(ditatium) provinciae Achaiae* (*C.I.L.* VI 8443 = Dessau 1546) can hardly be dated later than the first century. Hirschfeld pointed out (p. 101f.) that the procurators of this tax in the provinces were responsible to the central bureau in Rome and not to the several provincial procurators, for in the combinations of districts assigned to these men, the distinction between senatorial and imperial provinces was not observed. For a *proc. ad XX per Asiam* [*L*]*yciam Pamphyliam* see *C.I.L.* VI 1633 = Dessau 1426 and for a *proc. August. ad vectig. XX her. per Pontum et Bithyniam et Pontum Mediterraneum et Paphlagoniam* and subsequently *per A*[*s*]*iam, Lyciam, Phrygiam, Galati*[*am*], *insulas Cyclades* see *C.I.L.* X 7583 and 7584 with p. 995 = Dessau 1359. No information is given concerning the district under the charge of an ἐπίτροπος εἰκοστῆς κληρονομιῶν honoured at Ephesus about A.D. 200 (*Ephesos* III p. 138, no. 52). For a *subprocurator* (ἀντεπίτροπος) *reg(ionis) Lyciacae*, evidently, as Hirschfeld observed (p. 102f., note 1), in charge of a subdivision of a greater district, see *C.I.L.* III 14180 = *T.A.M.* II 460 = *I.G.R.* III 676, and for a *subproc(urator)*, who was an imperial freedman, on the island of Cos see *C.I.L.* III 14199[5]. For an imperial slave, who was an *ark(arius) XX hered.* employed *in officio Asiae* see *C.I.L.* X 6977 = Dessau 1558 and for an imperial freedman who was ἀπὸ ταβλαρίων κομμ(ενταρίων) εἰκοστῆς κληρονομ(ιῶν) ἐπαρχείου [Ἀσίας] see *Ephesos* III p. 139f., no. 54.

5. For the *Fiscus Asiaticus* see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 71: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VI 2403. As the earliest known *procurator fisci Asiatici* Hirschfeld cited Fortunatus, son of an imperial freedman, under Domitian (*C.I.L.* VI 8570 = Dessau 1517). In the second century also the office was held by an imperial freedman (*C.I.L.* XIII 1800). For minor officials, *adiutor* and *a commentariis* (all in Rome), see *C.I.L.* VI 8571, 8572 and 8577 = Dessau 1515, 1516 and 1507. While the sources of the income of this *fiscus* are unknown, it may be questioned whether the view of Hirschfeld in *Klio* II (1902), p. 299 = *Kl. Schr.* p. 561f. that there was no connexion between it and the imperial domains is tenable. The view of Mommsen, cited by Hirschfeld, that the income was derived from a poll-tax was purely a conjecture.

6. For the marble quarries near Synnada see Chap. II note 96. For imperial freedmen who were procurators of these quarries see *C.I.L.* III 7146 ([ἐπίτροπ]ος λατομε[ίων], under Nerva) and *C.I.L.* III 348 = Dessau 1477 (M. Aurelius Marcio, *proc(urator) marmorum*, mentioned also in *I.G.R.* IV 676 [= *M.A.M.A.* IV 4] and 704). It is highly probable that the imperial freedmen Irenaeus *proc(urator)*, known from an inscription near Synnada (*C.I.L.* III 12237) and from inscriptions on marble columns brought from Synnada to Rome, dated by the Consuls of A.D. 137 (Dessau 8716[a] and 8716[b]),

and Ulpius Marianus *proc(urator)*, known from inscriptions near Synnada (*C.I.L.* III 7046 and 7048), were in charge of these quarries. See also Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 170 and Ramsay *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 266f. For procurators of Phrygia (also imperial freedmen) see *I.G.R.* IV 749 = Dessau 8856 = *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 55, no. 173: *C.I.L.* III 348 (M. Aurelius Marcio, see above), where, as Kornemann pointed out (*R.E. Suppl.* IV 248), *prov(inciae)* seems to be incorrectly used for *tractus: I.G.R.* IV 702 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 63 (mentioned also in *I.G.R.* IV 703). Brandis observed (*R.E.* II 1549) that the view of Ramsay (*J.H.S.* VIII [1887], p. 483) that the *procurator Phrygiae* superseded the *procurator marmorum* is untenable, for both offices appear in the inscription of M. Aurelius Marcio. On the evidence of these inscriptions Hirschfeld pointed out (*Klio* II [1902], p. 301f. = *Kl. Schr.* p. 564) that in the late second and the third centuries the care of the imperial estates in Phrygia (see Chap. XXVIII note 35) was presumably entrusted to a special procurator. But since all the known holders of the office were imperial freedmen, it is difficult to suppose with Brandis (*l.c.*) that this procurator was equal in rank to the procurator of Asia. On the other hand, Brandis's suggestion that for the purpose of administration of the finances the province was divided into two portions, Phrygia and the rest of Asia, is borne out by the title of a *procurator vicesimae hereditatium* (*C.I.L.* III 7583 and 7584, see above note 4), whose territory included specifically Asia and Phrygia, as well as Lycia, Galatia and the Cyclades. For the *regio* of Philadelphia see *I.G.R.* IV 1651 = *O.G.I.* 526, *βοηθὸς ἐπιτρόπων ῥεγιῶνος Φιλαδελφηνῆς*, where, as Hirschfeld observed (*V.B.* p. 125, note 3), *regio* is probably used to denote an imperial estate. On the other hand, we are wholly ignorant of the nature of the office of the *ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχῆς* (or *ἄρκης*) *Λειβιανῆς*, a member of the Equestrian Order, who appears in inscriptions of the early third century at Thyateira; see *I.G.R.* IV 1204 and 1213 (= Dessau 8853). It has been suggested (see Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 565), but with little probability, that the name of this office is to be connected with Livia, the wife of Augustus, indicating that she had held property at or near Thyateira, which after her death continued to be administered separately from the imperial estates.

7. For an *adiutor* (*βοηθός*) of a procurator see *C.I.L.* III 431 (= Dessau 1449) and 14192[15] (= *I.G.R.* IV 1317): *I.G.R.* IV 1651 (see above note 6). For *tabularii* and *arcarii* (imperial freedmen or *vernae*) at Ephesus see *C.I.L.* III 6081 = 7121 = *O.G.I.* 523 (*tabular. provinc. Asia[e]*); 6082 (*ἀπὸ ταβλαρίων*, monument protected *ab iis qui sunt in tabulario Epes[i]*); 6077 = Dessau 1505 (monument of an *arcarius provinciae Asiae* erected by *collegium Minervium tabulariorum*); 6075 = Dessau 1366 (*adiutor tabul. pr[ov. Asiae] or. ark.*); 6574 = 7126 = Dessau 1344 (*adiut. tabul.*); 7132 (*arka(rius)*): at Pergamum see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 35, no. 12 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 263 (*tabular. provinc. Asiae*): at Ancyra see *C.I.L.* III 251 and 255 and *I.G.R.* III 168. See also Hirschfeld *V.B.* pp. 59f. and 400f. For *tabellarii* (despatch-bearers), who were imperial freedmen or slaves, see *C.I.L.* III 6077 (*collegium*

tabellariorum) and *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 89, no. 12 (Ephesus) and *I.G.R.* IV 1221 (Thyateira). See also Keil-Premerstein II p. 43.

8. For the Lycians' prosecution of Eprius Marcellus see above p. 533. For his prosecution of Thrasea Paetus and the attacks on him by Helvidius Priscus see Tacitus *Ann.* XVI 21f.; *Hist.* IV 6f. and 43. For his skill as an orator and his wealth see Tacitus *Dial.* 5; *Ann.* XVI 22, 10; 29, 1; 33, 4; *Hist.* IV 7. For his proconsulship of Asia see *I.G.R.* IV 524 = *O.G.I.* 476 (τὸ β′, Dorylaeum): *C.I.L.* X 3853 (= Dessau 992, *procos. Asiae III*); XIV 2612 (?). His name appears on coins of Laodiceia, Sardis (τὸ β′), Synaus (τὸ γ′), Cyme (τὸ γ′) and probably Hierapolis; see *Coll. Wadd.* 1293, 1296, and 5215: *B. M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 290, no. 76 and p. 387, no. 1f.: *B. M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 114, no. 99: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 234, no. 1. For his proconsulship and his probable reappointment by Vespasian see also R. K. McElderry in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 116f. Since he was Consul (as suffectus) for the second time in May, 74 (*C.I.L.* XVI 20 = Dessau 1992), his term in Asia is probably to be dated in 70-73; see Waddington *Fastes*, p. 144f., accepted in *P.I.R.*² III p. 82f., no. 84 and by Kappelmacher in *R.E.* VI 263f. For his part in the conspiracy and his suicide in 79 see Cassius Dio LXVI 16, 3f.

9. Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 4, repeated in Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 188 Helm and other late writers; see Chap. XXII note 50, where doubt is expressed concerning the correctness of the inclusion of the Lycians among those deprived of freedom. The inference drawn by Herzog (*S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1935, p. 984, note 1) from this passage that Vespasian abolished the freedom of the Greek cities in Asia in general is hardly justified. With regard to the Rhodians, the statement of Suetonius is confirmed by evidence showing that they recovered their independence under Titus; see Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXI 112 and H. von Arnim *Leben u. Werke d. Dio von Prusa* (Berlin 1898), p. 214f., who, dating this oration in 79-82, connected the inscription of the prytanis Hermagoras (*I.G.* XII 1, 58 = *I.G.R.* IV 1129), described as τυχὼν τῶν καλλίστων γραμμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (Titus), with this recovery. It is mentioned also in a dedication to Domitian and Domitia by Jason, ἀγησάμενος ἐπὶ Χερσο[νά]σου καὶ Σύμας, ἐφ' οὗ ἀπε[κα]τεστάθη ἃ πάτριος πολιτεία⟨ς⟩ (*Syll.*³ 819, see Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXV [1913] 1, p. 50f.). For a priest of Titus (and Athena Polias) see *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII (1932-33), p. 433, no. 53. The inscription of Jason and two others which mention a *strategos* of the Chersonesus and Syme (see Chap. IV note 62), all found at Thyssanus on the western side of the Peninsula of Loryma, show that the Rhodians recovered (or retained) these possessions, as they seem also to have regained Caunus (Dio *Orat.* XXXI 125). Their possession of the island of Carpathos, mentioned together with their mainland possessions in Dio XXXI 48, is attested by *I.G.* XII 1, 994 and 995 = *I.G.R.* IV 1151 and 1152 (see below). The statement of Dio (XXXI 100f.), however, that they derived revenues from Caria and a part of Lycia is evidently exaggerated. For the Rhodian navy, composed of ἡμιολίαι (or τριημιολίαι) *i.e.* light undecked vessels, in the Flavian period see C. Blinkenberg in *Kgl.*

Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., Arch.-Kunsthist. Medd. II 3 (1938). For the names of vessels, Πολιάς, Εὐανδρία or Εὐανδρία Σεβαστά and Ἰρήνα Σεβαστά, see Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1913, p. 9f., no. 9: *J.O.A.I.* IV (1901), p. 160f.= *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II (1916), p. 142f., no. 11=*S.E.G.* III 679: *I.G.* XII 1, 58, l. 20 (restored by Wilhelm in *J.O.A.I.* III [1900], p. 50) =*I.G.R.* IV 1129; XII 3, 104=*I.G.R.* IV 1110: *I.G.R.* IV 1149: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II p. 146, no. 18: *S.E.G.* I 345: *Clara Rhodos* VI-VII (1932-33), p. 433, no. 53. On the basis of the vague statement in Plutarch *Praec. ger. Reipubl.* p. 815 D that under Domitian the Rhodians suffered πράγματα, it has been supposed that they were again deprived of their independence; see McElderry in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 119 and Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 812. Since, however, this word was used by Plutarch in the same passage in reference to the "troubles" at Pergamum under Nero, presumably the resistance to the robberies of Acratus (see Chap. XXIII note 76), this inference seems very questionable. For honours paid at Rhodes to Domitian (and Domitia) and to his procurator for his εὔνοια see, in addition to *Syll.*[3] 819 quoted above, *I.G.* XII 1, 805=*I.G.R.* IV 1145 as restored by van Gelder *Gesch. d. alt. Rhodier*, p. 175f., note 5 and *I.G.* XII 1, 59=*I.G.R.* IV 1130. For statues erected at Brycus on Carpathos see *I.G.* XII 1, 994 and 995=*I.G.R.* IV 1151 and 1152.

Of the change in status of Samos nothing more is known; under Trajan and Antoninus Pius the Samians had the usual organization of Council and People; see *I.G.R.* IV 965, 966 and 987. The suggestion of McElderry in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 120 that the ἔτος τῆς κολωνίας used as the basis of an era in Samos (*I.G.R.* IV 991 and 992=1706 and 1707) was the year of this annexation by Vespasian is not convincing; for it is highly probable that this refers to 19 B.C., when the freedom of Samos was recognized by Augustus (see Chap. XX note 18). The inference from the statement of Festus (*Brev.* 10), *sub Vespasiano principe Insularum provincia facta est*, that Vespasian formed a province called Insulae, which included Rhodes and perhaps Samos, is very questionable, for there is no evidence of the existence of such a province until after Diocletian changed the whole provincial system (see Marquardt *R.St.V.*[2] I p. 348f.). If Vespasian made any change in the administration of the Aegean Islands, it was probably to create a post analogous to the *provincia Hellesponti*, of which a procurator, C. Minicius Italus, holding office probably before A.D. 88, is known from *C.I.L.* V 875=Dessau 1374 (see below note 32). As McElderry pointed out (*ibid.* p. 119f.), following Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 334, this was presumably only a financial district, similar to the *Reg(io) Chers(onesi)* (ἐπαρχεία Χερσονήσου), the procurators of which in the first half of the second century (see *C.I.L.* III 726=Dessau 1419 and *Ephesos* III p. 133f., no. 48) were regarded by Hirschfeld (*V.B.* p. 19, note 4 and p. 372, note 6) as supervisors of the domain in the Thracian Chersonesus which Augustus inherited from Agrippa. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 598, note 35 and p. 652.

10. The loss of the independence of Cos may be inferred from a list of priests (*I.G.R.* IV 1101=*Syll.*[3] 793), where, appended to the name of P. Hetereius Hilarion, is the note ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ νόμοι ἀποκατεστάθησαν, dated

in A.D. 79 by Hiller von Gaertringen (*Syll.*[3] 793, note 5). For the monument erected to Vespasian by the deme of the Isthmiotae see *I.G.R.* IV 1105.

11. For Crateia see Chap. VIII note 33. It appears in Ptolemy V 1, 3 as Φλαουϊόπολις ἡ καὶ Κράτεια and on coins from Antoninus Pius onward as Κράτια Φλαουϊόπολις or Κρητιέων Φλαουϊοπολιτῶν (*Receuil* I p. 333f.). For the probable site of Daldis at Narlı Kalesi, about half way between Sardis and Julia Gordus, see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, pp. 45f. and 192 (doubted by Ruge in *Neue Jahrbb. f. d. Kl. Alt.* I [1898], p. 471) and Keil-Premerstein I p. 64. For coins with the legends Φλαβιοπολιτῶν Δαλδιανῶ[ν] and Φλαβ. Καισαρ(έων) Δαλδι(ανῶν) see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 60f., nos. 1-3 and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 69, no. 2. For Temenothyrae and Grimenothyrae see Chap. V note 36. The new name of the former appears in an inscription of ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Φλαβι]ο[πολ]ειτῶν [Τ]ειμενοθ[υρέ]ων found in the neighbouring Uşak (*I.G.R.* IV 620) and on coins of the third century inscribed Φλαβιόπολις or δῆμος Φλαβιοπολειτῶν (with Τημενοθυρεῦσι on the reverse); see Imhoof-Blumer in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf*, p. 207f. and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 408. In other inscriptions, however, probably of the third century (*I.G.R.* IV 615, 618 and 619), the name Flaviopolis does not occur. For coins of Philadelpheia from Vespasian onward inscribed Φλ. or Φλαβι. or Φλαβίων Φιλαδελφέων see *Coll. Wadd.* 5133, 5138f. and 5154f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 197, no. 60f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 123, no. 31. For a coin of Grimenothyrae of the time of Domitian inscribed Φλαουΐων Γριμενοθυρέω[ν] see Imhoof-Blumer *Festschr.* p. 204, no. 1. For Flaviopolis in Cilicia see below note 27. For Sala, perhaps near Güney southwest of Blaundus, see Buresch *Aus Lydien*, p. 204f.: Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 81f.: Keil-Premerstein III p. 54. For coins of the time of Domitian inscribed Σαληνῶν Δομιτιανοπολιτῶν (or Δομιτιανοπο.) see *Coll. Wadd.* 6443f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 231, no. 27f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 131, no. 1.

12. For the coast route and Vespasian's milestones erected in A.D. 75 and inscribed *vias reficiendas curavit* (*I.G.R.* IV 267, at Elaea: *C.I.L.* III 7203 [=*I.G.R.* IV 1486] and 7204, south of Smyrna) see Chap. II note 19. For the road through Lydia and Vespasian's milestone at Thyateira of A.D. 75 (*C.I.L.* III 470=*I.G.R.* IV 1193) see Chap. II note 20. For Domitian's milestones on these roads, probably in A.D. 91 or 92, see *I.G.R.* IV 1598 and Keil-Premerstein III p. 111 (Metropolis in Ionia) and *C.I.L.* III 7191+7194=*I.G.R.* IV 1194 a (Thyateira). For the road through Phrygia and Domitian's milestone of A.D. 90 or 91 (*C.I.L.* III 14200[1], see p. 2328[88]) see Chap. II note 21. This section probably led from Cotiaeium southeastward to Prymnessus by way of Eğret (at the southern end of the Altıntaş Ova), where there are ruins of a mediaeval khan (see Philippson III p. 119), and the hot springs of Küçük Hamam (called *Aquis Ger.* on the milestone).

13. *C.I.L.* III 6993=Dessau 253 (near Prusa); 14188[8]=*B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 39f., no. 188=*J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 92f., no. 62 (a short distance

southwest of Ticium). For this road and the improvement of the section between Ticium and Amastris under Claudius see Chap. XIII note 25. For coins bearing the portraits of Vespasian and Domitian as Caesar and the legend ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου Νάσωνος ἐπιτρόπ(ου) see *Receuil* I p. 236f., nos. 7f. and 19f. and Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 86f. For Naso see also *P.I.R.*² I p. 165, no. 854, where he was identified with Antonius Naso, tribune of the Praetorian Guard, who was discharged in connexion with Galba's attempt to recover the gifts made by Nero (Tacitus *Hist.* I 20). For the road in Bithynia built by Nero's procurator, Aquila, see Chap. XXIII note 65. For the view that the procurator of Bithynia had unusual powers and that the province was at times imperial see Chap. XXIII note 4. In the case of Naso it is impossible to find any place for him as a procuratorial governor of Bithynia, for the coins show four proconsuls during the period 71-79, namely, M. Maecius Rufus, M. Salvidienus Proculus, M. Salvidienus Asprenas and M. Plancius Varus; see Bosch p. 84f. For the road to Sinope and Vespasian's milestone (*A.J.A.* IX [1905], p. 329, no. 77) see Chap. VIII note 21.

14. For the importance of the roads leading to the Euphrates frontier see Cumont in *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 215 and *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 114. For the road from the valley of the Lycus to Erzincan on the Euphrates and Vespasian's milestone of A.D. 76 at Melik Şerif (*C.I.L.* III 306 = Dessau 8904), with a milestone at Sibdi(kin?), somewhat further west, perhaps originally erected under Domitian (*Stud. Pont.* II p. 324), see Chap. VIII note 33. Since a road leading along the Euphrates from Syria to Samosata was built in 72/3 (Dessau 8903), it may be that Vespasian's road-system also included a connexion between Erzincan and Samosata. For the road through Galatia and the milestones erected in 80-82 by Caesennius Gallus (*C.I.L.* III 312 and 318 = Dessau 268 and 263), recording a paving of the roads of *provinciarum Galatiae, Cappadociae, Ponti, Pisidiae, Paphlagoniae, Lycaoniae, Armeniae Minoris*, and for the "Pilgrims' Road" leading southeast from Ancyra and a milestone of 82 with a similar inscription (*C.I.L.* III 14184⁴⁸ = *J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 19, no. 16) see Chap. XIX note 9. For the road from Iconium to Lystra and an inscription of Gallus in 81 (*C.I.L.* III 12218, corrected in *J.R.S.* VI [1916], p. 132) see Chap. XIX note 41. For the Cilician coast road and the bridge over the Calycadnus, built in 77 or 78 by the governor of Cilicia, L. Octavius Memor (*I.G.R.* III 840 = *M.A.M.A.* III p. 6), see Chap. XI notes 24 and 37.

15. *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III p. 214f., no. 1178 = Mitteis-Wilcken *Grundzüge u. Chrestomathie* I 2, no. 156, l. 32f. For this society and the privileges previously granted to it see Chap. XXIII note 12. For the salaries paid to rhetoricians in Rome see Suetonius *Vesp.* 18, 1: Cassius Dio LXVI 12, 1 a: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 161 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 190 Helm (Quintilian). For those of teachers and physicians in the provincial communities see *Digesta* L 9, 4, 2. For Vespasian's edict found at Pergamum see *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1935, p. 967 (with commentary by Herzog) = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 128, where those exempted are enumerated (l. 7) as [τινὰ τῶ]ν ἰατρῶν ἢ παιδευτῶν ἢ ἰατραλει[πτῶν].

See also *Digesta* L 4, 18, 30, where both Vespasian and Hadrian are said to have granted exemption from providing billets to *magistris qui civilium munerum vacationem habent, item grammaticis et oratoribus et medicis et philosophis.* For Augustus's grant of exemption to the physician Antonius Musa and his fellow-practitioners, present and future, see Cassius Dio LIII 30, 3. For exempt physicians see *T.A.M.* II 221 and 224 (Sidyma). For Hadrian's exemptions see also *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 8. It was pointed out by Herzog (p. 983f.) that, in view of Vespasian's expulsion of philosophers from Rome (Cassius Dio LXVI 13 and Suetonius *Vesp.* 13), it was probably Hadrian who granted exemption to the *philosophi.* The closing paragraph of Vespasian's edict, which, in its restored form, granted permission to the teachers and physicians to [*συνόδου*]*ς ἐν τεμένεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ* [*ναοῖς συνάγειν ὅ*]*που ἂν αἱρῶνται ὡς ἀσύλοις* was regarded by Herzog as showing that these men were authorized to form *collegia,* a privilege which, if the association was to be legal (see Chap. XXV note 20), had to be conferred by special license. The erection of a statue at Ephesus of an *ἀρχιατρός* (and procurator of Trajan) by [*οἱ*] *θύοντες τῷ προπάτορι Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ἰατροί,* who had an *ἄρχων* of their own, suggests that the physicians at Ephesus formed a *collegium*; see *J.O.A.I.* XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 263f. = *S.E.G.* IV 521 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 94. Appended to Vespasian's edict is a "letter" (in Latin) of an emperor whose name was restored by Herzog as [Domitia]nus, dated in his 13th tribunicial year (A.D. 93/4 if the restoration of Domitian's name is correct), containing a threat to abolish the privileges of those physicians and teachers who, for the sake of gain, degraded their professions by teaching their arts to slaves sent to them for instruction. A *διάταγμα* (from a Latin original) at Ephesus, dating from the time of Trajan, seems also to have dealt with the privileges of physicians; see *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 80, no. 1. For the limiting of the numbers of privileged teachers and physicians by Antoninus Pius see Chap. XXVII note 13.

16. *Ins. Magn.* 167 (Magnesia-on-Maeander): *I.G.* XII 2, 543 = *I.G.R.* IV 14 (Eresus): *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 428f., no. 5 (Idyma): *A.M.* XV (1890), p. 440 = *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 30, no. 8 (Cedreae): *M.A.M.A.* VI 177 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 195 (Apameia).

17. *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 611f., no. 7 (= *R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 223, no. 126) and no. 10 and *C.I.G.* 2771, col. II (Aphrodisias): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 191f., no. 14 = XVIII (1894), p. 25, no. 21 (Bargylia): *I.G.R.* IV 211 (Ilium), 715 (Blaundus) and 1559 (Teos): *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 627, no. 30 = *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1894, p. 917 (Hydissus in Caria, modern Karaca Hisar, see Robert in *A.J.A.* XXXIX [1935], p. 339f.): *T.A.M.* II 762 (Arneae). For the *στά*[*διον*] *ἀνφιθέατρον λευκόλιθον* at Laodiceia see *I.G.R.* IV 845 (A.D. 79) and 861, and for its situation see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 47. For a statue of Titus erected in 79 by a relative of the donor see *I.G.R.* IV 846 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 9, and for a dedication to him by a procurator in 80 see *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 59f. For a *πρόπυλον* dedicated to Titus and Domitian at Öksüz Köy (Ceramon Agora?) see *I.G.R.* IV 636. For a priestess of Julia Augusta, presumably the

daughter of Titus, and Roma at Attaleia see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 11 = *S.E.G.* II 696 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 2.

18. This temple of the Augusti, to be distinguished from the city's Augusteum (see Chap. XX note 10), appears as ὁ ναὸς ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν κοινὸς τῆς Ἀσίας in the inscriptions on statue-bases or altars erected by eight cities of the province; see *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117f., no. 1 (= *Ephesos* II p. 47, no. 48, Synaus); no. 2 (Tmolus); no. 4 (= M.K.B. III[1] [1878-80], p. 180, no. ξζ', Aphrodisias); no. 3 (Stratoniceia); no. 5 (Aezani); no. 6 (Silandus); no. 7 (= *I.B.M.* 498, Hyrcanis); no. 8 (unknown). It was evidently the να[ὸς τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν Ἐφέσ]ῳ κοινὸς τῆς Ἀσίας mentioned in the donation of C. Vibius Salutaris of A.D. 104 (*Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV 481*, l. 458, see below note 43). The inscriptions of the cities are dated by the proconsuls L. Mestrius Florus, L. Luscius Ocrea, and M. Fulvius Gillo, all of whom held office in the early years of Domitian. The fact that in their present form these inscriptions record dedications to Θεῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ was correctly explained (in the case of those of Hyrcanis and Aphrodisias, reprinted in *B.C.H.* VI [1882], p. 286 and *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 211) by Ramsay, who pointed out that they were originally dedicated to Domitian, but, when his name was erased in consequence of the *damnatio memoriae* pronounced by the Senate after his death (see below note 30), that of his father was substituted; see *R.A.* XII (1888), p. 223f. and *R.E.G.* II (1889), p. 26f. The temple of the Augusti was identified with the ruins of a peripteral temple (8 x 13 columns) on a terrace west of the Odeum by J. Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXVII (1931-32), *Beibl.* 54f. It has been generally believed that the provincial temple of the emperors at Ephesus was built under Claudius and that the city assumed the title of νεωκόρος in consequence of its erection; see W. Buechner *de Neocoria* (Giessen 1888), pp. 37f. and 92: H. Gaebler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV (1904), p. 259f.: B. Pick in *Corolla Numism. . . . in Honour of B. V. Head* (Oxford 1906), p. 235f. It was observed, however, by Keil in *Num. Ztschr.* LII p. 115f. that, apart from the fragments of an inscription (*Ephesos* II p. 157f., no. 34) in which the name of Nero has been restored, the only evidence for this belief is a coin with the head of Nero inscribed Ἐφ(εσίων) νεωκόρων Αἰχμοκλῆς Ἀουιόλᾳ ἀνθυπάτῳ (see Pick *ibid.*), *i.e.* issued during the proconsulship of M'. Acilius Aviola in A.D. 65/6 (see *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 6f., no. 49). The title of νεωκόρος (for νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν), to be sure, borne by a city during the second and third centuries, indicates the presence of a temple founded for the worship of the emperors; see Buechner, p. 30f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 446f.: Gaebler, p. 265f.: Pick, p. 234: K. Hanell in *R.E.* XVI 2425: Chap. XXVII note 21. The right to use this title was granted to Philadelpheia in A.D. 213 by Caracalla while present in person (*I.G.R.* IV 1619 = *Syll.*[3] 883, see Chap. XXVIII note 41), and in practice permission to assume it seems to have been obtained by a request made to the emperor; see *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 131, no. 2 = *J.R.S.* XXX (1940), p. 51f., a decree of Beroea in Macedonia honouring an envoy sent to Nerva ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνην αὐτὴν (*i.e.* τὴν πόλιν) ἔχειν τὴν νεωκορίαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν. In theory however, the use of the title was granted by a decree of the Senate; see *C.I.G.*

3205 and *I.G.R.* IV 1419-1421, 1424-1426 and 1431 (Smyrna): *Ephesos* II p. 163, no. 40 (Ephesus, about A.D. 210): *Ins. Sardis* 63 = *I.G.R.* IV 1528 (Sardis, early third century): Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 275 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 319f. (Laodiceia-on-Lycus, under Elagabalus and Alexander). The view has been held that originally the temple which enabled a city to obtain the title of *neokoros* was provincial and not merely local. This, however, cannot be regarded as established beyond question, although the contrary view that the title could be obtained on the basis of a municipal cult was maintained by Gaebler (p. 265f.) with little success; his argument based on the supposed municipal character of the temple of Trajan at Pergamum was especially weak, since what little is known about this temple and especially the festival connected with it suggests that the cult was provincial; see Chap. XXV note 7. For later neocories see Chap. XXVII note 21.

In the case of Ephesus, it was maintained by Keil (*l.c.*) that the expression Ἐφ(εσίων) νεωκόρων on the coin of Aviola does not necessarily indicate an imperial neocory, since, as in *Acta Apost.* XIX 35, the term may well have referred to the Ephesians as worshippers of Artemis; consequently, this coin cannot be used as evidence to show that a temple for the imperial cult was built in Ephesus under Claudius. On the other hand, an imperial neocory seems to have been granted to Ephesus by the time of Domitian, for the expression ἡ νεωκόρος Ἐφεσίων πόλις appears in the inscriptions of Hyrcanis and Stratoniceia cited above, as well as in other dedications to Domitian together with Artemis; see *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), *Beibl.* 76 = *Ann. Ép.* 1898, 66 and *Ephesos* III p. 96f., no. 5 and p. 99f., no. 8. The term ὁ νεωκόρος δῆμος is also found in decrees and other inscriptions of the time of Trajan and the early years of Hadrian; see *Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 4 and 132; p. 150, no. 29; p. 161, no. 37: *I.B.M.* 500: *C.I.L.* III 14195[2] and 14195[3]: *S.E.G.* IV 532 (A.D. 118): *C.I.G.* 2966 = L.W. 147: *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 42. It seems evident, accordingly, that Ephesus had but one neocory, *i.e.* one temple of the Augusti, until the time of Hadrian, under whom, soon after A.D. 130, a second neocory was granted to the city; see Chap. XXVI note 30. The question is complicated, however, by the legends Ἐφεσίων β′ νεωκόρων and Ἐφεσίων δ[ὶς νε]οκόρων on two coins, respectively of Domitian and his wife, Domitia Augusta (the latter a correction of *Coll. Wadd.* no. 1628); see Pick *ibid.* p. 236. Pick, observing that these legends may be explained either by regarding one of these neocories as that of Artemis or by supposing that a new imperial neocory (*i.e.* in addition to that believed to have existed under Claudius) was created under Domitian, preferred the latter alternative; he suggested that a temple for Domitian may have been erected, or at least begun, but that this neocory was abolished after his *damnatio memoriae*, with the result that under Trajan Ephesus was again called simply νεωκόρος. Keil, on the other hand, rejecting the belief in a neocory under Claudius, explained the legends on these coins by supposing that of the two neocories, one was that of Artemis, the other that of Domitian (the first imperial neocory at Ephesus), and that after the latter's death the temple (as well as the dedications by the cities) was transferred to Vespasian, the temple thus transferred being the ναὸς Θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ mentioned in *Ephesos* III

p. 125, no. 38 (of the early third century). For this ascription of the temple to Domitian Keil found support in the dedications of the eight cities and the fragments of a colossal statue of the emperor subsequently discovered in the ruins. While Keil made it highly probable that the neocory which appears on the coin of Aviola and one of those mentioned on the coins of Domitian and Domitia refer to the worship of Artemis and that the second on the latter coins was the first imperial neocory of Ephesus, his view that this title and the temple associated with it are to be dated under Domitian is open to question. The dedication of the eight bases and altars to Domitian does not prove that the temple in which they were erected was dedicated to him alone. Moreover, the earliest of the three proconsuls whose names appear in these inscriptions, L. Mestrius Florus, seems to have held office in A.D. 83/4 (Fluss in *R.E.* xv 1293) and the wording of the inscription indicates that the provincial temple of the Augusti was actually in existence at this time, only two years after Domitian's accession to power. The colossal statue of Domitian, furthermore, might well have been set up in a temple built under his father. In the lack of further evidence, therefore, it seems most reasonable to suppose that the first provincial temple of the Augusti at Ephesus was erected in honour of Vespasian and that the name which it had in the early third century was the one by which it was popularly known. The first imperial neocory of Ephesus, accordingly, is also to be dated in the principate of Vespasian; it was retained until a second was added under Hadrian.

19. For the aid rendered to Vespasian and Titus by Antiochus and Epiphanes see Tacitus *Hist.* II 25 and 81; V 1: Josephus *Bell. Jud.* V 11, 3, § 460f. For their deposition see Josephus *B.J.* VII 7, 1f., § 219f. and Dessau 9200, in honour of an officer, who, presumably a centurion at the time, *missus in Parthiam Epiphanen et Callinicum regis Antiochi filios ad Imp(eratorem) Vespasianum cum ampla manu tributariorum reduxit.* This campaign is referred to as [*bellum*] *Co*[*m*]*magenicum* in *C.I.L.* III 14387 *i* = Dessau 9198. A coin of Selinus in the Cilician dominions of Antiochus (see Chap. XXI note 49), inscribed, on its two sides, Βασιλεὺς Μέγας Ἐπιφανής and Βασιλεὺς Μέγας Καλλίνικος and bearing the portraits of the two young men, may have been issued after the deposition of their father; see Babelon *Rois de Syrie, etc.* p. 222, no. 38 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. xlvii. On the other hand, the coins of Commagene, Lacanatis, and the Lycaonians which bear representations of the two princes and the legend Βασιλέως υἱοί were probably issued while Antiochus was still on the throne; see Babelon, p. 222f. and *B.M. Cat. ibid.* The King Julius Epiphanes Philopappus who appears in *I.G.* V 2, 524 = *O.G.I.* 407 was either this Epiphanes (so Robert *Ét. épigr. et philol.* p. 138, note 7) or his son; the same doubt exists in the case of three inscriptions of C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus from Athens; see *I.G.* II² 3112 and 4511 and Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 90. For Epiphanes's son C. Julius Antiochus Philopappus, who became Consul and built the magnificent monument in Athens still showing his name, see *C.I.L.* III 552 = *I.G.* II² 3451 = Dessau 845 = *O.G.I.* 409-413, Pausanias I 25, 8 (where he is described merely as ἀνὴρ Σύρος) and Mommsen *ibid.* p. 89.

20. For the annexation of Commagene see Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 4, repeated by later authors (see Chap. XXII note 50 and above note 19): *Epit. de Caess.* 9, 13. It is dated in A.D. 74 in Hieronymus p. 188 Helm but in Vespasian's "fourth year" by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* VII 7, 1, § 219), *i.e.* 72, the fourth year of his power and not his fourth tribunicial year, which began in July, 72 (see Niese in *Herm.* XXVIII [1893], p. 212). This date is confirmed by the coins of Samosata which show an era beginning in 71; see Kubitschek in *R.E.* I 646f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 117, note. For the bronze coins with Latin inscriptions minted in Commagene see Mattingly-Sydenham II pp. 4 and 109f.

21. For Aristobulus see Chap. XXIII note 41, and for the annexation of Armenia Minor in 72 (not, as previously supposed, in 64) see Th. Reinach in *R.E.A.* XVI (1914), p. 137f., who showed that the evidence afforded by the latest known coin of the King, which bears the head of Titus and the regnal year 17, *i.e.* A.D. 70/1 (*Receuil* I² p. 136, no. 3), agrees both with the era of Nicopolis (see Chap. XV note 35), reckoned, according to coins of the city (*Receuil* I² p. 136f.), from 71/2, and with that found on a coin of the Κοινὸν Ἀρμενίας dated ἔτους μγ′ and issued in 114/15 (*R.E.A.* XVI p. 283f., see Chap. XXV note 34). The establishment of the usual provincial organization in Armenia Minor is shown by the existence of this *koinon* and perhaps also by the title Armeniarch in an inscription from Nicopolis (*I.G.R.* III 132 = *O.G.I.* 652 = *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 116). The view that in lieu of Armenia Minor Aristobulus received Chalcis in Syria (whether Chalcis in the Lebanon or Chalcis ad Belum in northern Syria is uncertain), held *e.g.* by Wilcken in *R.E.* II 910, Reinach *ibid.* p. 140f. and Stein in *P.I.R.*² I p. 206, no. 1052, while not improbable, rests entirely on an identification with the Aristobulus, "King of the so-called Chalcidice," who, according to Josephus *Bell. Jud.* VII 7, 1, § 226, led troops to the aid of Paetus in his seizure of Commagene.

22. For the formation of this province see Cumont in *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 197f.: Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 301f.: Brandis in *R.E.* VII 552: M. H. Griffin *The Administration of the Rom. Prov. of Cappadocia* (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1929, in typescript), p. 22f. The actual combination is not mentioned in the literary sources, for Suetonius (*Vesp.* 8, 4) records merely that Vespasian *Cappadociae propter adsiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit consularemque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano*, and Tacitus (*Hist.* II 81) states only that in 69 the imperial legates in Asia were without troops, *nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus*. Our knowledge of the component parts of this "Greater Galatia," therefore, is dependent on those inscriptions of governors and their legates which enumerate the several districts (with slight variations); see *C.I.L.* III 312 and 318 (=Dessau 268 and 263) and 14184[48] (A. Caesennius Gallus, see above note 14): *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 179f., no. 6 = *Ann. Ép.* 1925, 126 (L. Antistius Rusticus): *Ins. Sardis* 45 = *I.G.R.* IV 1509 and *Ephesos* V 1, nos. 2 and 3 = *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 56 (=Dessau 8971) and X (1907), p. 299f. (=Cumont, p. 198) (Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 39f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1933,

268 (C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, see Chap. XXV note 16). In five inscriptions, *C.I.L.* III 291 = 6818 = Dessau 1017 = *J.R.S.* XIV p. 191, no. 12 (Sos[pe]s), *Ephesos* III p. 120f., nos. 33 and 34 (= Dessau 8819 a), *I.G.R.* IV 390 and *C.R.A.I.* 1929, p. 89 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 98 (C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus), Phrygia also appears in the list, referring evidently to Phrygia Paroreius (see Chap. XIX note 14). In several inscriptions of C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, apparently a legate of the governor (see below), the enlarged province is referred to as ἐπαρχεία Καππαδοκική; see *I.G.R.* IV 275, 375 and 384 (= *O.G.I.* 486 = Dessau 8819). The fact that in A.D. 70 Legio XII Fulminata was sent to Melitene in Cappadocia (Josephus *Bell. Jud.* VII 1, 3, § 18), where it remained permanently (Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1707), has been regarded as evidence for supposing that the new province was established in this year or early in 71; see *e.g.* Cumont, p. 200 and Griffin, p. 25. As was pointed out by Gwatkin (*Cappadocia, etc.* p. 61), however, it does not follow from the stationing of this one legion in Cappadocia that the greater province was formed at the same time, and the annexation of Armenia Minor in 72 points to this as the year of the formation. The earliest known governor of the enlarged province was Cn. Pompeius Collega, who appears on a milestone from Armenia Minor of A.D. 76 (*C.I.L.* III 306 = Dessau 8904, see above note 14) and on coins of Ancyra in Galatia (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 229, no. 760). The identity of the second of the legions which, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, were stationed in "Cappadocia," *i.e.* the greater province, presumably at the formation of the latter, is uncertain. Cumont, in the course of his argument to show that Galatia-Cappadocia was not governed by a legate of consular rank, contended (p. 210f.), that Suetonius wrongly supposed that Samosata with its legion was included in the province and that Tacitus was referring to his own time, when Cappadocia did have a second legion. On the other hand, it has been widely assumed that the legion in question was Legio XVI Flavia Firma, formed by Vespasian (Cassius Dio LV 24, 3), perhaps in 70; see *e.g.* W. Pfitzner *Röm. Kaiserlegionen*, pp. 72 and 184: Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1765: H. M. D. Parker *Roman Legions*, p. 148: Syme in *C.A.H.* XI p. 141. As the site of its camp, R. K. McElderry in *Cl. Quart.* III (1909), p. 44f. suggested Satala, on the road from Pontus through Armenia Minor (see Chap. VIII note 33), to which Legio XV Apollinaris was transferred from Pannonia, probably by Trajan (Cassius Dio LV 23, 5 and Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1754). For the arrangement whereby an imperial province garrisoned by two or more legions was governed by a legate of consular rank see Cassius Dio LIII 15, 1 and Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 247, note 3.

The contention of Cumont (*ibid.* p. 206f.) that Suetonius's statement that Galatia-Cappadocia was governed by a *consularis* is incorrect was based on the argument that Cn. Pompeius Collega and Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus were *praetorii* and that Caesennius Gallus is the only known governor who was a *consularis*. But since the year of Collega's consulship is uncertain (for it is now known from Dessau 9059 that the Consul of 93 was Sextus Pompeius Collega), it is impossible to determine whether he was a *praetorius* or a *consularis* in 76. There is also no reason to suppose that M. Hirrius Fronto

Neratius Pansa, who was governor in 78-80 (*I.G.R.* III 125 and 223: *Coll. Wadd.* 6594 and 6749f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 47, no. 18) presumably as Collega's successor, was not a *consularis*, and, in addition to Caesennius Gallus, L. Antistius Rusticus, who was governor about 92 and died in the province in 93 or 94 (see below note 38), was Consul before his governorship; see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 145, no. 765. This was the case also with T. Pomponius Bassus (see Chap. XXV note 10), appointed by Domitian, probably in 96, after having been Consul suffectus in 93 (see *C.I.L.* XVI 39). With regard to Celsus Polemaeanus (Consul in 92), described as *legatus Aug. Divorum Vesp. et Titi provinciae Cappadociae et Galatiae*, the fact that he must have held office in 79/80, just at the time when Neratius Pansa was governor of the province, combined with the omission of the necessary expression *pro praetore* shows that he was not the governor of the province but a legate of the governor. This was the case also with C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus, in office under Domitian before his consulship in 93, who appears in his inscriptions (see above and *T.A.M.* II 566=*I.G.R.* III 550: *I.G.R.* IV 383, 385 and 1686) as πρεσβευτὴς Σεβαστοῦ ἐπαρχείας κ.τ.λ., interpreted as legate of the governor by von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* XLVIII (1893), p. 245f. and *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXVII (1908), p. 172, note 11, and by Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X p. 301, followed by von Premerstein in *R.E.* XII 1149 and by Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 76, note 84. On the other hand, Sos[pe]s, who is described as *leg. Aug. pro pr. provinc. Galat. Pisid. Phryg. Lyc. Isaur. Paphlag. Ponti Galat. Ponti Polemoniani Arm.*, seems to have held the office before his consulship, *i.e.* as a *praetorius*. The date, however, is uncertain. The omission of *Cappadociae* led Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 303 to suppose that at the time of Sos[pe]s's governorship the greater province had been temporarily divided, while Brandis in *R.E.* VII 551 (followed by S. E. Stout in *C.P.* XXI [1926], p. 49, note 2 and Griffin *ibid.* pp. 24 and 54) placed his governorship before the combination of Cappadocia with Galatia but after the annexation of Armenia Minor. There is no good reason, however, for believing in a temporary division of "Greater Galatia" (see below note 25), and Brandis's dating is difficult to accept in view of the probability that Armenia Minor, immediately upon its annexation, was incorporated in the greater province. It seems much more probable, therefore, that the omission of Cappadocia is merely an error. The description of Sos[pe]s as (prior to his governorship) *leg(atus) legionis XIII Gem(inae), donat(us) don(is) militarib(us) expedit. Suebic. et Sarm.* can be most easily connected with Domitian's war against these tribes in 92; see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 447f.: Gsell *Essai sur le Règne de l'Emp. Domitien* (Paris 1894), p. 137, note 6 and p. 225f.: Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1716: Weynand in *R.E.* VI 2575: Syme in *C.A.H.* XI p. 177. According to this dating, his governorship must be placed subsequent to that of Antistius Rusticus, perhaps at the end of Domitian's principate. But in any case, since at least three of the known governors of Galatia-Cappadocia appointed by the Flavian emperors were *consulares*, and the rank of two others is uncertain, while only Sos[pe]s was probably a *praetorius*, it cannot be asserted that Suetonius was mistaken in his statement that Vespasian gave the province a *consularis rector*. The area of Galatia-

Cappadocia is a rough estimate of those of its component parts as computed by Beloch *Bevölkerung*, p. 223.

23. Tacitus *Hist.* IV 51: Suetonius *Vesp.* 6, 4. Some kind of a Parthian attack, however, seems to have been averted by M. Ulpius Trajanus (father of the later emperor), governor of Syria in 76-79; see Pliny *Pan.* 14 and G. A. Harrer *Studies in the Hist. of the Rom. Province of Syria*, p. 12f. This may have been the episode referred to in Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 9, 10 and *Epit. de Caess.* 9, 12, where it is related that Vologases *(sine) bello (metu solo) in pacem coactus est.* It was possibly connected with the Parthians' support of the pretender who in 79 claimed to be Nero; see Tacitus *Hist.* I 2 and Cassius Dio LXVI 19, 3 and Chap. XXIII note 79. For the suggestion that these "barbarians" were merely brigands see Cumont *ibid.* p. 217.

24. See Gwatkin *Cappadocia, etc.* p. 57f. For Nero's plan for a Caucasian expedition see Chap. XXIII note 63. For the raid of the Alani into Media and Armenia see Josephus *Bell. Jud.* VII 7, 4, § 244f., where it is dated about the time of Vologases's surrender of Antiochus's sons in 72 (or 73); see also Täubler in *Klio* IX (1909), p. 18f. For Vologases's request for aid against the Alani see Cassius Dio LXVI 15, 3 (A.D. 75) and Suetonius *Dom.* 2, 2; his purpose, according to Täubler (p. 21), was to punish the Alani east of the Caspian for their raid. The suggestion of Gwatkin (p. 59f.), on the other hand, that the resistance offered by Trajanus to the Parthians (see above note 23) was for the purpose of preventing those who fled before the raids of the Alani from crossing the Euphrates seems improbable. For the Roman force near Tiflis see *I.G.R.* III 133 = 1445 = *O.G.I.* 379 = Dessau 8795. The fortress is usually supposed to be the place called varyingly Harmozica (Strabo XI p. 501), Harmastus (Pliny *N.H.* VI 29f.), Armactica (Ptolemy V 10, 2; VIII 19, 6), Armastica (*Geogr. Rav.* II 8); see Tomaschek in *R.E.* II 1177. According to Pliny, it was in front of the Dariel Pass. The danger was regarded as still existent in 95 by Statius (*Silv.* IV 4, 63f., *metuenda portae limina Caspiacae*); see Gsell *ibid.* p. 233.

25. The belief of Marquardt (*R.St.V.*[2] I p. 362f.) that the province of Galatia-Cappadocia was divided by Domitian about 90 but recombined in 96-99 (under Pomponius Bassus), accepted by Gsell *ibid.* p. 137f. and Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 303f., was based on the view that the inscription of Sos[pe]s (whose name was at first read as [L. Bellicius] So[ller]s, Consul under Trajan) and the supposed governorship of Julius Quadratus, both of only praetorian rank (see above note 22), indicate that during their terms of office Galatia was governed by a *praetorius* and hence could not have been combined with Cappadocia. When however, it was shown that Quadratus was only the legate of the governor, this view lost its main support, for the uncertainty of the date of Sos[pe]s's term, combined with the difficulty of basing the theory of a division on one possible instance of a praetorian governor, is too great to warrant such a conclusion; see von Domaszewski in

Rh. Mus. XLVIII (1893), p. 244f., followed by Cumont *ibid.* p. 203f. and Griffin *ibid.* p. 32.

26. Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 5, 4, § 140, where, according to the manuscripts, Vespasian ΗCΙΟΔΟC τε τῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ αὐτὸν (Alexander) ἵσταται βασιλέα. The evidently corrupt ΗCΙΟΔΟC was emended to νησιάδος by Harduin (νησῖδος by Ernesti), a conjecture which has found wide acceptance, the "island" in question being generally regarded as Elaeussa. It is difficult, however, to suppose that a kingdom was formed out of so small a place, and the emendation Κιγγῖδος, proposed by Wilhelm in *A.E.M.* XVII (1894), p. 5f., accepted by A. H. M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 438 and *Greek City*, p. 71), is tempting, for the region of Cietis was part of Antiochus's dominions; see above p. 550 and Chap. XXI note 49. For Tigranes see Chap. XXIII note 48. Alexander was presumably the Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος mentioned in two inscriptions, respectively, of his son C. Julius Agrippa (from Ephesus) and his kinsman C. Julius Severus (from Ancyra, see Chap. XXVI note 54); see *I.B.M.* 537 (=Dessau 8823) and *I.G.R.* III 173=*O.G.I.* 429 and 544 and *P.I.R.*² I p. 85, no. 500.

27. Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 4, repeated by later authors (see Chap. XXII note 50 and above note 9): *Epit. de Caess.* 9, 13. Most of the manuscripts of Suetonius have the reading *Thraciam Ciliciam*, which is reproduced in the texts of Eutropius (VII 19, 4) and Orosius (VII 9, 10) and, save for one manuscript, in Hieronymus (p. 188 Helm), whereas two manuscripts of Suetonius show *Trachiam* (or *Traciam*) *Ciliciam* and those of the *Epitome* give *Cilicia ac Trachia*. It is known, however, that Thrace was made a procuratorial province under Claudius and that it continued to have this status until the time of Trajan, when it received an imperial *legatus*; accordingly, the reading *Trachiam Ciliciam*, first adopted by Bentley, must be accepted as denoting Cilicia Tracheia; see Marquardt *R.St.V.*² I p. 313 and note 8. The view of Marquardt (I p. 387f.), followed by Dittenberger (*O.G.I.* 576, note 2), however, that Cilicia Campestris, which, as far as is known, was still attached to Syria in the time of Nero (see Chap. XXIII note 68), was not separated from it until after 86 (probably not until the time of Hadrian) was refuted by Cumont (*Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 225f.) by the observation that in the basis of Marquardt's contention, namely, the inscription of an athlete who won the Capitoline contest in A.D. 86 after two victories at the festival of the *Koinon* of Syria, Cilicia and Phoenicia at Antioch (*I.G.* XIV 746=*I.G.R.* I 445, see Chap. XXIII note 68), these victories may have been much earlier than that won in Rome. For a view that Cilicia Campestris was separated from Syria in 54 see Chap. XXIII note 68. Cumont also observed that Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus appears in his inscriptions from Ephesus (*Ephesos* V 1, nos. 2 and 3=*J.O.A.I.* VII [1904], *Beibl.* 56 [=Dessau 8971] and X [1907], p. 299f., see above note 22) as *leg(atus) Aug(usti) provinciae Ciliciae*, an office which he seems to have held before his consulship in 92. It is true that the omission of *pro praetore* from his title suggests that he may not have been governor of Cilicia, but (as in Galatia-Cappadocia) only the governor's

legate, as was supposed by von Domaszewski in *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXVII (1908), p. 172. But since he held this office after the proconsulship of Pontus and Bithynia, it seems improbable that his post in Cilicia was that of a subordinate. The view that Polemaeanus was governor of Cilicia was accepted by Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X p. 306 and by von Premerstein in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), p. 212, and other instances of the erroneous omission of *pro pr.* were listed by G. A. Harrer in *Hist. of the Roman Prov. of Syria*, p. 73f. As for Cilicia Tracheia, Harrer pointed out (p. 74f.) that it was provincial territory in 77 or 78, when L. Octavius Memor, legatus pro praetore and Consul designatus, built a bridge over the Calycadnus (*I.G.R.* III 840 = *M.A.M.A.* III p. 6, see above note 14) and that, since it is highly improbable that so small a district constituted a province, it can only be supposed that Cilicia Campestris had been combined with it to form the *provincia Cilicia*. The view that the province was formed in 72 or soon afterward is confirmed by the coins of Flaviopolis (in the region of Characene, Ptolemy V 7, 6), which show an era reckoned from A.D. 73/4; see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 445. But, as was observed by Gwatkin (*Cappadocia*, p. 60f.), it does not follow from this era that the province was formed in 73/4, for the foundation of this city may well have taken place a year or two after the formation. For the possible site of Flaviopolis at Kars Pazar, northeast of Anazarbus at the foot of the mountains, see Bent and Hicks in *J.H.S.* XI (1890), pp. 233 and 236, accepted by R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 19 B. If this identification is correct, Flaviopolis is perhaps the same place as Flavias, listed in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (212, 3) as 18 miles from Anazarbus on the road to Cocusus and in Hierocles (706, 1) as in Cilicia Secunda; the two places, however, were regarded as different by Ruge in *R.E.* VI 2514. For Diocaesareia and a coin issued under Domitian which suggests that the place became a city at the time of Vespasian's formation of the province of Cilicia, see Chap. XI note 23.

28. For honours conferred "by the *poleis* in Pamphylia" see *T.A.M.* II 495 = *I.G.R.* III 603 and *I.G.R.* III 778 = *O.G.I.* 567. For Pamphyliarchs see *I.G.R.* III 474 and *B.C.H.* XXIII (1899), p. 301f., no. 30 (= *T.A.M.* III 1, 127, see Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX 3 [1929], p. 132f.).

29. Suetonius *Dom.* 13, 2: Cassius Dio LXVII 4, 7; 13, 4: Pliny *Pan.* 2: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLV 1: Martial V 8, 1; VII 34, 8; VIII 2, 6; X 72, 3. See Charlesworth in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXVIII (1935), p. 32f., who pointed out that the practices, introduced by Domitian, of taking an oath by the Emperor's Genius, of offering libation and incense before his statue, and of addressing him as *Dominus* (although not as *Deus*) were retained by Trajan and later emperors.

30. Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLV 1. Dio, according to his own account (*Orat.* XIII 1), was banished in connexion with the execution of Domitian's cousin, T. Flavius Sabinus, on a charge of treason (Suetonius *Dom.* 10, 4 and Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* VII 7) in 82; see H. von Arnim *Leben u. Werke d. Dio v.*

Prusa, p. 230f. and *Herm.* XXXIV (1899), p. 363f. For the erasure of Domitian's name in the Asianic provinces see *e.g. C.I.L.* III 14192[10] = *I.G.R.* IV 847 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 2 (city-gate at Laodiceia): *I.G.R.* IV 684 (thank-offering at Sebaste): *I.G.R.* IV 931 (letter to Chios): *I.G.R.* III 300 and *T.A.M.* II 563 = *I.G.R.* III 551 (monuments of governors at Antioch-near-Pisidia and Tlos): *I.G.R.* IV 713, 1393 and 1496 (consulships): *C.I.L.* III 312 (= Dessau 268), 318 (= Dessau 263), 7191 + 7194 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1194 a) and 14184[48] (milestones).

31. For Ephesus, Laodiceia and Sebaste (a χαριστήριον) see above notes 18 and 30. For Rhodes see above note 9. See also *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 612f., no. 8 (Stratoniceia in Caria): *T.A.M.* III 1, 84 = *I.G.R.* III 444 (a priestess of Domitia at Termessus).

32. See Gsell *Essai sur le Règne de l'Emp. Domitien*, p. 135f. and Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* XI p. 39f. For Domitian's policy in *provinciarum praesidibus coercendis* see Suetonius *Dom.* 8, 2. For C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis see Tacitus *Agr.* 42 and Suetonius 10, 2 and *P.I.R.* III p. 416, no. 352. For Italus see *C.I.L.* V 875 = Dessau 1374, *proc(urator) provinciae Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncti procos. rexit.* The suggestion of Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 162) that he was appointed to fill Cerialis's place has found general acceptance. The inscription, dated by the Consuls of 105, lists three posts held by Italus after his procuratorship in Asia, the last of which, that of prefect of Egypt, he held in 101/2; see Reinmuth *The Prefect of Egypt* = *Klio Beih.* XXXIV (1935), p. 133. It is improbable, therefore, that he remained long in Asia. The next procurator *vice procos.* of Asia seems to have been Aelius Aglaus, probably of the time of Severus (Keil-Premerstein III no. 55, see Chap. XXVIII note 34); see also C. L. Keyes *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Rom. Emp.* (Princeton 1915), p. 5f. and Keil-Premerstein III p. 42.

33. See Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 305 for a list of officers in legions or cohorts who were raised to higher posts by Vespasian, often by the process of *adlectio*, in which, as censor, he enrolled them *inter aedilicios* or *inter praetorios*. Those who held such posts in the Asianic provinces, besides Celsus Polemaeanus and Julius Quadratus (see above note 22 and below note 35), were Vo[lcinius . . .]nicus [*qu*]*aest(or) prov. Asi*[*ae*] (*C.I.L.* VI 1543); tilius Lol[lian]us [*l*]*eg(atus) pro pr. provinciae Asia(e)* (*C.I.L.* III 335); C. Caesius Aper *quaestor pro pr. Ponti et Bithyniae* (*C.I.L.* XI 6009 = Dessau 981). To these may be added: [A. Larcius Lepidus Sulpicianus], decorated by Vespasian in the Jewish war, afterwards legate of Bithynia-Pontus (*C.I.L.* X 6659 = Dessau 987); C. Caristanius Fronto, *adlectus in Senatu inter tribunic(ios)* presumably by Vespasian, afterwards governor under Titus and Domitian of Lycia-Pamphylia (Dessau 9485, see below note 35); L. Antistius Rusticus, *adlectus inter praetorios* by Vespasian and Titus, governor in 92/3 of Galatia-Cappadocia (*J.R.S.* XIV [1924], p. 179f., no. 6, see above

note 22); C. Salvius Liberalis Nonius Bassus, *allectus inter praetorios* by Vespasian and Titus, who later was chosen proconsul of Asia but refused the office (*C.I.L.* IX 5533=Dessau 1011). For Trajanus see *I.G.R.* IV 845 (Laodiceia, see above note 17); 1411 and 1412=*O.G.I.* 477 and 478 (Smyrna, see below note 46): *Syll.*[3] 818=Dessau 8797 (Ephesus, see Chap. XX note 10): *Milet* I 5, p. 53, no. 1=Dessau 8970 (Miletus, probably during the principate of his son): *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 281, no. 6 (Myndus): *Annuaire Assoc. Études Grecques* IX (1875), p. 276f., no. 4 (Cos, but brought from the mainland): *Clara Rhodos* II (1932), p. 212, no. 50=*B.C.H.* LX (1936), p. 199 (wrongly supposed to have come from Cos, see Neppi Modona in *Atti d. Secondo Congresso d. Stud. Colon.* II [1935], p. 76, note 5). The last three inscriptions, dedications for the "health and preservation" of Trajanus and his family, in which he is called "Benefactor of the city," are identical in content save for the name of the dedicator. It was pointed out by Robert (*B.C.H.* LX p. 200f.) that Myndus was probably the provenience of all three and that a fragment from Myndus (Newton *Hist. Disc.* II p. 578) also seems to refer to Trajanus. For Trajanus's governorship of Syria in 76-79 see above note 23. For Tacitus see Tacitus *Hist.* I 1 and for his proconsulship of Asia in 112/3 see *O.G.I.* 487=*J.O.A.I.* XXVII (1932), *Beibl.* 233f. and A. I. Suskin in *A.J.A.* XL (1936), p. 71f. For Pliny see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 418f. and W. Otto in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1919, 10, p. 43f. and *Phil. Woch.* XLVI (1926), 732f. Mommsen, supported by W. Baehrens in *Herm.* LVIII (1923), p. 109f. and *Phil. Woch.* XLVII (1927), 171f., dated his praetorship in 93; Otto, followed by F. Oertel in *Rh. Mus.* LXXXVIII (1939), p. 179f., dated it in 95. For his appointment to the governorship of Bithynia-Pontus about 110 see Chap. XXV note 12.

34. For Mestrius Florus see *Ephesos* II p. 166, no. 48 and *Syll.*[3] 820: *Ztschr. f. Num.* IV (1877), p. 315f. and *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 274f., no. 310f. (coins of Smyrna of A.D. 83/4): Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* I 9, 1; V 7, 1; VIII 10, 1. For Sex. Frontinus (Consul probably in 74) see *Coll. Wadd.* 1949 and *B.M.Cat. Ionia*, p. 250f., no. 133f. (coins of Smyrna, dated by the mention of the stephanephorus Cosconia Myrtus, who appears also in *I.G.R.* IV 1393 b=1748, dated A.D. 83). For Luscius Ocrea (Consul probably in 75, see Groag in *R.E.* XIII 1865f.) in Lycia-Pamphylia see Chap. XXII notes 50 and 51, in Asia see above note 18. For Caesennius Paetus (Consul probably in 79, see *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 34, no. 174 and *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 282) see L.W. 358 a: *Coll. Wadd.* nos. 1625 and 1629 and *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 111f., no. 407f. (coins of Ephesus issued under Domitian). For his service in Armenia see Tacitus *Ann.* XV 28, 3. For Calvisius Ruso (Consul probably in 79, see *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 81, no. 350 and *A.J.A. l.c.*) see *J.O.A.I.* I (1908), *Beibl.* 76 and VIII (1905), p. 235, note 7 (Ephesus): *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 302=*Ann. Ép.* 1914, 267 (Antioch-near-Pisidia): *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 24, no. 20=*Ann. Ép.* 1934, 94 (Cos): *Coll. Wadd.* 1626 and *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 110, no. 405f. (coins of Ephesus). For his governorship of Galatia-Cappadocia in 106/7 see Chap. XXV note 24.

35. For Caristanius Fronto (*P.I.R.*² II p. 100, no. 423) see Dessau 9485 = *I.R.S.* III (1913), p. 260, no. 4: *I.G.R.* III 300 (= *I.R.S.* III p. 262, no. 5); 512 (= *T.A.M.* II 658); 555 (= *T.A.M.* II 565); 729. For Baebius Italicus (*P.I.R.*² I p. 346, no. 17) see *T.A.M.* II 557, 563 (= *O.G.I.* 560 = Dessau 8818) and 564 = *I.G.R.* III 548, 551 and 552. For the authorship of the *Ilias Latina* (Baehrens-Vollmer *P.L.M.*² II 3) see Vollmer in *R.E.* IX 1059f. and Kalinka in *Ztschr. f. d. Oest. Gymn.* LXV (1914), p. 902. For Julius Quadratus (Consul in 93) see above note 22. He is called "Saviour and Benefactor" in an inscription from Tlos (*T.A.M.* II 133 = *I.G.R.* III 520). For him and for his family see *Ins. Perg.* II p. 298f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* I 2564f. and *Suppl.* I 95: Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 61f. (where he is mistakenly identified with C. Julius Quadratus Bassus, see Chap. XXV note 16): von Premerstein in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 3, p. 6, note 1. The inscriptions show that he held successively the following posts in the eastern provinces: legate of the proconsuls of Bithynia-Pontus and Asia; legate of the governor of Galatia-Cappadocia (see above note 22); proconsul of Crete and Cyrene; governor of Lycia-Pamphylia; governor of Syria; proconsul of Asia. His proconsulship of Asia (about 108/9) is attested also by coins of Attaea and Pergamum bearing his name; see *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 16, no. 6 and p. 143, no. 268: von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 92 and *Ant. Münzen Mysiens* I p. 122, no. 362. For Apollinaris see *T.A.M.* II 570 = *I.G.R.* III 559 = 1512: Pliny *Epist.* V 6, 1 and IX 13, 13 (in which he is described as Consul designatus in A.D. 97): Martial IV 86; VII 26; XI 15.

36. Suetonius *Dom.* 7, 2; 14, 2: Statius *Silv.* IV 3, 11: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 160-1 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 191 Helm: *Chron. Paschale* I p. 466 Bonn (A.D. 90): Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* VI 42; *Vit. Soph.* I 21, 12. The purpose of the edict, according to S. Reinach (*R.A.* XXXIX [1901], p. 359f.), was to protect Italian vine-growers both against over-production and against competition from imported wines, according to Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 189), to promote the cultivation of grain in the provinces and to benefit the vine-growers of Italy. The view presented in the text was proposed by D. M. Robinson in *T.A.P.A.* LV (1924), p. 17 and Charlesworth in *C.A.H.* XI p. 38.

37. Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLVI 6f., placed before his banishment in 82 (see above note 30), probably in the later years of Vespasian, by von Arnim *Leben u. Werke d. Dio v. Prusa*, p. 204f. and *Herm.* XXXIV (1899), p. 374f.

38. *T.A.P.A.* LV (1924), p. 5f. = *I.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 179f., no. 6 and p. 203f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1925, 126 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 65 a, an edict of Rusticus, imperial legate of the enlarged province of Galatia-Cappadocia (see above note 22). Since Rusticus died in the province in 93 or 94 (Martial IX 30), the edict may be dated in 92 or 93. It fixed the maximum price of a *modius* of grain at one denarius (16-18 asses, *I.G.R.* IV 915 and *Ephesos* II p. 127f., no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, l. 250, see Chap. XVIII note 40), declaring that the normal price was eight or nine asses. One denarius was also a famine-price in Umbria, probably in the first century

(*C.I.L.* XI 6117), whereas in Rome after the great fire of 64 the government set a *reduced* price of three sesterces (Tacitus *Ann.* XV 39, 2). For prices see Marquardt *R.St.V.*² II p. 111, note 8: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VII 144f.: A. Segre *Circolazione Monetaria e Prezzi nel Mondo Ant.* (Rome 1922), p. 79f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 879: N. Jasny in *Stanford Univ. Food Research Inst., Wheat Stud.* XX (1943-44), p. 142f.

39. *Apocalypse* VI 6, where, presumably for the purpose of effect, the prices are represented as exorbitant, for the Attic χοῖνιξ, as equivalent to 1/48 of a medimnos, was equal to one eighth of a modius (see Hultsch in *R.E.* III 2357). The probable connexion between this famine and the shortage of grain at Antioch under Rusticus was pointed out by Robinson in *T.A.P.A.* LV p. 18 and Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 188 and 528. The *Apocalypse* was dated in the later years of Domitian, perhaps in 93-96, by A. von Harnack *Chronologie d. Altchristl. Litt. bis Eusebius* I (Leipzig 1897), p. 245f.

40. See Charlesworth in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XXIX (1936), p. 126f. and in *C.A.H.* XI p. 44f., who cited an inscription from Acmonia of A.D. 85 (*I.G.R.* IV 661) declaring that the city-decree in question will be guaranteed τῷ αἰῶνι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας.

41. *Oracula Sibyllina* IV 142f. (written about A.D. 80) cited by McElderry in *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 121 and Keil in *C.A.H.* XI p. 583. For the economic condition of the cities of the Roman Empire under the Flavian and Antonine emperors see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 125f.

42. *Ephesos* II p. 160f., no. 35 (A.D. 92, repair of the theatre): *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 181 and *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 95f., no. 23 and probably L.W. 141 = *Journ. of Philol.* VII (1877), p. 140, no. 1 (buildings and endowments of C. Stertinius Orpex, a freedman of C. Stertinius Maximus, Consul in A.D. 23): J. Keil *Ephesos, ein Führer, etc.*² (Vienna 1930), p. 58f. and *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 14f. (gymnasium and peristyle, originally built under Domitian, the baths connected with it rebuilt at the end of the second century): *Ephesos* III p. 96f., no. 5 and p. 147f., no. 65 (gifts of Ischyrion and Isidorus and of Hesychus of Alexandria): *Ephesos* II p. 161, no. 37 and p. 174f., no. 61 (under Trajan); III p. 148f., no. 66 (about A.D. 100) (harbour-buildings and other gifts of T. Flavius Montanus and C. Licinius Maximus Julianus). See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV pp. 719 and 752f.

43. *Ephesos* II p. 127f., nos. 27 (= *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*) and 28 and p. 188f., republished with translation and commentary by J. H. Oliver *The Sacred Gerusia = Hesperia, Suppl.* VI (1941), p. 55f. Shortly afterward, the endowment intended for the gifts to the six city-tribes was diverted by order of the Ephesian βουλή, presumably with the donor's consent, to the making of twenty more silver statuettes of various deities; see *Ephesos* II p. 150, no. 29.

44. For Celsus Polemaeanus see above note 22. For his proconsulship of Asia (about 106/7) and the library (ἡ Κελσι[ανὴ] Βιβλιοθήκη) erected by his son, Ti. Julius Aquila Polemaeanus (Consul suffectus in 110, see *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 279), see *Ephesos* V 1, nos. 1-3 (=*J.O.A.I.* VII [1904], *Beibl.* 56=Dessau 8971; VIII [1905], *Beibl.* 67; X [1907], p. 299f.), 4-7 and 13. For the building see also Heberdey in *J.O.A.I.* VIII *Beibl.* 61f., Keil *Führer*[2] p. 80f. and *Ephesos* V 1, pp. 1f. and 81f.

45. *Ephesos* IV 1, pp. 1f. and 16f. The building was identified by Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 196 and note 9 with the Μουσεῖον which appears in the inscriptions of οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί and οἱ περὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον παιδευταί; see also *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 128f.: *Ephesos* II p. 177, no. 65 and III p. 150f., no. 68. This identification was accepted by Knoll in *Ephesos* IV p. 16f., but Reisch pointed out (p. 3f.) that the building was unsuited for instruction and was more probably a place for exhibiting and selling wares, corresponding to the bazaar in a modern oriental city.

46. *I.G.R.* IV 1411 and 1412=*O.G.I.* 477 and 478. The dating ἐν στρατηγίαις of two men (father and son) suggests that the *strategoi*, as heads of the city-administration, had some share in the construction; see Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1111. For the question of the site of the Temple and the identity of the aqueduct see Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, pp. 202 and 248 and p. 254, note 4. For Hadrian's gift to the Temple see Chap. XXVI note 15. Coins of Smyrna inscribed Ζεὺς Ἀκραῖος were issued in the second century after Christ; see *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 253f. For other buildings and donations see *Syll.*[3] 996 (gifts of Apollonius to Apollo Cisauloddenus): *I.G.R.* IV 1422 with corrections by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 134f. (πρόπυλος of C. Julius . . . tus, tribune of Legio VI Ferrata): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 19, 1 (city-gate of Nicetes): *I.G.R.* IV 1429=Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 87, corrected by Robert in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 428, no. 4 (endowment): *I.G.R.* IV 1418 (subscription for harbour-improvement). See also Broughton, p. 751.

47. *I.G.R.* IV 618 and M.K.B. II[2-3] (1876-8), p. 37, no. σμη′ and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 146f. For the "sophists" see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 19, 1f. (Nicetes); 21, 8 (Scopelianus); 25, 1f. (Polemo); II 25, 1 (Rufinus); 26, 1f. (Heraclides): *I.G.R.* IV 1402=*Syll.*[3] 876 (Rufinus). See also Broughton, p. 752 and Cadoux, p. 247f. For the φιλόλογοι and Herodotus, φιλόσοφος Σμυρναῖος, see *I.G.R.* IV 1446, 1447 and 1690. For Theon see *I.G.R.* IV 1449 and von Fritz in *R.E.* V A 2067f. For the Asclepieium in the second century and the gymnasium connected with it see Pausanias II 26, 9; VII 5, 9: Aristides *Orat.* XLVII 17 and L 102 Keil: Philostratus *ibid.* II 26, 2: Cadoux, p. 204f. For Hermogenes see *I.B.M.* 1020=*I.G.R.* IV 1445: *Anth. Pal.* XI 89, 114, 131, 190 and 257: Gossen in *R.E.* VIII 877f.: Cadoux, p. 233. For the school of medicine in Smyrna in the Hellenistic period see Strabo XII p. 580 and Cadoux, p. 150f.

48. For C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus see above note 35. For his benefactions to Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 375, 383-387 and 397 and *C.I.L.* III 7086 = *I.G.R.* IV 336, containing fragments or excerpts of a senatus consultum and a rescript and letter of Trajan referring to the contest founded by him in honour of Jupiter Amicalis (*i.e.* Zeus Philios, see Chap. XXV note 7) and the Emperor. For the gift of his freedman Diadumenus (also mentioned in *I.G.* XIV 408 = *I.G.R.* I 485) see *I.G.R.* IV 277, and for the Temple of Asclepius Soter, built about the middle of the second century, see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 4f. and Chap. XXVII note 62.

49. For the gymnasium of the Νέοι see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 44, no. 5 as explained by Wilhelm in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1933, p. 846f. and Hepding in *Phil. Woch.* LIII (1933), 557, γυμνασίαρχον [τῶν] ζ' γυμνασίων σημείοις ἀβαστάκτοις ἀπαρατηρήτως (="with signals never taken down," *i.e.* incessantly and without stint). Since only six gymnasia at Pergamum are mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 316, the reading ζ' was questioned by Hepding, but it was accepted by Wilhelm. For this gymnasium see also *I.G.R.* IV 447 (a stoa), 461 (an ἀλειπτήριον), 501 (a subscription-list) and perhaps also 1689 and *Alt. v. Perg.* VI p. 6. For the stoa of Julius Nicodemus see *I.G.R.* IV 504 and *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 29f. and *Alt. v. Perg.* I 2, p. 286. For other gifts see *I.G.R.* IV 337 (70,000 drachmae by Metrodorus); 316 = *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 178f., no. 30 (100,000 drachmae): *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 327f., nos. 58 a (= *I.G.R.* IV 445), 58 b, 59, 60 and 61 (= *I.G.R.* IV 446) (C. Julius Maximus). See also Broughton, p. 748.

50. See Broughton, p. 812f. These estimates are based on an inscription honouring Aurelius Barenus of Ephesus (*J.O.A.I.* XXVI [1930], *Beibl.* 57f.), who, in the late second century, entertained 40,000 citizens, and on the assumption of Galen (*de cogn. curand. Animi Morbis* 9, vol. V p. 49 Kühn) that there were 40,000 citizens in Pergamum. The statement of Bürchner (*R.E.* III A 760) that Smyrna in the early imperial period had a population of 100,000 is based solely on the seating-capacity of the theatre, estimated at 20,000, an unsafe means of calculation (see Broughton, p. 814).

51. See *Milet* I 6, p. 97 (North Market); I 9, p. 141 and *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1928, p. 250f. (Thermae): *Milet* I 5, p. 53, no. 1 = Dessau 8970 (see above note 33) (Nymphaeum): *C.I.G.* 2869 and 2881 and *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 313f., nos. 31-35 (Didyma).

52. *Ins. Sardis* 43 and 48 (Sardis): *I.G.R.* IV 1629 (2800 denarii), *C.I.G.* 3417 (4000 denarii) and Keil-Premerstein I p. 32, no. 47 (an estate) (Philadelpheia): *I.G.R.* IV 1189, 1195, 1209 (as restored in *R. Phil.* LV [1929], p. 136f.), 1238, 1239, 1241 and 1257 (= *O.G.I.* 524) and Keil-Premerstein II p. 52 (= *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 457, no. 20) and p. 56, no. 117 (Thyateira): *P.A.S.* I p. 96, no. 2 and p. 108f., no. 10, *B.C.H.* I (1877), p. 55, no. 2 and *C.I.L.* III 7146 (Tralles). See also Broughton, p. 763f.

53. *I.G.R.* IV 860 as emended by Ramsay in *C.B.* I p. 50, note 3 and Robert in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 428, no. 3 (*S.E.G.* VI 241): *A.M.* XVI (1891), p. 145f. =Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 74, no. 7. See Broughton, p. 769.

54. For this temple see *C.R.A.I.* 1904, p. 705f. and 1906, p. 179f. and L. Crema in *Mon. Ant.* XXXVIII 2 (1939), p. 172f. For the gift of a *πρόδομος* see *C.I.G.* 2754 and for the presentation of columns by individuals see L.W. 589, 590, 591 and 1587 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 220f., nos. 122 and 123. For the bath see *C.R.A.I.* 1904, p. 706f.; 1906, p. 159f. (with inscriptions of the time of Hadrian); 1914, p. 46f.: E. Will in *R.A.* XII (1938), p. 231f.: Crema *ibid.* p. 191f. A *βαλανεῖον* is mentioned also in L.W. 1592. For the aqueducts and reservoirs see *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 611f., no. 7 (=*R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 223, no. 126) and no. 8. For Adrastus see *R.E.G.* XIX p. 231f., no. 138 a-d; p. 243f., no. 142; see also E. Ziebarth *Aus. d. Griech. Schulwesen*[2] (Leipzig 1914), pp. 48f. and 61f. For the gifts of Claudianus (*P.I.R.*[2] II p. 103, no. 433) see *C.I.G.* 2782=Liermann *Analect. Epigr. et Agonist.* (*Diss. Philol. Halenses* X [1889]), p. 73f., no. 14. His name appears on a coin of Attuda of the time of Antoninus Pius (*Coll. Wadd.* 7048). The Gymnasium of Diogenes, to which he added, is to be distinguished from the *agora* with colonnades built under Tiberius by Diogenes and Menander (see Chap. XXI note 29). The *πλατεῖα* on which some of his gift was spent was perhaps the *agora* of the second century described in *Mon. Ant. ibid.* p. 188f., which was apparently built to connect the *agora* of Diogenes and Menander with the new temple of Aphrodite. For Lysimachus see *C.I.G.* 2741 (=*O.G.I.* 509) and Chap. XXVII note 59. For other gifts and endowments see Broughton, p. 760f.

55. *A.E.M.* VI (1882) p. 164-5, frg. c[2]=*B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 96, no. 36, frg. 2 (restored in *B.C.H.* LXII [1938], p. 263f.) and Robert *Et. Anat.* p. 523f. (*ἐπισκευή* of the theatre): Newton *Hist. Disc.* II p. 792, no. 97 (bath by Flavius Aeneas, repaired and equipped by his descendant): *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 63f., no. 6=*S.E.G.* IV 263 (atrium of bath by Ti. Flavius Menander, dated under Hadrian by Laumonier, *B.C.H.* LXI [1937], p. 258, no. 65): *B.C.H.* LI p. 79f., nos. 28 and 29=*S.E.G.* IV 270 and 272 (Posittus and his wife, dated in the middle or end of the first century in *B.C.H.* LXI p. 240f., no. 12): *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 209, no. 151 (painting and plastering by T. Flavius Aeneas, dated at the end of the first century in *B.C.H.* LXI p. 259, no. 67, perhaps the Flavius Aeneas mentioned above): *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 30f., no. 12 B (*ἀποθήκη* by Dionysius, dated before Hadrian in *B.C.H.* LXI p. 247, no. 35): *B.C.H.* LI p. 79, no. 27 (painting a stoa and repair of a *φιλοτρ*[*ό*]*φιον* by Draco, dated after Hadrian in *B.C.H.* LXI p. 284, no. 118): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 145f., no. 46 (atrium by Ti. Flavius Menander): *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 94, nos. 29 and 30 (repairs of stoas by Cleinomachus and Aristeas, dated in the first century in *B.C.H.* LXII [1938], p. 260). For other gifts and endowments see Broughton, p. 758f.

56. For these temples and their festivals see Chap. V note 34. For the duties of the priest at Lagina see also Newton *Hist. Disc.* II p. 799, no. 101: Diehl

and Cousin in *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 37f.: *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 74f., nos. 5, 18, 19 and 20. For those of the priest at Panamara see Deschamps and Cousin in *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 172f. and H. Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros* (Giessen 1924), pp. 58f. and 77f. See also *S.E.G.* IV 263, 301-304, 306, 308 and 319. For banquets at Stratoniceia see especially *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 261f., no. 87 and, for the probable date, LXI (1937), p. 286, no. 127. For lists of the priests at Panamara and at Lagina see Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LXI p. 236f. and LXII (1938), pp. 167f. and 251f., who pointed out (LXII p. 251) that the names of about 175 priests at Panamara are known, of whom at least 125 were later than the first century after Christ, and about 265 at Lagina, of whom at least 200 were earlier than the time of Trajan.

57. For these titles see *Receuil* I p. 516f., nos. 14 and 16f. (time of Claudius) and 519f., nos. 30f. and 40f. (Domitian and Trajan): *I.G.R.* III 6, 63 and 69: *S.E.G.* IV 520: M.κ.B. II[1] (1875-6), p. 41, no. *ρνδ'* (from Pergamum): *C.I.G.* 1720 (from Delphi): Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXVIII 24f. and 37f., dated in 96 by von Arnim (*Leben u. Werke d. Dio v. Prusa*, p. 314) but before 82 by Schmid (*R.E.* V 850 and 872). See also Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 224f. For the [τέ]με[ν]ος καὶ ο[ἶ]κος νανκλη[ρικός] see *I.G.R.* III 4. For the roads into the interior see Chap. VIII note 33 and Chap. XIII note 11. For the canal leading down to the sea from Lake Sophon (Sapanca) see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 41-2 and 61-2. For subsequent projects and the difficulty of carrying them out see E. Naumann *Vom Goldnen Horn z. d. Quellen d. Euphrats* (Munich 1893), p. 27f. For the building-activity see also Broughton, p. 773f.

58. For the title see *Receuil* I p. 401, no. 30 (Claudius) and p. 405, no. 53f. (Domitian) and, probably, *I.G.R.* III 37 = Schneider and Karnapp *Die Stadtmauer v. Iznik* (Berlin 1938), p. 45, no. 11. For the enmity between Nicaea and Nicomedeia see Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXVIII 6f. and 21f. Nicaea is called the metropolis of Bithynia in Strabo XII p. 565 but it did not have this title in the late first century after Christ (Dio XXXVIII 39). For the roads connecting Nicaea with Cius and with the interior see Chap. XIII note 14. For the territory see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 241 and for the tithes see Dio XXXVIII 26. For the city-gate, erected under the imperial governor M. Plancius Varus in 78/9 (see Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 87), see *I.G.R.* III 37. See also Broughton, p. 774f.

59. *C.I.G.* 3754 = *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 302, no. 1, *ἐπὶ τῷ ῥοδίζεσθαι αὐτόν.* This verb is found also in other inscriptions from Bithynia (*B.C.H. ibid.* p. 302f., nos. 2 and 4 = p. 415, no. 111 and p. 404, no. 82). The ceremony was evidently the *ῥοδισμός* which appears in an inscription found near Claudiopolis (see *B.C.H. ibid.* no. 3 = p. 425, no. 140 = *J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 129, no. 1) and was celebrated at Pergamum in the time of Hadrian by the hymnodists of the Emperor on the first, second and third days of Panemus, *i.e.* 24-26 May (*I.G.R.* IV 353 = 1679). The date, combined with the fact that in *Corp. Gloss. Lat.* II 428, 493 and 501 *ῥοδισμός* = *rosalia*, suggests that the ceremony was the rosalia frequently mentioned in inscriptions from Italy

and Macedonia, which was celebrated by decking a burial-place with roses and offering a burned sacrifice, perhaps also by a feast in honour of the deceased; see Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 85f.: Nilsson in *R.E.* I A 1111f.: P. Collard in *B.C.H.* LV (1931), p. 58f.: P. Lemerle in *B.C.H.* LX (1936), p. 341f.

60. Dio *Orat.* XL 3f. and 8f.; XLIII 6; XLV 12f. and 15f.; XLVII 11-19; XLVIII 11. For the chronology (A.D. 97-103) and for the building-programme in general see von Arnim *ibid.* pp. 314f. and 340f. and Broughton, p. 775f.

61. *J.H.S.* XXVII (1907), p. 227, no. 2 (Apameia): *I.G.R.* III 56 and 66 (Prusias): Pliny 39, 5 and *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 302, no. 3 (Claudiopolis): Pliny 98-99 and *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 36 (Amastris): Pliny 92-93 (Amisus): Pliny 90-91 (Sinope). For the apparent remains of a Roman aqueduct at Sinope, perhaps that mentioned by Pliny, see Hamilton *Researches* I p. 309 and D. M. Robinson in *A.J.P.* XXVII (1906), p. 131. See also Broughton, p. 776f. For a gift of money to build an aqueduct at Aspendus in the first century see Lanckoroński I p. 93 and no. 64 h = *I.G.R.* III 804.

62. See A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 248f. For the liturgies see Chap. III note 35. For those in the Asianic provinces during the imperial period see above p. 651f.

63. On the other hand, as was pointed out by E. Gren *Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan, etc.* (Uppsala 1941), p. 20f., caution must be observed in drawing conclusions as to the general prosperity of a city from the condition of the municipal finances.

64. On the basis of *I.G.R.* IV 915 b (from Cibyra) dealing with a bequest for the endowment of a perpetual gymnasiarchate, the clause [*περ*]*ὶ τούτου τῷ αὐτοκράτ*[*ο*]*ρι καὶ τῇ συνκλήτῳ* [λ]*ό*[*γ*]*ου ἀπο*[*δ*]*οθ*[*η*]*σαμέ*[*νου*] was interpreted as meaning "that the emperor and Senate shall be informed of the fact" (of investment) by Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 188f.), who inferred that the emperor and Senate advised the cities "to invest the funds of their foundations preferably in corn-bearing lands." It seems more probable, however, that this clause, which refers to the testator's order to invest unused income in grain-bearing lands, means merely that whoever diverted this income to any other purpose should be held accountable to the Roman government. Similarly, a later clause (c, ll. 11f.) directed that were the gymnasiarchate ever abolished, the *demos* should be responsible to the emperor and the Senate for restoring both it and the endowment from the public funds.

CHAPTER XXV

1. Tacitus *Hist.* I 16, where the author attributed to Galba the principle carried out by Nerva in adopting Trajan.

2. See *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117, no. 4 (=M.K.B. III[1] [1878-80], p. 180, no. τξζ′) and no. 3, both from the Temple of the Augusti at Ephesus (see Chap. XXIV note 18). The freedom of Stratoniceia (see Chap. XVIII note 15) is presumably referred to in *S.E.G.* IV 329, in honour of a priest of Zeus at Panamara, T. Flavius Quir. [Eude]mus, at the end of the first century (see Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LXI [1937], p. 267, no. 88), who is described as πρεσβεύσας [πρὸ]ς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς [πλε]ονάκις καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν [τὴν] ἐλευθερίαν κα[ὶ . . .]. For Caesareia see *Rev. Num.* XIII (1895), p. 68, no. 5 = *Coll. Wadd.* 6759.

3. Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 92-93 (see above p. 602), where Amisus is called (by Pliny) *libera et foederata beneficio indulgentiae tuae.* It was suggested by Cuntz in *Herm.* LXI (1926), p. 200f. that, while Amisus is listed as *liber* in Pliny *N.H.* VI 7, its reappearance as free under Trajan, coupled with the expression *foederata, etc.*, shows that it had obtained a *foedus* from him. But, as Cuntz himself subsequently admitted (*ibid.* p. 352), this suggestion is rendered questionable by the fact that the legend Ἀμισοῦ ἐλευθέρας appears on coins of the city from Vespasian onward (*Receuil* I[2] p. 79, no. 75f.). The continued existence of the liberty of Amisus from the time of Pompey is expressed in an inscription from the Temple of Apollo Clarius near Notium, dated ἔτους ρξγ′ τῆς ἐλευθερίας (A.D. 132), in which the city appears as ἐλευθέρα καὶ αὐτόνομος καὶ ὁμόσπονδος Ῥωμαίοις; see *I.G.R.* IV 1586 = *O.G.I.* 530. The freedom of Amisus is mentioned also in an epigram (from Sinope) honouring the daughter of a man to whom it was "entrusted" by the βασιλῆες, *i.e.* the emperors; see *I.G.R.* III 96 = *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 315, no. 48 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 297f.

4. *S.E.G.* IV 604 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 43 (Teos): *I.G.R.* IV 1195 = Dessau 8799 (Thyateira): *C.I.G.* 2771 I (Aphrodisias). For a "thank-offering" to Nerva by the Caesareis Proseilemmenitae (later Hadrianopolis, see Chap. XXVI note 23) see *I.G.R.* III 148 = 1454 = *O.G.I.* 539. For statues see *J.O.A.I.* II (1899), *Beibl.* 73-4 = *Ann. Ép.* 1899, 71 (Ephesus): *M.A.M.A.* VI 90 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 186 (Heracleia Salbace): *Ins. Magn.* 168 and 169 (Magnesia-on-Maeander): *C.I.L.* III 12238 (Stectorium): *T.A.M.* II 763 (Arneae). For Nerva's general policy toward cities see *Epit. de Caess.* 12, 4 (*afflictas civitates relevavit*).

5. *I.G.R.* IV 331 (Pergamum, for the title see Momigliano in *J.R.S.* XXXII [1942], p. 53f.); 932 (Chios): *I.G.* XII 2, 544 = *I.G.R.* IV 15 (Eresus): *I.G.* XII 2, 173 (=*I.G.R.* IV 82) and 174-182 and Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1932, *Suppl.* p. 16, no. 8 = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 23 (Mitylene, all bearing the cognomen Parthicus).

For the earthquake see Orosius VII 12, 5: Syncellus I p. 655 Bonn: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 163 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 194 Helm (A.D. 105). For Miletus see L.W. 210: *Milet* I 2, p. 118f., no. 17; I 7, p. 310f., nos. 226-229. For the Sacred Way see Chap. III note 83. For the rebuilding under Trajan see *C.I.L.* III 7150 and 14195[48] (= Dessau 4051 = *Milet* II 3, no. 402 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 258), apparently identical in content and bilingual, inscribed on arches at each end of the road. For a milestone (no. XI) of Trajan found about 300 yards from the Temple see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 36. For milestones (no. IV) erected by Constantius Chlorus (as Caesar) and Julian see L.W. 233-234.

6. *I.B.M.* 500 (Ephesus): *Ins. Magn.* 170 and 171 (Magnesia): L.W. 1622 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* IV 773-775 (Apameia, statues of Plotina, Marciana and Matidia); 1293 (Julia Gordus); 1654 (Notium): *C.I.L.* III 6868 = *I.G.R.* III 313 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 146 (Apollonia): *I.G.R.* III 346 (Sagalassus): *T.A.M.* II 185 (Sidyma, Plotina), 492 (Xanthus) and 504 (Pinara) = *I.G.R.* III 580, 600 and 574: *T.A.M.* III 1, 98 (Termessus, Plotina and Matidia).

7. For the Trajaneum at Pergamum see *Alt. v. Perg.* I 2, p. 283 and V 2. It was surrounded on three sides by colonnades built under Hadrian. The front of the temple with a standing figure of Trajan and a seated figure of Zeus appears on coins of Pergamum inscribed Φίλιος Ζεύς and Τραιανός, as well as on others which show, on one side, a temple-front with figures and the legend Φίλιος Ζεὺς Αὐτ(οκράτωρ) Τραιανὸ(ς) Σεβ(αστὸς) Περγ(αμηνῶν) and, on the other, a temple-front also with figures and the legend Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ; see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 142, no. 262f.: von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 54f.: B. Pick in *Festschr. W. Judeich . . . ueberreicht* (Weimar 1929), p. 31f. Although there is no direct evidence that the Trajaneum was built by the province of Asia rather than by the city of Pergamum, the juxtaposition of the two temples on these coins suggests that this was the case and seems to support the general assumption (see Chap. XXIV note 18) that the use of the title νεωκόρος indicates the presence of a provincial temple. This view is borne out by the fact that in the series of documents containing the Senate's authorization and the Emperor's approval of the *certamen quinquennale* endowed by Julius Quadratus and held *in honorem templi* of Jupiter Amicalis and Trajan, it is ordered that this contest [*eiusdem con*]*dicionis sit, cuius est quod in honorem Romae* [*et Divi Aug. ibi agitur*]; see *C.I.L.* III 7086 = *I.G.R.* IV 336 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 73 and Chap. XXIV note 48. The name of the festival appears as Τραιάνεια Δειφίλεια in *I.B.M.* 605 (see Robert in *R. Phil.* LVI [1930], p. 38, note 7); ordinarily, however, it was called Τραιάνεια; see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 1432, 1442, 1645 and 1761: *I.G.* XIV 738 and 739 = *I.G.R.* I 443 and 444. Since Trajan's letter concerning this *certamen* is dated in his sixth consulship, the foundation of the festival cannot be placed earlier than 112. The title of δὶς νεωκόρος was not assumed before 108/9, since Pergamum appears as νεωκόρος in *I.G.R.* IV 385, an inscription of Julius Quadratus as proconsul of Asia (see Chap. XXIV note 35). It was assumed, however, before Feb.,

116, since the city is called δὶς νεωκόρος in *I.G.R.* IV 331 (from the Trajaneum), in which the Emperor has the cognomen Optimus (Ἄριστος) but not that of Parthicus.

8. The situation of Trajanopolis, near Grimenothyrae (see Chap. V note 36), is shown by Ptolemy V 2, 13. Its name appears in *I.G.R.* IV 623 (under Hadrian) and its βουλή and δῆμος are mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 626 and 627. Its coins were issued from Trajan onward; see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 425f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 526. Since the known coinage of Grimenothyrae, which begins with Domitian, was continued until the time of Hadrian at the earliest (Imhoof-Blumer in *Festschr. f. O. Benndorf*, p. 204f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 6057 and 6058: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 222f.), it is evident, as Imhoof-Blumer pointed out (*l.c.*), that the two places, although situated near each other, were separate communities. On the other hand, Imhoof-Blumer's view that they were combined in the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius is rendered questionable by the existence of a coin inscribed Γριμενοθυρέ(ων) and bearing the name of Maximus Caesar (A.D. 236-238); see Scholz in *Wiener Eranos* (Vienna 1909), p. 284. Nevertheless, a coin of Caracalla bearing both names Τραιανοπολιτῶν [Γρι]μενοθυρέων (Scholz *l.c.*) shows that a common coinage was issued at certain times by the two communities. It was observed by Robert in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 319f. that in the time of Trajan the northern boundary of the province of Asia had been moved considerably farther north; for an inscription of L. Catilius Severus (governor of Cappadocia and Armenia in 114-117, see below note 24) as πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος, *i.e.* legatus pro praetore, of the governor of Asia (also in Cagnat-Merlin *Inscrs. Lat. d'Afrique* 43 = *Ann. Ép.* 1913, 229) under Trajan after 102, which has been found near Narzan Lor, southeast of Taraklı, suggests that this region was in Asia and that at this time the boundary between Asia and Bithynia was not the Boz Dağ (see Chap. I note 56 and *M.A.M.A.* V p. xviii) or even the middle Sangarius but the Göynük Su, farther north. For Epiphaneia as Trajanopolis see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 444, no. 1, with the legend Ἐπιφα[νέων Τρ]αιανόπο. and the date ἔτους αρπ', which, according to the era of independence used by the Cilician cities, *i.e.* 68/7 B.C. (see Chap. XII note 37), was A.D. 113/14. For the depression between the Amanus and the Cebelinur, now called Toprak Kale, see Chap. XI note 36. For Vespasian's foundations see Chap. XXIV notes 11 and 27. According to Lydus *de Mens.* IV 23, Adramyttium in Mysia was "founded" by Trajan, but there is nowhere any confirmation of this statement. The name Ulpia was assumed, although only for a short time, by Heracleia Salbace; see *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), p. 53, no. 25 and Robert *Hellenica* III (1946), p. 5f., who connected the assumption with favours obtained for the city through Trajan's physician, T. Statilius Crito, mentioned in *M.A.M.A.* VI 91 and L.W. 1694, restored by Buckler in *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 7.

9. *C.I.L.* III 7192-7193 = *I.G.R.* IV 1194 b, near Thyateira (for the repairs to this road under Vespasian and Domitian see Chap. XXIV note 12): *I.G.R.* IV 172 (near Cyzicus). It is possible that the expression ἠμελημένα . . . ἔργα

ἀ[ποκατέστησεν] in an inscription of Trajan found north of the Gulf of Smyrna (*I.G.R.* IV 1384) may refer to road-construction.

10. For Bassus's appointment see Chap. XXIV note 22. His name appears on coins of the Κοινὸν Γαλατίας and of Ancyra under Nerva and Trajan (*Coll. Wadd.* 6595f. and 6606 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 5f., nos. 1-15 and p. 8f., nos. 3-4) and of Caesareia and Tyana in Cappadocia under Domitian and Trajan, respectively (*Coll. Wadd.* 6755, 6757 and 6803 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 50, no. 34f. and p. 96, no. 3). See also Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 457, note 1, where it is observed that the earliest definitely dated coin is of Domitian's fifteenth year, the latest of Trajan's third year. For the road from Mazaca to Tyana with a milestone of Trajan erected by Bassus see Chap. XXI note 3. For the roads from Ancyra leading down the Halys and thence to Amaseia, from Tavium to Amaseia, and from Amaseia to the Lycus valley or Sebasteia with milestones of Nerva and Trajan erected by Bassus see Chap. XIX note 9 and Chap. VIII note 25. For a milestone of Nerva or Trajan near Magnopolis on the lower Lycus with Bassus's name and for milestones of Nerva without the name of an imperial legate but probably to be assigned to Bassus, found near Neapolis and at Havza, see Chap. VIII note 33. Cumont observed (*Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 222) that the construction of these roads had probably been begun under Domitian.

11. Pliny *Epist.* VIII 24, 2f., where Maximus is called *missus ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatium* and his office is referred to as a *legatio*, and Epictetus *Diss.* III 7, where his title is διορθωτὴς τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων. For the *corrector* (also ἐπανορθωτής) see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 857f.: Liebenam *Städteverwaltung*, p. 482f.: von Premerstein in *R.E.* IV 1646f.: Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, p. 201: B. W. Henderson *Five Roman Emperors* (Cambridge 1927), p. 204f.: Last in *C.A.H.* XI p. 467f.: A. Stein in *Aegyptus* XVIII (1938), p. 234f. Maximus was probably the Sex. Quinctilius Valerius Maximus honoured at Alexandria Troas as *patronus coloniae* (*C.I.L.* III 384 = Dessau 1018); see (most recently) Groag in *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1924), *Beibl.* 435f., *R.E.* XIV 2540, no. 2 and *Röm. Reichsbeamten v. Achaia bis auf Diokletian* (Vienna 1939), p. 126f.: F. Zucker in *Philol.* LXXXIV (1929), p. 210f.: M. N. Tod in *Anat. Stud. Buckler*, p. 333f. His appointment must be dated before 109, when, at the latest, the eighth book of Pliny's letters was published; see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 386 and Otto in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1919, 10, p. 39. A similar position may have been held by C. Avidius Nigrinus, whom Trajan appointed as κριτὴς to settle a dispute between the Delphians and certain of their neighbours; see *Syll.*[3] 827 A-G. He was called *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)*, but since Delphi was a free city, it may be supposed that he was a special commissioner *missus ad ordinandum statum*; see *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 285, no. 1408 and von Premerstein in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 3, p. 42, note 3, who dated his mission in Greece about 108/9 (before his consulship in 110, see *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 279). On the other hand, he was regarded as the imperial governor of Achaea, responsible also

for the free cities, by Longden in *C.A.H.* XI p. 220 and Groag *Röm. Reichsbeamten*, p. 55f.

12. For Pliny's governorship of Bithynia see his *Epist. ad Trajan.* 15f. (arranged in chronological order, see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 389f. and Wilcken in *Herm.* XLIX [1914], p. 120f.). For his title see *Epist.* 18 and *C.I.L.* V 5262 = Dessau 2927, where it is given as *legat. pro pr. provinciae Pon*[*ti et Bithyniae*] *consulari potesta*[*t.*] *in eam provinciam e*[*x s.c. missus ab*] *Imp. Caesar. Nerva Traiano, etc.*, the restoration *e*[*x s.c. missus*] (taken from *C.I.L.* XI 5272) being somewhat uncertain (see Mommsen *ibid.* p. 430, note 4 and p. 444f.). It was pointed out by Mommsen (*R.St.R.* II[3] p. 245, note 1) that Pliny's *consularis potestas* is the only known exception to the rule that the legate of the emperor (or of a proconsul) could not have this power, but in Pliny's case it was necessary in order to give him sufficient authority. Pliny's arrival in Bithynia, on 17 September (*Epist. ad Trajan.* 17), was dated by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV pp. 390f. and 430f.), followed by Wilcken, in 111 (less probably in 112). This date, however, based on the argument that Pliny was governor of Bithynia at the time when Calpurnius Macer was governing a neighbouring province (*Epist. ad Trajan.* 42, 61-62 and 77) and that a P. Calpurnius Macer Caulius Rufus was imperial legate of Moesia Inferior in 112/13 (*C.I.L.* III 777, see also *C.I.L.* XVI 58, a military diploma, to be dated before 114, in which his name is probably to be restored), is open to the objection that Macer may well have been in Moesia for some time previous to 112/13. A *terminus post quem* for Pliny's departure from Rome is given by *Epist.* VIII 24, published not later than 109 (see above note 11), and it is possible that his governorship began in September, 110. It was pointed out by Cuntz in *Herm.* LXI (1926), p. 102 and note 2 that his arrival in Bithynia (in September) cannot be placed after 111, since the last of his datable letters (no. 102) was written a year from the following January, and this cannot have been later than 113, since in January, 114 Trajan was in the East (see below note 27).

13. For the powers of the *curator rei publicae* (λογιστής) see *Cod. Justin.* I 54, 3: *Digesta* XXII 1, 33; XXXIX 2, 46 and 4, 11, 1; XLIII 24, 3, 4; L 8, 2, 4f.; 8, 5 and 11-12; 9, 4. For the office see also Liebenam in *Philol.* LVI (1897), p. 290f. and *Städteverwaltung*, p. 480f.: Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 1806f.: I. Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV (1901), p. 358f.: Mancini in *Diz. Epig.* II p. 1345f.: Abbott and Johnson *ibid.* pp. 90f. and 201: O. Seeck *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. ant. Welt*[2] II p. 172f.: Henderson *ibid.* p. 202f.: Longden and Last in *C.A.H.* XI pp. 219f. and 469f.: E. Stein *Gesch. d. Spätröm. Reiches* I p. 71f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 810: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 136f.: C. Lucas in *J.R.S.* XXX (1940), p. 56f. The suggestion that there were λογισταί in Asia under the Flavian emperors, based on the restoration [λογι]σ[τεύ]οντος in *Ins. Sardis* 45 and the statement in Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 19, 3 that a consularis named Rufus τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἐλογίστευε, is questionable, for in the first case it depends on a restoration, and in the second there is no certainty that the author was using the verb λογιστεύειν in the technical

sense. On the other hand, since the office of *curat(or) colonior(um) (sic) et municipior(um)* which appears in the *cursus honorum* of Sos[pe]s, (*C.I.L.* III 291 = 6818 = Dessau 1017 = *J.R.S.* XIV [1924], p. 191, no. 12, see Chap. XXIV note 22) is listed before his participation in the Suevic war of 92, it may be supposed that he held the post under Domitian. There is no means of determining, however, in what part of the Empire he discharged his duties. The only known λογιστής in Asia Minor appointed by Trajan appears in *I.G.R.* IV 1660. For a λογιστής of Nicomedeia, Nicaea and Prusa κατὰ τὸ αὐτό, who was subsequently ἀρχώνης of the *portorium* of Asia and later held several important procuratorships, see *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97 (see Chap. XXIV note 4). For Ti. Claudius Candidus, who, originally an *Eques*, was advanced to the Senatorial Order and, after serving as *legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae*, was *logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium item Ephesiorum*, see *C.I.L.* II 4114 = Dessau 1140; for his later achievements (in 194-195) see Cassius Dio LXXIV 6, 5f. and LXXV 2, 3. For *curatores* of Senatorial rank see also *I.G.R.* IV 1307 = 1741 = Dessau 8842 (Alexandria Troas): L.W. 147 a (Ephesus): *Milet* I 9, p. 171, no. 344 (Miletus): *C.I.L.* V 4341 (Nicomedeia and Nicaea): *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 184f., no. 7 = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 79 (Nicomedeia): *I.G.R.* III 474 (Attaleia, Pamphylia). For those of Equestrian rank see *Ephesos* III p. 135f., no. 49 and no. 50 and *S.E.G.* IV 519 (Ephesus): L.W. 1609 = *O.G.I.* 500 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.* XII 3, 1119 (πόλεις ἐπιφανέσταται). For a λογιστὴς τὸ β′ and a λογιστὴς διὰ βίου see *I.G.R.* IV 1168 b (Attaleia, Lydia) and *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 410, no. 410 (Prusa). For the curator as auditor of accounts at Ephesus see *Ephesos* II no. 24 and *J.O.A.I.* XXVII (1932), *Beibl.* 21f. (two copies of the same document, see above p. 633f.). For the authorization of the erection of a statue and for the control of endowments at Aphrodisias see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 71, no. 2, *C.I.G.* 2741 = *O.G.I.* 509 (see Chap. XXVII note 59) and perhaps *C.I.G.* 2742 as corrected in Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 315f. For the fine for tomb-violation at Phellus see *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 326, no. 9. For a λογιστὴς τῶν σειτωνικῶν χρημάτων at Prusias ad Hypium see *I.G.R.* III 1422. For a curator of the council and the *gerousia* at Acmonia (or Trajanopolis) see *I.G.R.* IV 652, and of the *gerousia* at Ephesus and at Prusias see *C.I.G.* 2987 b and *Ephesos* II no. 23 (frg. *a* = *O.G.I.* 508, see Chap. XXVIII note 10) and *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 435, no. 26. For a curator of the Artists of Dionysus and of the ἱερὰ σύνοδος θυμελική at Rhodes see L.W. 605 = *O.G.I.* 501 and *I.G.* XII 1, 83 = *Ann. Scuol. Atene* II (1916), p. 146f., no. 19 (a better copy). For a list of the cities of Asia Minor in which curators are known see M. N. Tod in *J.H.S.* XLII (1922), p. 172f. To these may be added: Acmonia(?) (*I.G.R.* IV 652, of council and *gerousia*): Ceramus (*J.H.S.* XI [1890], p. 121f., no. 5): Miletus (*Milet* I 9, no. 344): Pergamum(?) (*I.G.R.* IV 468): Thyateira (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 359 restored by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 349, note 1): Prusa (*B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 410, no. 410 and *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97): Prusias ad Hypium (*B.C.H.* XXV [1901], p. 81f., no. 212: *A.M.* XXIV p. 435f., no. 26, of *gerousia*): Comana in Cappadocia (*Anat. Stud. Ramsay* p. 400 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 141 = 1939, 27): Syedra in Cilicia (Lanckoroński II no. 41): Trajanopolis in Cilicia(?) (*I.G.R.* IV 1213 = Dessau 8853): Arneae (*T.A.M.* II 771):

Arycanda (*I.G.R.* III 704 1): Phellus (*B.C.H.* XVIII [1894], p. 326, no. 9): Termessus Minor (*I.G.R.* III 491): Nicopolis in Armenia Minor (*B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 35, no. 13).

14. See Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 111, 121 and 169: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 810f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, pp. 134 and 271. It may be questioned, however, whether Rostovtzeff was justified in supposing (p. 111) that "the social movement in the cities, especially among the proletarians, necessarily assumed an anti-Roman aspect."

15. Apollonius of Tyana *Epist.* 56, 1 p. 359 Kayser (Sardis): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 2 and *Vit. Apoll.* IV 8, 1 (Smyrna): Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* I 15, 2f. (Aspendus): Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXIV 16f. and 19f. (Tarsus). It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 169) that the λινουργοί at Tarsus were descendants of serfs originally attached to temple-factories, but there is no evidence that such factories ever existed. The συνωμοσία at Cibyra, "very harmful to the city," which was suppressed by Q. Veranius Philagrus, probably in the time of Claudius (*I.G.R.* IV 914, see Chap. XXIII note 7), was possibly some sort of a social uprising. For dissension in the cities under Vespasian see Suetonius *Vesp.* 8, 2.

16. For the governorship of Julius Bassus in Bithynia and his trial see Pliny *Epist.* IV 9; V 20, 1; VI 29, 10; *Epist. ad Trajan.* 56-57. For an expression of gratitude to him at Nicaea see *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 294. His governorship cannot have been held later than 102, for Bithynian coins inscribed Γ.Ἰουλίου Βάσσου ἀνθυπάτου bear the portrait of Trajan as Germanicus, and the Emperor assumed the cognomen Dacicus in 102; see *Receuil* I p. 239, no. 28: *Num. Chron.* I (1921), p. 2, no. 2: Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, p. 88. The statement of Pliny (IV 9, 2) *revocatus a Nerva sortitusque Bithyniam* suggests that Bassus became governor after his recall from exile, and his term in the province was dated in 98/9 by Bosch (*Kl. M.* II 1, p. 88) and by von Premerstein in *S.B. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 3, p. 73f., who placed the trial in 100, evidently the earliest possible date. It is perhaps more probable, since Varenus Rufus, who governed Bithynia after Bassus (perhaps as his immediate successor), had returned to Rome before the beginning of the proceedings (see below note 18), that the trial took place in 101, or, if Bassus's proconsulship may be dated a year later, in 102, but hardly as late as 103/4, as suggested by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 380f.). For the identification of Bassus with the ἡγεμὼν πονηρός of Bithynia mentioned in Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLIII 11 see von Arnim *Dio v. Prusa*, pp. 367f. and 374f. and in *Herm.* XXXIV (1899), p. 376f. in reply to Dessau (*Herm.* XXXIV p. 85f.), who on insufficient grounds supposed that this governor was Varenus Rufus; Dio's charge of ἐξελάσαι against this governor accords with the *relegatio in perpetuum* ascribed to Bassus in Pliny *ad Trajan.* 56, 4 and 57, 2. The identification of Bassus with C. Julius Bassus who was Consul suffectus in May-June 105, proposed by Mommsen (*ibid.* p. 380) and generally accepted (see *e.g. P.I.R.* II p. 171, no. 134, Fluss in *R.E.* X 177f., no. 118 and von Premerstein, p. 9),

is far from certain; for it is difficult to believe that a man who, in spite of his restoration to the Senate, was condemned to make restitution to the provincials would within four years have been raised to the consulship. It seems more probable (see Harrer and Suskin in *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 279) that the Consul of 105 was C. Julius Quadratus Bassus. This man is commemorated in an inscription from Pergamum; see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 39f. (=*Ann. Ép.* 1933, 268), where he was wrongly identified by W. Weber (p. 61f.) with C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus (see Chap. XXIV note 22). He was subsequently identified with Julius Bassus, the governor of Bithynia, by Herzog in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1933, p. 408f. and by von Premerstein *ibid.* p. 9f. (followed by Kubitschek in *Klio* XXVII [1934], p. 345f., Ramsay *Social Basis of Rom. Power in A.M.* p. 41f. and M. Schuster in *Phil. Woch.* LV [1935], p. 231f.), who, however, rejected (pp. 11, 22 and 26f.) Herzog's restorations [Βιθυνί]ας in l. 9 (where it was regarded as part of the province of Galatia-Cappadocia) and [ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστρ]άτηγον δήμου Ῥωμαίων [Βιθυνίας] in l. 15f., by which Bithynia was brought into his *cursus honorum*. Apart, however, from the fact that (without restoration) the inscription contains no mention of Bithynia—unconvincingly met by von Premerstein (p. 22f.) with the argument that any mention of the province was intentionally omitted because of the misfortune which resulted from his governorship—the career of Quadratus Bassus does not correspond to what is known of Julius Bassus. The former, after having held commands (whether as legate or tribune is uncertain) in at least eight different legions, served as πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος in Judaea, Galatia-Cappadocia, Syria and another province, a post which the editors of the inscription regarded as that of imperial governor of these provinces, but which, since Σεβαστοῦ is not included in the title, was possibly only that of a governor's legate. Later, Quadratus was στρατηλάτης Δακικοῦ πολέμου καὶ συνκαθελὼν τὸν ἔκει πόλεμον Αὐτοκράτορι Τραιανῷ, *i.e. dux exercitus* (see *O.G.I.* 648 and 653) and *comes* of Trajan in a war in Dacia, presumably the Second Dacian War in 105-107. Finally, having received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, he died while in command of Dacia and was honoured with a state-funeral, his body being carried by order of Hadrian from his province to Pergamum. Julius Bassus, on the other hand, was a *senex* at the time of his trial (Pliny IV 9, 22), and it is difficult to believe that he was in command of the warlike province of Dacia in 117, as supposed by von Premerstein (p. 44f.), who supported his identification by the weak argument (p. 11f.) that under Trajan and Hadrian important posts were held by the septuagenarian Spurinna and the nonagenarian Servianus. It seems improbable, moreover, that the man who was described by Pliny as *simplex et incautus* (IV 9, 6) and *ut incustoditus nimis et incautus ita minime malus* (VI 29, 10) and as saved from conviction by his *renovata discriminum vetus fama notumque periculis nomen et in procero corpore maesta et squalida senectus* (IV 9, 22) could have served as legatus pro praetore in several provinces and finally received the unusual honours of the *ornamenta triumphalia* and a state-funeral. See also De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LXIII (1935), p. 129f., Longden in *C.A.H.* XI p. 221,

note 4, Groag in *RE.* Suppl. VII 311f. and Syme in *J.R.S.* XXXVI (1946), p. 162f.

17. The procedure in this trial and in that of Marius Priscus (Pliny *Epist.* II 11), cited by Mommsen in *R.St.R.* II³ p. 122, note 4 and *Röm. Strafrecht*, p. 726, notes 2 and 3 as exemplifying the practice of referring cases of *repetundae* to a commission for the determination of damages, differed from that established by the senatus consultum of 4 B.C. (*S.E.G.* IX 8, v, see Chap. XX note 58) in that the decision was rendered by the Senate itself, the *iudices* being appointed only to determine the amount of reparation to be paid; see Anderson in *J.R.S.* XVII (1927), p. 48 and von Premerstein in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLVIII (1928), pp. 517 and 530f.

18. Pliny *Epist.* V 20; VI 5; 13; 29, 11; VII 6; 10: Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XLVIII 1 (*τῷ κρατίστῳ Οὐαρηνῷ*). See also von Arnim *Dio v. Prusa*, pp. 375f. and 381f. The beginning of the trial of Varenus was dated by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 383) in 105 or 106 on the theory that the letters contained in Pliny's fifth book were all written at this time. This date was accepted by von Arnim, who, regarding Varenus as the immediate successor of Bassus, placed his proconsulship of Bithynia in 102/3, and also by R. Hanslik in *Wien. Stud.* L (1932), p. 194f. with the modification that the proceedings began not later than May, 105. On the other hand, von Premerstein in *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 3, p. 78f. dated Varenus's proconsulship in 100/1 and the beginning of his trial not later than 102. According to Pliny (V 20, 1), only a *breve tempus* intervened between the two trials and the Bithynians had *nuper* successfully requested that Varenus (who had presumably returned to Rome) might act as Bassus's accuser. If it may be supposed (with von Arnim) that Varenus was Bassus's immediate successor in Bithynia and that the latter governed the province in 98/9 or 99/100 (see above note 16), Varenus's trial, like that of Bassus, may be dated in 101 or 102.

19. It was pointed out by von Premerstein in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLVIII (1928), p. 514f. that in the senatus consultum of 4 B.C. dealing with *repetundae* (see above note 17) only the plaintiff was allowed to compel the appearance of witnesses (who must already be on Italian soil).

20. Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 96, 7 (*edictum meum quo hetaerias esse vetueram*). For a definition of a *ἑταιρεία* as *sodales qui eiusdem collegii sunt* see *Digesta* XLVII 22, 4. Trajan's instructions had their origin in the *Lex Iulia de Collegiis*, passed under Augustus for the purpose of restricting *collegia* to those which were of long standing and had obtained licenses from the Senate; see Suetonius *Aug.* 32, 1: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 8, §215: Asconius *in Cornelianam* 1 p. 75 Clark: *C.I.L.* VI 2193=4416=Dessau 4966: Mommsen *R.St.R.* II³ p. 886f.: Gardthausen *Augustus u. s. Zeit* 1 p. 585f. For later imperial legislation forbidding the formation of *collegia sodalicia* in the provinces and of *collegia* of soldiers in the camps see *Digesta* XLVII 22, 1f.

21. Pliny 21. He administered the oath of allegiance to these soldiers on the *dies imperii* of Trajan and caused them to join in taking the vows at the beginning of the new year; see 52-53, 100-101 and 103. For the *cohors sexta equestris* see 106-107, where a centurion is mentioned. Soldiers of this cohort appear in an inscription of unknown date from Gebze (Dacibyza?) on the road from Chalcedon to Nicomedeia (*I.G.R.* III 2, see Chap. XXVI note 58) and probably on a tombstone at Prusa (*I.G.R.* III 1396). Rostovtzeff suggested (*B.S.A.* XXII [1916-18], p. 19) that the cohort and the other forces in the province had been detached from the army in Moesia for special service, but in any case soldiers were recruited in Bithynia (Pliny 29-30). For the *statio* at Nicomedeia see Pliny 74. For the Pontic fleet see Chap. XXIII note 62 and for the prefect's request for soldiers see Pliny 21-22.

22. Pliny 110-111. It is difficult to suppose, with A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 135), that Trajan's reply, *largitiones . . . factas ante aliquantum temporis retractari atque in inritum vindicari non oportet*, shows that this grant was illegal at the time when it was made. For the prohibition of such grants in the third century see *Digesta* L 9, 4.

23. Since Pliny's correspondence with Trajan breaks off suddenly, the length of his stay in the province is uncertain. According to the chronology of Wilcken (*Herm.* XLIX [1914], p. 120f.), correcting that of Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* IV p. 392f.), he spent the whole of his first year in Bithynia and at the beginning (August) of his second year went to Pontus by sea, stopping probably at Heracleia and Tieium and certainly at Amastris, and, after visiting Sinope and Amisus, returned to Bithynia, perhaps in February. For Tertullus (Pliny's colleague in the consulship) see *C.I.L.* XIV 2925=Dessau 1024, where he is called legatus pro praetore of Trajan. The extraordinary character of his mission was pointed out by Brandis in *R.E.* III 528f. He was regarded as Pliny's immediate successor by Mommsen (*ibid.* p. 431, note 2), followed by Groag in *R.E.* X 574. For Hadrian's appointment of Julius Severus as imperial legate of Bithynia about 135 see Chap. XXVI note 54.

24. The last known governor of the united provinces was P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (see Chap. XXIV note 34), whose name appears on a coin of Sebastopolis in Pontus Galaticus dated in 106/7 (*Receuil* I² p. 141, no. 1) as well as on coins of Cybistra (attached to Cappadocia by Pompey, see Chap. XV note 45) and of an unknown city (*B. M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 95 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 530, no. 12). He is mentioned also in inscriptions at Cana (Gene) in Lycaonia, east of Iconium, and Antioch-near-Pisidia; see Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 162 and *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 302 =*Ann. Ép.* 1907, 54 and 1914, 267. He followed, although perhaps not immediately, Aufidius Umber, known from coins of Neocaesareia in Pontus Polemoniacus dated in 100/1 and 101/2 (*Receuil* I² p. 119, nos. 7 a and 7 b), who was evidently the successor of T. Pomponius Bassus (see above note 10). The surmise of Ramsay (*J.R.S.* XII [1922], pp. 166 and 170) that P. Alfius Maximus, who was governor of Galatia during the fourth consulship of an

unknown emperor (*I.G.R.* III 162=*J.H.S.* XLIV [1924], p. 28f., no. 16, from Ancyra), held office in 101 as Umber's successor is highly improbable; see *P.I.R.*² I p. 90, no. 534. It is also uncertain whether Quadratus Bassus, described as legatus pro praetore of Cappadocia, Galatia, Armenia Minor, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Isauria and [Pisidi]a, who was supposed by von Premerstein (*S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, 3, pp. 62f. and 71) to have governed the united provinces between 108 and 112 (or 113), was actually governor and not a governor's legate; see above note 16. In any case, his term of office cannot be definitely dated. In the case of Marcus Junius, described as *ἄρχων* of Cappadocia (in 114) in Cassius Dio LXVIII 19, 1 (see below note 31) and identified by Groag (*R.E.* X 1039) with M. Junius Homullus, whose name appears as *ἐπὶ Ὁμούλλου* on coins of Mazaca-Caesareia dated *ἔτους ις'* and bearing the portrait of Trajan (*Coll. Wadd.* 6765 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. xxxviii f., note 3), it cannot be determined whether he was governor of Galatia-Cappadocia or of Cappadocia alone. The division evidently took place not later than 114, for the earliest known governor of Cappadocia (with Armenia Major and Minor) was L. Catilius Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus, who held office after the annexation of Armenia Major in 114 (see below note 34) during the short time when it was attached to the Empire; see *C.I.L.* X 8291=Dessau 1041 and Vol. III 2, p. clxxiii and Cagnat-Merlin *Inscrs. Lat. d'Afrique* 43=*Ann. Ép.* 1913, 229. For his correct name and his career see A. Merlin in *R.E.A.* XV (1913), p. 268f. and *Mél. Syr. off. à R. Dussaud* I (Paris 1939), p. 217f., Groag in *R.E. Suppl.* III 178, no. 40 and *P.I.R.*² II p. 127, no. 558. Since he had been Consul suffectus in 110 (*Notiz. d. Scavi* LVII [1932], p. 189f.=*Ann. Ép.* 1933, 30), the province evidently had a governor of consular rank. It contained not only Cappadocia and Armenia but also a part of Pontus; see *I.G.R.* III 100 (=*Stud. Pont.* III 97, Amaseia, about A.D. 175) and 111 (=Dessau 8801, Sebastopolis, A.D. 136/7); IV 815. "Pontus Mediterraneus" appears also in inscriptions of procurators of the province; see *Échos d'Orient* IX (1906), p. 269=Dessau 9013 (Iconium) and *C.I.L.* V 8660=Dessau 1364. In the latter inscription Lycaonia An[tioch]iana, *i.e.* a part of southern Lycaonia (see Chap. XXI note 49), is also included in the province, and since both Iconium and the *strategia* Antiochiane were listed by Ptolemy (V 6, 15-16) in Cappadocia, the province seems to have contained a part of Lycaonia. See also Cumont in *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 205f. and M. H. Griffin *Administration of the Rom. Prov. of Cappadocia* (Chapel Hill 1929, in typescript), p. 39f. A census of the province is recorded in an inscription of M. Sulpicius Felix, who, after serving as tribune of Cohors I Germanorum and Cohors III Ulpia miliaria Petraeorum, both of which seem to have been stationed in Cappadocia (see *R.E.* IV 293 and 324), and as tribune of Legio XVI Flavia Firma Fidelis, probably stationed in Galatia-Cappadocia (see Chap. XXIV note 22), was *electus et retentus ad cens(us) excipiend(os) in partem provinc(iae) Arm(eniae) item Capp(adociae)*; see *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* XLVIII (1931), p. 2f.=*Ann. Ép.* 1931, 36 and 38.

The earliest known governors of the reduced Galatia were [L. An]nius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus (*C.I.L.* III 6813=Dessau 1038), who may perhaps have held office under Trajan

(see Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII [1903], p. 479, note 3), and an unknown man who was praetor under Trajan (after 115) and presumably governed the province under Hadrian (*C.I.L.* III 6819 = Dessau 1039). These inscriptions, as well as *I.G.R.* III 316 = *O.G.I.* 535 (of an unknown governor, perhaps of the period of the Antonines, see Chap. XXVIII note 3), show that in addition to Galatia proper the province included northern Pisidia and Paphlagonia. The inscriptions of a *proc(urator) Galat(iae) Paphl(agoniae) Pisid(iae) Pont(i)* of the time of Hadrian (*C.I.L.* III 431 [= Dessau 1449] and 7116) suggest that it contained also part of western Pontus, unless this was included in the procurator's territory for fiscal purposes. In any case, in the time of the Severi a procurator of Galatia was *vice praesidis* of Galatia and Pontus (*C.I.L.* III 251, see also *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII [1928], p. 246, no. 21); and milestones of L. Julius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (*C.I.L.* III 14184^{27} and 14184^{30}, see Chap. XXIX note 11) and, later in the third century, of M. Junius Valerius Nepotianus (*C.I.L.* III 14184^{25}), found on the great road which led through Phazimonitis (see Chap. VIII note 33), show that this region was at the time attached to Galatia. The governor of the province seems to have had praetorian rank.

25. For this explanation see Ritterling in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 304, accepted by Brandis in *R.E.* VII 553. For the view that Cappadocia was to serve as a base of operations see *e.g.* R. Paribeni *Optimus Princeps* (Messina 1926-7) II p. 179. It was supposed by Cuntz in *Herm.* LXI (1926), p. 192f. that Trajan, in sending Pliny to Bithynia on a special mission, had begun to make plans for a war in the East. His two chief arguments, however, the collection of grain in Paphlagonia by an imperial procurator (Pliny *ad Trajan.* 27-28) and Pliny's supposition that the Emperor might wish to interview a slave who for several years had been in the service of the Parthian King (*ibid.* 74), were refuted by Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI (1931), p. 19f. See also F. A. Lepper *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford 1948), p. 165f. A possible connexion between Pliny's mission and the war was admitted by Groag (*Röm. Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian*, p. 56), but only to the extent of suggesting that Trajan wished, before beginning his campaign, to solve all minor problems in the eastern provinces.

26. The sources for Trajan's Armeno-Parthian war are: Cassius Dio LXVIII 17-31: Arrian *Parthica* frgs. 5-17 and 32-105 Roos (Teubner 1928) = frgs. 36-48, 51, and 116f. Jac. (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 860f.): Fronto *Princ. Hist.* p. 204f.: Eutropius VIII 3: Victor *de Caess.* 13, 3: Festus *Brev.* 20, 2: Orosius VII 12, 2: Malalas XI p. 270f. Bonn = Schenk v. Stauffenberg *Röm. Kaisergesch. b. Malalas* (Stuttgart 1931), p. 42f. For the war see also J. Dierauer *Beitr. z. einer Krit. Gesch. Trajans* in Büdinger's *Untersuch. z. Röm. Kaisergesch.* I (Leipzig 1868), p. 152f.: A. G. Roos *Studia Arrianea* (Leipzig 1912), p. 30f.: A. Günther *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kriege zw. Römern u. Parthern* (Berlin 1922), p. 102f.: Henderson *Five Roman Emperors*, p. 312f.: Paribeni *Optimus Princeps* II p. 280f.: Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI (1931) p. 1f. and *C.A.H.* XI pp. 239f. and 858f.: P. L. Strack *Untersuch. z. Röm. Reichsprägung d. 2^ten Jahrh.* I

(Stuttgart 1931), pp. 35f. and 213f.: J. Guey *Essai sur la Guerre Parthique de Trajan* (Bucharest 1937), p. 32f.: N. C. Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 218f.: Lepper, p. 28f. It has generally been supposed by modern writers that Axidares had received the approval of Rome, and that it was his overthrow and Osroes's appointment of Parthamasiris that caused the war; see Strack, p. 214, note 922 and Guey, p. 33f., to whose bibliographies Longden (*J.R.S.* XXI pp. 13 and 25 and *C.A.H.* XI p. 240) should be added. If the assumption of Strack and Guey that Arrian *Parth.* frgs. 37 and 40 Roos may be attributed to Trajan himself is correct, this view is justified, but it is not certain that these statements were made by the Emperor.

27. Trajan did not leave Rome until after a dedication in his Forum (probably of the famous Column), which took place, according to a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* (*Notiz. d. Scavi* LVII [1932], p. 189f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 30), on 12 May, 113. Since the seizure of Armenia seems to have been accomplished by August, 114 (see below note 37), the beginning of the campaign cannot be dated later than the spring of this year. There appears to be no reason, therefore, for rejecting the testimony of Arrian *Parth.* frg. 35 Roos and Malalas XI p. 270, 17 Bonn that Trajan left Rome in October, 113 (on the anniversary of his adoption by Nerva); see Dierauer, p. 158, note: Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI p. 1f. and *C.A.H.* XI p. 858: Guey, p. 39f. His departure was commemorated by coins inscribed *Fort(unae) Red(uci)* and *Profectio Aug(usti)*; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 261f., nos. 253, 263, 297, 314f., 633 and 662 and Strack, p. 213f. The inference drawn by Paribeni (II p. 153) and Strack (p. 215) from Victor *de Caess.* 13, 11, *rogatu patrum militiam* (*Italiam* Freudenberg) *repetens*, that Trajan undertook the war only after formal consultation with the Senate seems unjustified, since this statement is made in connexion with his departure from Syria for Italy.

28. For Trajan's journey across Asia Minor (Cassius Dio LXVIII 17, 3) see Paribeni, p. 290, note 35, and for the route through Cibyratis and Pisidia to Attaleia see Chap. XI note 15. It was supposed by Paribeni that he went by sea to Seleuceia in Syria; by Longden (*J.R.S.* XXI p. 2, note 1) that he went by land to Seleuceia-on-the-Calycadnus and thence by sea to Seleuceia in Syria. The view of Buckler and Calder in *M.A.M.A.* VI p. 34, based on an inscription in honour of Trajan at Heracleia Salbace (*M.A.M.A.* VI 91, see above note 8), that the Emperor marched *via* Heracleia into Cibyratis, although open to the objection that this was a more toilsome as well as a less frequented route, was held also by Robert in Guey *ibid.* p. 44 and *Hellenica* III (1946), p. 5f., who connected the name Ulpia borne by Heracleia with a visit at this time. According to the doubtful testimony of Malalas (XI p. 272, l. 22 Bonn), he arrived in Antioch on 7 Jan., evidently of 114 (see Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI pp. 2 and 34.).

29. According to Malalas XI p. 271f. Bonn, the people of Antioch had surrendered without a battle to a Parthian force but, on receiving a message from Trajan announcing his coming, attacked this force and destroyed it.

Longden (*ibid.* p. 31f.), however, while admitting the possibility of a Parthian attack on the region west of the Euphrates in 116 during the revolt against the Roman army in Mesopotamia, showed that this account of the seizure of Antioch cannot be reconciled with what is known of the events leading up to the war.

30. Officers of the following legions received rewards from Trajan *expeditione Parthica* (*bello Parthico, ob bellum Parthicum*): VI Ferrata (*C.I.L.* x 5829=Dessau 2726 and Dessau 9471): X Fretensis (*C.I.L.* VI 1838=Dessau 2727): XVI Flavia Firma (*C.I.L.* x 1202=Dessau 2660). The fact that rewards were conferred by Trajan on a tribune of Legio IV Scythica (*C.I.L.* III 10336 =Dessau 1062), which had formed part of Paetus's army (see Chap. XXIII note 52) and after his capitulation was retained in Syria (see Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1559f.), although no mention is made of the Parthian war, suggests that this legion also took part in the campaign. Moreover, Trajan's bestowal of rewards *ob bellum Parthicum* on a man who was a centurion both of Legio III Cyrenaica and of Legio VII Claudia (*C.I.L.* x 3733=Dessau 2083) shows that at least one of these legions supplied troops for this war. The Cyrenaica, which was stationed in Egypt, furnished a detachment for suppressing the Jewish revolt about 116 and may also have sent one to the Parthian war (Ritterling *ibid.* 1509 and *Yale University Excavations at Dura-Europos* VI [1936], p. 480f.). The Claudia, stationed in Moesia, which had taken part in Trajan's Dacian wars and later provided a detachment for suppressing the Jews in Cyprus (Ritterling *ibid.* 1621f.), is probably to be identified with τὸ ἕβδομον τέλος mentioned in Arrian frg. 80 (so Roos *Stud. Arr.* p. 59f.) and may, accordingly, be supposed to have been brought over from Moesia to engage in this campaign. If L. Paconius Proculus, described as *praef(ecto) vexillation(um) eq(uitum) Moesiae Infer. et Daciae eunti in expeditione Parthic(a), etc.* (*C.I.L.* VI 32933=Dessau 2723) may be placed at this time, detachments of cavalry from the Danube region were also transferred to the East. It seems highly probable that Trajan enlisted for this war the first and second *Cohortes Ulpiae Galatarum* stationed in Palestine in 139 (*C.I.L.* XVI 87), the prefect of the former of which was honoured in *I.G.R.* IV 882, and three *Cohortes Ulpiae Paphlagonum,* of which the second and third are included in a list of *alae* and *cohortes* under the command of M. Valerius Lollianus in Mesopotamia (*C.I.L.* III 600=Dessau 2724) and appear as quartered in Syria in a military diploma of 157 (*C.I.L.* XVI 106=Dessau 9057). If, as has been supposed, the list of troops under Lollianus is to be connected with Trajan's campaign against the Parthians, and not that of Lucius Verus (A.D. 162-165, see Chap. XXVIII note 4), as was believed by Bormann in *J.O.A.I.* III (1900), p. 24f. and Dessau 9057, note 9, it furnishes the names of a large number of military units serving in the East at this time. On the other hand, it seems scarcely probable that the *Ala I Flavia Britannica miliaria Civium Romanorum,* which was in Pannonia in 114 and in 150 (*C.I.L.* XVI 61 and 99=Dessau 9056), even though its name appears in an inscription from Amaseia in Pontus (*C.I.L.* III 6748), was temporarily transferred to the East by Trajan. For these forces see also

Paribeni II p. 285f. and Debevoise, p. 220f. It may be assumed that the Galatian and Paphlagonian cohorts and perhaps also the detachments from Moesia were among the troops which spent the winter of 113/14 at Ancyra, where C. Julius Severus (see Chap. XXVI note 54) received *στρατεύματα τὰ παραχειμάσα[ν]τα ἐν τῇ πόλει* and sent on [*τὰ*] *παροδεύοντα ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Πά[ρ]θους πόλεμον* (*I.G.R.* III 173 = *O.G.I.* 544). The inscription (from Thyateira) of a [*πρ*]*αγματευόμενος ἐν ἐπαρ*[*χείᾳ Γαλατί*]*ᾳ* (?) *παραχειμαστικοῖς* (interpreted by the editor as contractors for winter-supplies or winter-quarters) of Legiones V [Mace]donica, VII Claudia, IV Scythica and I Italica (*Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* LV [1938], p. 56f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 132) was connected with this war by the editor, but, as he admitted, it may refer to the war of Verus. It seems more probable that the troops which wintered at Ancyra met Trajan at Satala (see below note 31) than that, as Cumont supposed (*Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 220, note 1), they marched *via* Parnassus and Tyana to Tarsus and joined him in Syria.

31. For Trajan's elevation of Melitene *ἐς πόλεως ἀξίωμα* see Procopius *de Aedif.* III 4, 17, and for the place as the headquarters of Legio XII Fulminata see Chap. XXIV note 22. The change in the status of Melitene can be more easily dated at this time, during Trajan's advance to Satala, which became the headquarters of Legio XV Apollinaris (see Chap. XXIV note 22), than after his seizure of Armenia, when he seems to have gone directly to Mesopotamia. In this case, he must have marched by way of Samosata, which had been connected with Syria by a road built in 72/3 (see Chap. XXIV note 14). His entry into Samosata on the way to Satala is mentioned in Cassius Dio LXVIII 19, 2 (from the *Excerpta de Legationibus*), where, however, von Gutschmid, on the ground that the words *ἀμαχεὶ αὐτὰ παραλαβών*, as well as the previous statement in Dio-Xiphilinus (c. 18, 2), *ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν*, suggest that the place in question was in the hands of the enemy, altered the text to read *μέχρις Ἀρσαμοσάτων*, *i.e.* Arsamosata (see Chap. XXIII note 55), on the south side of the Arsanias, east of the modern Harput. This conjecture, which was accepted by Boissevain and has received general approval, seems very questionable. If Trajan went to Arsamosata before reaching Melitene, it must be supposed that, on leaving Antioch, he crossed the Euphrates (perhaps at Zeugma) and, after marching eastward through Osroene, turned back toward the northwest over the Ergani Pass to Arsamosata, on leaving which he crossed the Euphrates once more (at Tomisa) to Melitene. This presupposes not only two passages of the river but a long, and apparently pointless, detour. If, on the other hand, Trajan's entry into Arsamosata be placed after his arrival in Melitene, it would mean that he crossed the river at Tomisa and returned again to the western side for the advance to Satala; for, as Cumont pointed out (*Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 219, note 1), he could not have led his army through the difficult mountains north of the Arsanias. This also seems a pointless excursion, and the suggestion of Longden (*C.A.H.* XI p. 242) that Trajan "secured his flank by sending a column up the Murat Su [Arsanias] to take Arsamosata" raises the question of the value of such a manoeuvre to an army proceeding

northward on the other side of the Euphrates. It appears, in fact, more difficult to explain an attack on Arsamosata at this time than to retain the reading of the *Excerpta*. Even without assuming, with Mommsen (*R.G.* v² p. 399, note 1 = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 72, note 1), that the Parthians had actually captured Samosata, it may be supposed that in the process of making the excerpts the words *ἀμαχεὶ αὐτὰ παραλαβών* were wrongly attached to *Σαμοσάτου*. It is far from certain, moreover, that the clause *ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν*, as it appears in the Epitome of Xiphilinus, has any connexion with *μέχρι Σαμοσάτου*, omitted, together with the mention of Parthamasiris's request for a meeting with Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia (see above note 24), by Xiphilinus, who abbreviated the narrative (Boissevain III, p. 207) as *Τραιανὸς δὲ ἀμαχεὶ πάντα χειρούμενος ἐς Σάταλα ἦλθε*. The purpose of *ἐνέβαλεν . . . πολεμίαν* seems to have been to introduce the mention of the gifts presented by the local potentates to Trajan on arriving in "enemy territory."

32. Cassius Dio LXVIII 18, 2 (see above note 31); 19, 2. In the latter passage Anchialus is said in the *Excerpta de Legationibus* to have met Trajan at Satala, but in Xiphilinus's epitome at Elegeia. Both Anchialus and Julianus, King of the Apsilae, are mentioned in Arrian *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 11, 2f. Roos as having obtained their kingdoms from Trajan. According to Festus *Brev.* 20, 2 (similarly, Eutropius VIII 3, 1), Trajan "gave" a king to the Albani and *in fidem Romanae dicionis recepit* the Iberi, Bosporani and Colchi, whose kings may well have appeared at either Satala or Elegeia. It is probable that the recognition of these rulers was commemorated on coins with the legend *Regna Adsignata*, although these may have been issued later, after the submission of the various Mesopotamian chieftains; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 269f., nos. 366f. and p. 291, no. 666 and Strack, p. 222f. The foreigners who are represented on Trajan's arch at Beneventum as bringing gifts to the Emperor may have been these northern princes rather than Parthians, as supposed by Petersen in *Röm. Mitt.* VII (1892), p. 249 and von Domaszewski in *J.O.A.I.* II (1899), p. 186f. = *Abh. z. Röm. Religion*, p. 44. It has been generally believed, with Roos (*Stud. Arr.* p. 36f.), that in Arrian *Parth.* frg. 38 Roos (regarded as Parthamasiris's excuse for failing to appear at Elegeia promptly) the words *τῷ δεῖσαι τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀξιδάρου* show that Axidares was still holding part of Armenia; the original connexion of the fragment, however, is too uncertain to warrant any conclusion.

33. Elegeia, described by Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* = Arrian *Parth.* frg. 5 Roos as *χωρίον πέραν Εὐφράτου* and in Dio-Xiphilinus LXVIII 18, 3 a and Dio-Zonaras LXXI 2, 1 as *χωρίον τῆς Ἀρμενίας*, has generally been identified with Ilica in the plain of Erzurum (see Baumgartner in *R.E.* v 2258 and R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* v *Text*, p. 8 B). This identification, however, is very hazardous, for the name Ilica is frequently given to a place where there are hot springs. Coins inscribed *Rex Parthus*, which show Trajan on a platform with a stooping figure before him and a group of soldiers in the background, have generally been connected with this meeting with Partha-

masiris (rather than with the coronation of Parthamaspates, see below note 38) on the ground that he was a Parthian and that on some of these coins Trajan's cognomen Optimus (see below) does not appear; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 239f. and p. 262f., nos. 263 a, 310f. and 669 and Strack, p. 218f. The deposition of Parthamisiris was dated not later than August, 114 by Longden (*J.R.S.* XXI p. 10, note 4 and *C.A.H.* XI p. 244) and Strack (pp. 35 and 219f.). This dating is based on the statement of Cassius Dio LXVIII 23, 1 that after the annexation of Armenia the Senate conferred the cognomen Optimus on Trajan and on the appearance of this cognomen (together with the title of *Imperator* VII) in a military diploma of 1 Sept. 114 (*C.I.L.* XVI 61).

34. This was commemorated by the issue of coins (hardly before February, 116, since Trajan has the cognomen Parthicus, see below note 37) with the legend *Armenia et Mesopotamia in Potestatem P. R. Redactae*; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 289, no. 642 and Strack, pp. 36f. and 223. The annexation was also the occasion for the issue of a coin by the Κοινὸν Ἀρμενίας (*i.e.* Armenia Minor) with the representation of a captive and the dates ἔτους μγ′ = A.D. 114/15 according to the era of Nicopolis (see Chap. XXIV note 21) and τὸ ζ′ (seventeenth year of Trajan), as well as of coins by the *Koinon* of Crete, bearing the head of Trajan and, on the reverse, the legend Ἀρμενία and the representation of Armenia as a slave sitting on the ground; see *R.E.A.* XVI (1914), p. 283f. and Svoronos *Numism. de la Crète Anc.* p. 347, no. 81f.

35. For Catilius Severus see above note 24. For T. Haterius Nepos, *proc(urator) Aug(usti) Armeniae Mai[oris]* see *C.I.L.* XI 5213 = Dessau 1338, with name supplied from *C.I.L.* XI 5212 = Dessau 1058. He was prefect of Egypt in 120-124; see Reinmuth in *Klio Beih.* XXXIV (1935), p. 134.

36. For the murder of Parthamasiris see Fronto p. 209 Naber: Dio-Xiphilinus LXVIII 18, 3 a (III p. 207 Boissevain): Eutropius VIII 3, 1. If Arrian *Parth.* frg. 40 Roos may be attributed to Trajan (Roos *Stud. Arr.* p. 37f.), the Emperor justified it on the ground that Parthamasiris paid the penalty for violating his agreement.

37. For the chronology of this war see Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI pp. 7f. and 13f. and *C.A.H.* XI p. 858f. (followed in the text) and, for somewhat different arrangements, Guey, p. 83f. and Lepper, p. 95f. The conquest and annexation of Mesopotamia are dated in the latter part of 114, partly on the ground that the coins record it together with that of Armenia (see above note 34) and partly because, according to Cassius Dio LXVIII 21, 1. Trajan, on going to Edessa to meet Abgarus VII of Osroene, left garrisons "in suitable places," *i.e.* in northern Mesopotamia. His eighth acclamation as *Imperator*, perhaps to be found in *C.I.L.* XIII 6798 and Gsell *Inscrs. Lat. de l'Algérie* I 3978, was probably conferred in 114 (Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI p. 5), presumably for the conquest of Mesopotamia. The ninth (*C.I.L.* IX 5894 [= Dessau 298] and X 6887, of 115), tenth, eleventh (*C.I.L.* XI 6622, of 115), twelfth and thirteenth

(*C.I.L.* XVI 62 = Dessau 301, of 8 Sept. 116) acclamations were all conferred on him during the Parthian war (Longden *ibid.*). According to Cassius Dio LXVIII 23, 2 and 28, 2, Trajan received the cognomen Parthicus after his capture of Nisibis and Batnae, *i.e.* Mesopotamia, but actually "secured" it by taking Ctesiphon. It was officially bestowed on him by the Senate on 21 Feb. 116 (see *Notiz. d. Scavi* LIX [1934], p. 254 = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 97), showing, as Longden supposed (*C.A.H.* XI p. 859), that Ctesiphon fell at the latest in January. This cognomen, however, appears irregularly on inscriptions dating from late 114 and early 115 but regularly on those from late 115 onward; see Longden in *J.R.S.* XXI p. 5f. For the representation of Mesopotamia kneeling at Trajan's feet which appears on the Arch of Beneventum see von Domaszewski in *J.O.A.I.* II (1899), p. 184f. = *Abh. z. Röm. Religion,* p. 41f. The capture of Ctesiphon was evidently celebrated by the issue of coins which show Trajan as Parthicus and bear the legend *Parthia Capta*; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 267, no. 324f. and Strack, p. 224.

38. Cassius Dio LXVIII 30, 3: Malalas XI p. 273 Bonn. The coronation of Parthamaspates was commemorated by a coin inscribed *Rex Parthis Datus* and representing the Emperor seated on a platform with the King kneeling in front of him; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 291, nos. 667-668 and Strack, p. 224f. For the attack on Hatra see Cassius Dio LXVIII 31.

39. Cassius Dio LXVIII 33. For Trajan's death at Selinus see also Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 165 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 197 Helm: Syncellus I p. 657 Bonn: *Chron. Paschale* I p. 473 Bonn: "Chronographer of 354," p. 146 Mommsen: *C.I.L.* VI 1884 = Dessau 1792 (the epitaph of his freedman, Phaedimus, who *abscessit Selinunte pri. Idus Augus.* A.D. 117). The statement in Eutropius VIII 5, 2 and Orosius VII 12, 8 (recorded as an alternative by Hieronymus and Syncellus) that he died at Seleuceia in Isauria (*i.e.* Cilicia Aspera) is evidently an error. Since 11 August was celebrated as the *dies imperii* of Hadrian (*C.I.L.* VI 33885, l. 17 and Script. Hist. Aug. *Vit. Hadr.* 4, 7), and Antioch, where Hadrian was at the time, was at least three days' voyage from Selinus, Trajan's death occurred not later than 8 Aug. But, as was pointed out by Holzapfel in *Klio* XVII (1921), p. 86f., in view of the conflicting statements concerning the length of his principate and the rumour that his death was concealed for some days, no definite date can be named. A temple dedicated to Trajan (with the cognomen Parthicus) at Iotape, near Selinus, by a priest of the Augusti (*I.G.R.* III 831) was perhaps erected at this time. The statement of Dio that Selinus was renamed Trajanopolis is confirmed by *C.I.G.* 4423 = *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV 6 (1896), p. 149, no. 251 (Τραειανόπολις Σελινοῦς) and by coins of the early third century (*Coll. Wadd.* 4486: *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 143: *J.H.S.* XVIII [1898], p. 164). For Selinus as a colony see *Digesta* L 15, 1, 11.

40. For this surrender see Cassius Dio *Exc. Ur.* 16, transferred by Boissevain (III p. 218) from LXXV 9, 6 to LXVIII 30; see also *Herm.* XXV (1890), p. 329f. On account of the lack of any context, the subject of the sentence πρέσβεις

. . . ἀπέστειλε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας . . . ἐχαρίσατο is uncertain. The connexion with the disaster to Maximus and his army was pointed out by Longden (*J.R.S.* XXI p. 17). For the ἀποχώρησις of the Romans at Europus see *C.R.A.I.* 1935, p. 287 = *Excavations at Dura-Europos* VII-VIII (1939), p. 129f., no. 868 = *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 69, dated ἔτους ηκυ′ *i.e.* Oct. 116-Oct. 117. This "withdrawal" was supposed by Groag in *Klio* XXIX (1936), p. 232f. and Degrassi in *Riv. Fil.* LXIV (1936), p. 410f. to have taken place in consequence of Hadrian's abandonment of the provinces east of the Euphrates (see below note 41), but Rostovtzeff pointed out (*Klio* XXXI [1938], p. 285f.) that Europus was probably given back to the Parthians by Trajan in 116/17 in consequence of an agreement with Parthamaspates; see also Lepper, p. 148f. For the Parthians' rejection of Parthamaspates see Cassius Dio LXVIII 33, 2: *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 4 (where he is called Sarmatosiris) and 21, 10; see also Debevoise, p. 241f.

41. For Hadrian's abandonment of the territory east of the Euphrates see Fronto *Princ. Hist.* p. 206 Naber: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 165 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 197 Helm = Eutropius VIII 6, 2 = Festus *Brev.* 20, 3: *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 3 and 9, 1: Augustinus *de Civ. Dei* IV 29. For Hadrian's recognition of a king of Armenia see *Vit. Hadr.* 21, 11.

CHAPTER XXVI

1. Cassius Dio LXVIII 32: *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 2 and 8; 6, 6f.; 7, 3: Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 165 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 196f. Helm: Syncellus I p. 659 Bonn. See also von Rohden in *R.E.* I 500f.: O. Th. Schulz *Leben d. Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig 1904), p. 28f.: W. Weber *Untersuchungen z. Gesch. d. Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907), pp. 50f. and 71f. and *C.A.H.* XI p. 301f.: B. W. Henderson *Life and Principate of the Emp. Hadrian* (London 1923), pp. 34 and 42f.: Longden in *C.A.H.* XI p. 250f. For Hadrian's arrival in Rome from the Danube region in the summer of 118 (*Vit. Hadr.* 5, 10) see Weber *Untersuch.* p. 81f. It is recorded in *C.I.L.* VI 32374 II, l. 24, a fragment of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* mentioning sacrifices performed *ob Adventum* of Hadrian on VI *I*[*d. Julias*]. Although the restoration may be questioned, this fragment, on account of the other events listed, cannot refer to a month earlier than June or later than August; it is difficult, therefore, to accept the view of Henderson (pp. 43 and 279f.) that Hadrian (after travelling through Macedonia) arrived in Rome in the spring of 118 and then set out for the campaign on the Danube, returning in the following autumn. His arrival was celebrated by the issue of a coin on which Hadrian appears as *Cos.* II (*i.e.* 118), with the legend *Adventus Aug(usti)*; see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 408, no. 347 and Strack *Untersuchungen z. Röm. Reichsprägung d. 2ten Jahrh.* II p. 58.

2. See Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 339f., nos. 7, 12 and 21 (coins of 117). Strack maintained (p. 47f.) that this *Pax* did not refer to peace on the frontiers (where war was still being waged) but to a general programme of which the *Concordia* and *Iustitia* also shown on coins of 117 were part; it does not seem improbable that, as Strack supposed, it referred to peaceful relations between Hadrian and the Senate. For the glorification of peace on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, completed in the early years of Hadrian's principate, see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 587f. See also *Vit. Hadr.* 5, 1.

3. For Hadrian's visit to Ancyra see *I.G.R.* III 208 = *S.E.G.* VI 57, mentioning the distribution of διανομαί on the occasion of the πάροδος of Hadrian and his army. Weber observed (*Untersuch.* p. 57) that this evidently refers to his passage in 117 rather than, as sometimes supposed, to his journey in the East in 123/4 (see below note 6), for on this occasion he was not accompanied by troops. For his letter to the *Neoi* of Pergamum, written from Juliopolis, on the border of Bithynia and Galatia (see Chap. XIII note 14), on 13 Nov. 117, see *I.G.R.* IV 349 = *Syll.*[3] 831. Since both Ancyra and Juliopolis were on the "Pilgrims' Road" (see Chap. XIX note 9) this was presumably his route. It was suggested by Weber (*l.c.*) that the fragment of an itinerary found in Rome (*C.I.L.* VI 5076), which contains the places and dates of a journey from Mopsucrene in Cilicia (north of Tarsus) across the Taurus and by way of Tyana to Andabalis in southwestern Cappadocia on 13-18 Oct. of an unknown year, refers to Hadrian's march. He may have

turned aside to Mazaca-Caesareia, for a statue of him erected by the Council and People of Comana in Cappadocia dated ἔτους δ', *i.e.* 120/1 (*I.G.R.* III 121) suggests that he may have visited the place and was subsequently honoured there.

4. *I.G.* XII 3, 175 and 176 and *Suppl.* p. 278 = *I.G.R.* IV 1031 c and 1032 (= *Syll.*[3] 832 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 76), both dated in Hadrian's second consulship, *i.e.* 118. It was suggested by Weber (p. 70) that the ἐπαγγελτικὸν ἀργύριον was probably the *aurum coronarium* which Hadrian, according to *Vit. Hadr.* 6, 5, *Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit.* For the presentation of golden wreaths to the kings and to Jupiter Capitolinus see Chap. III note 14 and Chap. IV note 76. For the *aurum coronarium* see Kubitschek in *R.E.* II 2552 and A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 140. For its remission to the Italian towns by Augustus on several occasions see *Res Gestae* c. 21. For its remission by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and a later emperor see Chap. XXVII note 5 and *Pap. Fayûm* 20.

5. See Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 318, whose estimate includes Hadrian's journey from Antioch to Rome in 117/8 and the time spent in prosecuting the Jewish War in 134/5.

6. For Hadrian's journeys in Asia Minor see J. Dürr *Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian* (Vienna 1881), pp. 48f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* I 505f. and 509f.: Weber *Untersuch.* pp. 121f. and 211f.: Henderson pp. 84f. and 125f. According to Dürr, Hadrian, on his first journey, sailed to Asia Minor from Africa, possibly Libya, and landed perhaps at Halicarnassus, while according to Henderson and Strack (*ibid.* p. 77), he went by sea from Spain (Cyrene, Strack) to Ephesus, touching perhaps at Crete. In both these views his landing-place is a matter of pure conjecture. On the other hand, the view of von Rohden and Weber that he sailed directly from Africa to Antioch, advancing thence to the Euphrates for a personal interview with the Parthian king, in which some sort of a compromise was arranged and war averted, is based on *Vit. Hadr.* 12, 8f., *bellum Parthorum . . . Hadriani conloquio repressum est; post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit.* This statement suggests that Hadrian travelled through Asia Minor from East to West, but, since the account of the last stage of his second journey, when he went from Antioch to Cappadocia and Pontus and thence westward (see above p. 621f.), has been omitted from the *Vita* (c. 14), the passage may have been misplaced. The suggestion of Weber that he travelled from Syria by way of Melitene and Satala to Neocaesareia in Pontus is based only on the belief that the statement of Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Νεοκαισάρεια) that the people of Neocaesareia were called Hadrianopolitae was taken from Phlegon *Olymp.* XV (Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1166, frg. 18) and that therefore the city received this name between 117 and 125 (the period covered in Phlegon's fifteenth book) and so must have been visited by Hadrian during his first journey. This particular statement, however, is not attributed by Stephanus to Phlegon, and what evidence there is points to the belief that

Hadrian's visit to Pontus occurred during his second journey. In any case, Neocaesareia seems to have been called Ἀδριανή (not Hadrianopolis) and the people Ἀδριανοί (see below note 46).

7. *I.B.M.* 486 = *Syll.*[3] 833 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 78, dated 27 Sept. 120. For the *gerousia* see Chap. III note 38 and for Hadrian's appointment of a λογιστής for the Ephesian association see below note 17. As was observed by J. H. Oliver (*The Sacred Gerusia*, p. 22f.), both Hadrian's letter and a letter of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus to a *logistes* of the Ephesian *gerousia* (*Ephesos* II no. 23, see Chap. XXVIII note 10), in which debtors are mentioned, show that the Association lent money. It is difficult, however, to accept either Oliver's view that "it engaged in a vast business" of so doing or his conception of the Ephesian *gerousia* as an "economico-religious type" (pp. 31 and 40). It is also hard to believe that the clause in the donation of Salutaris providing that in the event of his death the money still due shall be collected κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Θεοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβευτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔγγραφα (*Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV 481*, l. 31of., see above Chap. XXIV note 43) shows that the business-affairs of the *gerousia* "were in a sacred category"; for the clause in question seems merely to specify the manner of procedure to be used in collecting what amounted to a debt to the city. For a statue of Hadrian at Ephesus in 118 see *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), *Beibl.* 15f. = *S.E.G.* IV 532 = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 77.

8. For the roads with milestones of Macedo and others erected in 122 see *C.I.L.* III 14184[47] (Ancyra-Parnassus); 14184[58] and perhaps 13645 (Ancyra-Gangra); 310, 12160 (= *I.G.R.* III 145) and 14184[28] (= *I.G.R.* III 138) (Ancyra-Kalecik-Neapolis-Havza); 14184[61] (Ancyra-Juliopolis); 14184[59] and 14184[60] (Ancyra-Dorylaeum); see Chap. VIII notes 32 and 33 and Chap. XIX note 9. Two milestones of Macedo found at Ancyra (*C.I.L.* III 313 a and *J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 21, no. 21 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 91) cannot be assigned to any particular road.

9. Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 165 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 198 Helm, where the earthquake and the repairs are dated in 120: Syncellus I p. 659f. Bonn, where the ἀγοραὶ καὶ τετραπλατεῖαι καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ πρὸς τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ in the two cities are dated in 123 and the earthquake which destroyed Nicomedeia and Aoria (*sic*) in 128: Prosperus Tiro 598 (Mommsen *Chron. Min.* I p. 422), dated in 127. It is, of course, possible that there was more than one earthquake within this period, but this seems improbable. An inscription on the eastern gate of Nicaea (*I.G.R.* III 37, dated in 124) doubtless refers to this work of repair. For the name Ἀδριανή (and the title νεωκόρος) at Nicomedeia see *C.I.G.* 1720 and *I.G.R.* III 6. Ruge (*R.E.* XVII 474) pointed out that a fragmentary inscription found near Nicomedeia (*I.G.R.* III 3 = 1386, of A.D. 125) in honour of Hadrian is also to be connected with this restoration. For coins issued toward the end of Hadrian's principate with the legends *Restitutori Bithyniae* and *Restitutori Nicomediae* see Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 464f., nos. 947f. and 961 and below note 59. For Cius see *Receuil* I

p. 317f., no. 34f. (*Κιανοὶ Ἀδριανοί*) and for the priest of Hadrian see *I.G.R.* III 20. For a fragmentary letter of Hadrian to Prusa, apparently settling a dispute over the *θερμὰ ὕδατα* (see Chap. XIII note 18), see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 231 = *B.C.H.* LXIV-LXV (1940-41), p. 288.

10. For Prusias see L.W. 1176 and 1177 and *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 435, no. 26 = *I.G.R.* III 64, 65 and 68 (where the names of the tribes are omitted). For Bithynium see *Receuil* I p. 270f., no. 13f. (*Βειθυνιέων Ἀδριανῶν*, but no. 12, with the head of Hadrian, has [Κλ]*αυδιοπολιτῶν*). For Antinous as a native of Bithynium see Cassius Dio LXIX 11, 2 and Pausanias VIII 9, 7. For coins of the city inscribed *ἡ πατρὶς Ἀντίνοον Θεόν* and *Ἥρως Ἀντίνοος* with his portrait see *Receuil* I p. 270, and for those showing Antinous as Hermes or Hermes-Pan see Robert in *R. Phil.* LXIX (1943), p. 184f., note 9. Bithynium appears in a list of festivals of the early third century (*B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 68, no. 1) as *Ἀδριάνηα τῆς Βειθυνίας*, where there was a festival *Ἀδριάνειον Ἀντινόειο*[*ν*]. This list mentions also a festival at Heracleia Pontica called *Ἀδριάνηον Ἡράκλειον Ἰσάκτιον*, which may have been founded or renamed in connexion with a visit from Hadrian. A statue of Hadrian as Benefactor and *Νέος Ἥ*[*λιος*] at Amastris (*J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 62f., no. 12) may also have been erected at this time.

11. Malalas XI p. 279 Bonn: *Chron. Paschale* I p. 475 Bonn (A.D. 123): Scholia to Lucian *Icaromen.* 24, where the temple is likened to the Olympieium at Athens and it is said that neither would have been finished, had not Hadrian aided the work at the public (*i.e.* imperial) expense: Aristides *Orat.* XXVII Keil, delivered, probably, in A.D. 167. This temple was classed among the Seven Wonders of the World by Malalas and in *Anth. Pal.* IX 656. For the extant remains see Perrot *Exploration* I p. 76f. and Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 10f. A description by Cyriacus of Ancona was published by Th. Reinach in *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 521f., but neither the dimensions recorded by Cyriacus nor Reinach's restoration can be altogether reconciled with the actual ruins; see Hasluck, p. 11f., who pointed out that the temple was obviously the octastyle building (not hexastyle, as on Reinach's plan) shown on a coin issued under Antoninus Pius (*B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 47, no. 218). This temple was evidently dedicated to Hadrian, for, according to Malalas and Aristides (§ 22, by implication), his name was inscribed on the front of the building. The wording of the inscription may have been similar to that of the dedication to Hadrian as *Ὀλύμπιος, Σωτὴρ καὶ Κτίστης* copied originally by Cyriacus (*I.G.R.* IV 138), which, however, since Hadrian is called Olympius, was composed after 128 (see below note 26). The fact that Aristides's speech deals with the dedication of the temple has led to the general assumption that the building was not completed until 167. Hasluck, however, observed (p. 187f.) that the speech may have been delivered on an *anniversary* of the dedication and that the dedication itself may have taken place earlier, probably in the year from which the Cyzicene Olympiads were reckoned (135, according to Marquardt *Cyzicus*, p. 143).

The question arises as to the identity of Hadrian's temple, on the one

hand, with the *ναὸς μέγιστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος ναῶν ἁπάντων*, which, according to Cassius Dio LXX 4, was destroyed by an earthquake, perhaps under Antoninus Pius (see Chap. XXVII note 8), and, on the other, with a temple at Cyzicus built at the expense of the province of Asia from plans of the architect Aristaenetus (*I.G.R.* IV 140 = *Anth. Pal., Appendix* III 92). The theory was advanced by B. Keil in *Herm.* XXXII (1897), p. 497f. that the temple destroyed under Pius was the sanctuary of Persephone. This supposition was based on an allusion of Aristides (XXXI 13 Keil) to the destruction of a temple by an earthquake and his mention of *χθόνιοι θεοί*, coupled with the existence of the important cult of Persephone (Kore Soteira) in Cyzicus (see Chap. IV note 50) and an epigram mentioning an *altar* of the Goddess reported by Cyriacus, who connected it with an *inclitum admirandissimum Proserpinae templum* (*B.C.H.* XIV p. 529). Keil found support for this theory in the dimensions of the *ναὸς μέγιστος* as given by Dio, which do not accord with those of Hadrian's temple as recorded by Perrot. In accordance with this theory, Keil further supposed that it was the temple of Persephone that was rebuilt by the province of Asia and that the provincial *ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Κυζίκῳ* (see Chap. XVIII note 59) was connected with this temple. There is, however, little reason to accept this theory. Reinach had already pointed out that Cyriacus had no way of distinguishing between a temple of Persephone and a temple of Hadrian and knew, in fact, only that the Goddess had an altar at Cyzicus. Aristides's mention of the *χθόνιοι θεοί*, moreover, is too vague and Dio's dimensions of the building destroyed under Pius are too unreliable to serve as the basis for the belief that the "greatest" temple in Cyzicus was that of Persephone, especially in view of the ranking of Hadrian's temple as one of the Seven Wonders. The assumption of the title of *νεωκόρος* (see below and, for its significance, Chap. XXIV note 18) and the fact that the festival of the *Koinon* of Asia (see below) was celebrated in Cyzicus suggest that the city had a provincial temple of the emperor. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the great temple of Hadrian, after being at least partially destroyed (perhaps between 150 and 155), was rebuilt by the province of Asia, and that Aristides's *Panegyricus* in 167 (unless Hasluck's suggestion that it is to be connected with an anniversary seems preferable) was delivered on the occasion of the dedication of the new building. For Cyzicus as *νεωκόρος* and *Ἀδριανή* see *I.G.R.* IV 154: *C.I.G.* 3688 = *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 250f., no. 7: *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 18: *Coll. Wadd.* 708f. and 732f. and *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 41, no. 175f. and p. 47, no. 215f. (coins from Antoninus Pius onward). The *βουλή* also had the title of *νεωκόρος*; see *C.I.G.* 3663: Perrot *Exploration*, no. 49 1: *A.M.* VI (1881), p. 42f., nos. 1 b (= *I.G.R.* IV 155) and 2 1. For the festival of *Ἀδριάνεια* (later, *Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια*) see *I.G.R.* I 802; IV 154 and 162 (where it is called *κοινὸν Ἀσίας*, *i.e.* the provincial festival): *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 84f., no. 7. It was afterward known simply as *Ὀλύμπια*; see *C.I.G.* 2810: *I.G.* II² 3169-70: *I.G.R.* IV 161 and 1645: *A.M.* VII (1882), p. 255, no. 26.

12. For the founding of Parium see Chap. XVII note 34. An inscription (to be dated after 128) in which Hadrian is called *Iupiter Olympius Conditor*

Col(oniae) has been found in three copies, one at Parium, one at Priapus, and one between the two places; see L.W. 1746 and 1750 (= *C.I.L.* III 374 = Dessau 320): *B.C.H.* XVII (1893), p. 549, no. 45 = *Ann. Ép.* 1894, 69. As there is no evidence that Priapus was ever a Roman colony, it is more reasonable to suppose, with Mommsen (note to *C.I.L.* III 374), that all the stones are from Parium, rather than to accept the suggestion of Legrand in *B.C.H. l.c.* (followed by Weber *Untersuch.* p. 133, note 476) that Priapus was made a colony at the same time as Parium, the two forming a single community. For Apollonia see *I.G.R.* IV 121 and 122-3 = *J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), p. 126, no. 8 (after 128). For Miletopolis (?) see *I.G.R.* IV 128 and 129 and Ruge in *R.E.* XV 1584.

13. *C.I.L.* III 7282 = Dessau 315 (see below note 27). These *beneficia*, however, like the one described in Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 1, 4, may have been given by letter.

14. For this *αὐλή* near the Temple of Asclepius and the statue of Hadrian see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 10f. and p. 51, no. 2 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 277. Both the building and the statue seem to be referred to in Aristides *Orat.* L 106 Keil. For a dedication to Hadrian by a private citizen see *I.G.R.* IV 340.

15. Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 2 and 9. For the *Mouseion* see Chap. XXIV note 47. For the Temple of Ζεὺς Ἀκραῖος (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας, Philostratus) see Chap. XXIV note 46. Polemo was presumably the *strategos* of this name who appears on coins of Smyrna of the time of Hadrian (*B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 277f.). He is mentioned in a fragmentary letter of Hadrian's to Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 351). For their friendly relations see H. Jüthner in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* VIII 1 (1898), p. 27f. For Hadrian's gifts see *I.G.R.* IV 1431. For the *hymnodoi* at Smyrna (24 in number) see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XI (1908), p. 108f. = *I.G.R.* IV 1398, a letter written in 124 by a Roman official. For a ὑμνῳδ[ὸς Θεοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ, who seems to have erected an altar at Smyrna for his fellow-hymnodists, see *I.G.R.* IV 1436. For ὑμνῳδοί see also M.K.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 144, no. 187, and for ὑμνῳδοὶ τῆς γερουσίας see *C.I.G.* 3201. See also *C.I.G.* 3160 and 3348 (individual hymnodists). For the hymnodists at Pergamum see Chap. XVIII note 58. The bestowal of the second neocory by a senatus consultum is mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 1431. It was dated in 123 by Keil *l.c.* For Smyrna as δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν see *I.G.R.* IV 541 and 1482 b = *C.I.L.* III 471 (A.D. 201/2) and Mionnet *Suppl.* VI p. 343, no. 1704 (Antoninus Pius). For the second neocory of Pergamum (between 108 and 116) see Chap. XXV note 7. The request of the θεοπρόπος Sextilius Acutianus for a copy of a *sententia* of Hadrian, granted by Antoninus Pius on 8 April, 139 (*C.I.L.* III 411 = *I.G.R.* IV 1397), presumably refers to some favour to the city. For the Ἀδριάνεια (Ἀδριανά) or Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια (to be distinguished from the older Ὀλύμπια) in Smyrna see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 1: L.W. 609 = *A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 326f., no. 9, restored in *R. Phil.* LVI (1930), p. 32: *I.B.M.* 615: *I.G.* II[2] 3162 and 3169-70: *I.G.* XIV 1102 = *I.G.R.* I 153: *Inschr. v. Olympia* 237: *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 89f., no. 11: *Türk*

Tarih II (1934), p. 239, no. 4 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 432f. For the appellation Ἀδριανή see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 257, no. 184.

16. For Ephesus see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 2. For Miletus see *Milet* I 7, p. 312f., nos. 230 and 231 (A.D. 124 and 126). A "rectangular stele" containing a fragmentary inscription of Hadrian found near Metropolis in Ionia (Keil-Premerstein III p. 111, no. 179) suggests the rebuilding of a road in this region, possibly that between Smyrna and Ephesus (or, as suggested by the editors, between Metropolis and Hypaepa), in anticipation of his journey. The dedication of a μάκελλον to Zeus Soter Olympius and Hadrian ἐ[κ τῶν τῆς κώμ]ης πόρ[ων] in a village in the plain of the Caÿster may also have been connected with this visit; see *I.G.R.* IV 1607 as read in Keil-Premerstein III p. 84, note 1. Hadrian's presence in Ephesus at this time as well as a visit to Rhodes is attested by his letter to the magistrates and council of the city in 129 commending the ship-captain Erastus, in whose vessel he sailed first from Ephesus to Rhodes and later (on his second journey) from Eleusis across the Aegean to Ephesus; see *I.B.M.* 487 = *Syll.*[3] 838 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 85. Hadrian's visit to Rhodes presumably took place on his return-voyage from Ephesus across the Aegean; see *Vit. Hadr.* 13, 1. The statement of Malalas (XI p. 279 Bonn) that he re-erected the Colossus was rejected by Hiller von Gaertringen in *R.E. Suppl.* V 812. Two statues of Hadrian on Cos (Weber *Untersuch.* p. 143, note 520) suggest that he visited this island also.

17. For the statues of Hadrian and Sabina see *C.I.G.* 2963 c and 2966 (= L.W. 147). The former is dated by the proconsul Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco, whose name as Consul suffectus in 108 was restored in *C.I.L.* XIV 4539 (a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses*) by Groag in *J.O.A.I.* XXIX (1935), *Beibl.* 178. The latter is dated by the proconsul M. Peducaeus Priscinus, Consul ordinarius in 110. Since the proconsulship of Stertinius Quartus (see also *Ins. Sardis* 52 = *I.G.R.* IV 1755), who was Consul suffectus in 112 (*Notiz. d. Scavi* LVII (1932), p. 189f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 30, see Groag *ibid.* 198 and Harrer and Suskin in *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 279) can be definitely dated in 126/7 (*I.G.R.* IV 1156 a = *Syll.*[3] 837, see below note 19), Priscinus's year of office, if the order of the consulships was preserved in assigning the proconsulships, may be dated in 124/5 (Groag in *R.E.* XIX 52) and that of Pompeius Falco, if Groag's dating of his consulship is correct, a year or two earlier. Another statue of Sabina was erected at Ephesus (although perhaps not until after her death) by two citizens, father and son; see *Ephesos* IV 1, p. 87, no. 8 = *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 165 and Chap. XXVII note 9. For the Olympia see Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 62f. For the Ἀδριάνεια (or Ἀδριάνεια Ὀλύμπια) see *C.I.G.* 2810, 2987 b, 3208 and 3428 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1432 and 1645): *C.I.L.* III 6835, 6836 and 6837 (= Dessau 5081): *I.G.* II[2] 3169-70: *I.G.* XIV 739, 1102 and 1113 = *I.G.R.* I 444, 153 and 162: *I.G.R.* III 370: *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 84f., nos. 7 (Ἀδριάνεια Κομόδεια) and 10: *Ephesos* II no. 72: *Inschr. v. Olympia* 237: *I.B.M.* 604. For the *logistes* of the *gerousia* (see Chap. XXV note 13) see *C.I.G.* 2987 b.

18. For Thyateira see *I.G.* II² 1088 (see below note 49): *I.G.R.* IV 1290, corrected in *Klio* XII (1912), p. 165 (*οἶκο*[*ν βα*]*σιλικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ* Ἀδρι[*αν*]*είῳ*): *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. CXXVII f. (*Αὐγούστεια* Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια). For Nacrasa (see Chap. V note 14) see *I.G.R.* IV 1160.

19. For Stratoniceia and its sympolity with the Indipediatae see Chap. V note 12. For its revival by Hadrian see A.H.M. Jones *Cities*, p. 84f. In view of the fact that in the first century before Christ the city had the usual ephebic organization of a *polis*, it is difficult to accept the suggestion of Jones (*ibid.* p. 400, note 94 and *J.H.S.* LVI [1936], p. 84) that it was punished for its reception of Aristonicus (see Chap. VI note 21) by the deprivation of the right of coinage and the confiscation of its territory; see also Ruge in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 1248. For Hadrian's three letters to the Ἀδριανοπολῖται Στρατονικεῖς, written from Rome in 127, see *I.G.R.* IV 1156 (*a* = *Syll.*³ 837 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 83) = Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 80f., no. 26. In the first of these the place is referred to as *ἄ*[*ρ*]*τι γεινομένη πόλις*. The new name appears also in *I.G.R.* IV 1159 and on coins from Hadrian onward (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 286, no. 9f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 34f., no. 12f.). Ti. Claudius Socrates, mentioned in Hadrian's first letter, was presumably the man of this name who appears in two inscriptions from Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1238 and 1239); see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 330, note 1, whose assumption, however, as Weber observed (*Unters.* p. 136, note 491), that Stratoniceia had hitherto paid a portion of the taxes levied by the Romans on Thyateira and was relieved from this payment by Hadrian's order has no foundation. This seems to be the case also with the theory of Weber (p. 138) that Socrates's house had served as the residence of Hadrian during his visit to Stratoniceia and was now consecrated as a sanctuary for the worship of the emperors.

20. *Vit. Hadr.* 20, 13; see also Cassius Dio LXIX 10, 2. For the probable site in the plain of Balıkesir see Chap. II note 20. For coins, issued from Hadrian onward, inscribed Ἀδριανοθηριτῶν and Ἀδριανοῦ Θήρα see Imhoof-Blumer in *Nomisma* VI (1911), p. 10f. and H. von Fritze *Ant. Münzen Mysiens* I (Berlin 1913), p. 194f., both of whom rejected the view of Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 437), followed by Bürchner in *R.E.* VII 2177, that the connexion of the city's name with a hunt of Hadrian was due to popular etymologizing and that it was really derived from the Anatolian suffix -teira or -thyrae = stronghold (see Chap. V note 10).

21. For the site of Hadrianeia at Balat (wrongly supposed to be that of Blaudus by Bürchner in *R.E.* III 560 and R. Kiepert in *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 3 B) see Munro in *J.H.S.* XXI (1901), p. 231, Bürchner in *R.E. Suppl.* III 878 and Wiegand in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 327f., who suggested (p. 326) that Blaudus is to be placed at Hisarköy, some seventeen miles to the southwest. For the name Ἀδριάνεια see *I.G.R.* IV 241 (from Balat, wrongly assigned to Hadriani) and *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 290, no. 67 and XXI p. 231, all by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος*. For coins from Hadrian onward see G. F. Hill in

Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. I (1898), p. 241f. and von Fritze *ibid.* p. 147f. For the rural tribe of the Abretteni see Chap. V note 68. The στρατηγία of a πρῶτος ἄρχων of Hadrianeia is mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 239 of A.D. 206 (not from Blaudus).

22. For the situation of Hadriani near Beyce in the region of Atranos see Hamilton *Researches* I p. 90f.: Perrot *Exploration* I p. 61f.: Munro in *Geogr. Journ.* IX (1897), p. 265: Wiegand in *AM.* XXIX (1904), p. 334: Philippson III p. 57. For the name Ἀδριανοί οἱ πρὸς τῷ Ὀλύ[μπῳ] see *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 409, no. 409 (a δόγμα of the *polis*). It appears in various abbreviations on coins from Hadrian onward; see Hill *ibid.* p. 241f. and von Fritze *ibid.* p. 173f. For the rural tribe of the Olympeni see Chap. V note 68. For mention of the *strategoi* of Hadriani see *I.G.R.* III 35=IV 240, corrected in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXIII (1913), 190f. (A.D. 137). For a dedication to Hadrian in 135 see *Échos d'Orient* XXXV (1936), p. 230f. According to Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 9, 1, Hadriani was the birthplace of the orator Aelius Aristides. This was challenged by Ramsay (*H.G.* p. 437), followed by Wiegand (p. 280) and A. Boulanger (*Aelius Aristide* [Paris 1923], p. 111, note 2), on the ground that the statement διατρίβων ἐν Ἀλλιανοῖς (changed by Ramsay to Ἀδριανοῖς) in Aristides *Orat.* XLIX 1 Keil suggests a "visit to a strange city." It was shown, however, by Keil (*ad loc.*) that the words actually refer to a place near Pergamum.

23. For the Καισαρεῖς Προσει(λ)ημμενεῖται see *I.G.R.* III 148=1454=*O.G.I.* 539 (a dedication to Nerva by the βουλή and δῆμος). For the site above the southern end of the plain of Viranşehir on the road to the Amnias valley (see Chap. VIII note 33) see Mendel in *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 5f. and Leonhard *Paphlagonia*, p. 344f. For a possible explanation of the name as referring to an "annexation" to the Galatian province see Chap. XIX note 8. For the name Caesareia-Hadrianopolis see *I.G.R.* III 149 and 150. It was shown by Imhoof-Blumer in *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* I (1898), p. 20f. that the coins formerly assigned to this Hadrianopolis belong to other cities.

24. For the inclusion of Hadrian as Νέος Διόννσος in the name of the Society see *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 245f.=*S.E.G.* VI 58 and 59 (from Ancyra, in honour of the Helladarch Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus, more complete copies of *I.G.R.* III 210 and 209), the latter dated in 128: *Ins. Sardis* 13 and 14 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1517): L.W. 1619 (Aphrodisias, dated in 127). See also P. Riewald *De Impp. Rom. cum certis Dis Comparatione, etc.* (=*Diss. philol. Halenses* XX [1912]), p. 322 and Poland in *R.E.* V A 2518. The Society has the same name but without Νέος Διόννσος in *I.G.R.* III 211=*J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), p. 34 (also in honour of Pompeianus). It is referred to as ἱερὰ Ἀδριανὴ θυμελικὴ σύνοδος in *S.E.G.* VI 58 and *I.G.* XIV 2495=*I.G.R.* I 17, but Ἀδριανή is lacking in the title in *I.G.R.* IV 1542 (from Erythrae, see above p. 615), from which the inference might be drawn that in 124 it had not been assumed. For the confirmation of the Society's privileges by Claudius and Domitian see Chap. XXIII note 12. For the confirmation by Hadrian see *B.G.U.* 1074

=*Klio* VIII (1908), p. 415, l. 3f., which mentions (among other, lost, items) ἀσυλία and exemption from the necessity of serving as judges, of furnishing security against non-payment of certain money-obligations and of entertaining strangers. For Trajan as patron of the Society see *I.G.* XIV 2496= *I.G.R.* I 18, restored by Poland *ibid.* 2517, and *J.R.S.* XVIII (1928), p. 153f., no. 14=*S.E.G.* VII 825 with corrections by Poland in *Phil. Woch.* LV (1935), 142. For Antoninus Pius as patron see *I.G.* II² 1350 (where he appears as New Dionysus): *I.G.R.* III 81 (where the dating by the Consuls of 130 on the back of the stone belongs to some earlier inscription): *I.G.R.* IV 1361: *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 124f.=*S.E.G.* IV 418. In all these the Society is called ἡ ἱερὰ Ἀδριανὴ Ἀντωνείνη θυμελικὴ περιπολιστικὴ μεγάλη σύνοδος. The ἀγὼν ιστικός mentioned in *S.E.G.* VI 59 was perhaps similar to the pageant (or drama) given at Ephesus in honour of Dionysus, Zeus [Panhell]enius and Hephaestus (*I.B.M.* 600), in which the actors took the parts of various divinities, particularly those connected with Dionysus; see Quandt *De Baccho ab Alex. aet. in Asia Min. culto* (=*Diss. philol. Halenses* XXI [1913]), p. 265f. and Kern in *R.E.* XVI 1300f.

25. For Hadrian's visit to Athens in 124/5 see Kolbe in *A.M.* XLVI (1921), p. 112f., who showed that the era ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐπιδημίας of Hadrian was reckoned from 124/5, and that the Emperor arrived in Greece in the autumn of 124. For his second visit see Weber *Untersuch.* pp. 159 and 206f. For his voyage from Eleusis to Ephesus see *I.B.M.* 487=*Syll.*³ 838, written in 129 (see above note 16).

26. Pausanias I 18, 6f.: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 6: Cassius Dio LXIX 16, 1: *Vit. Hadr.* 13, 6. For the Olympieium see L. Bevier in *P.A.S.* I (1885), p. 183f.: J. G. Frazer *Pausanias's Descr. of Greece* II p. 178f.: W. Judeich *Topographie v. Athen*² (Munich 1931), p. 382f. The fact that in an honorific inscription from Ephesus dated in 129 (*Syll.*³ 839, see below note 29) Hadrian is called Olympius shows that by this time he had at least founded the cult at Athens—perhaps, as Weber (p. 208f.) supposed on the basis of *Vit. Hadr. l.c.*, dedicated the cella of the Olympieium as well as an altar to himself—and designated the temple as a place for his own worship.

27. For these statues see *I.G.* II² 3289-3310 and *C.I.L.* III 7281, 7282 (=Dessau 315=Abbott and Johnson, no. 88) and 7283, of which *I.G.* II² 3289 and *C.I.L.* III 7282 are dated in 132. The statues were erected by the following Asianic cities: Abydus, Alexandria Troas, Anemurium (Cilicia), Antioch-near-Pisidia (?), Ceramus, Coropissus (Cilicia), Cyzicus, Ephesus, Magnesia-on-Maeander, Miletus, Pompeiopolis (Cilicia), Pompeiopolis (Paphlagonia), Sebastopolis (Pontus).

28. Hadrian was honoured as Olympius in the following places. In the province of Asia: Acmonia (*I.G.R.* IV 640); Aphrodisias (*C.R.A.I.* 1906, p. 167+1914, p. 49); Apollonia (*I.G.R.* IV 122 [=*J.O.A.I.* XXXII (1940), *Beibl.* 125f., no. 8] and 123); Came, Mysia (H. von Fritze *Ant. Münzen*

Mysiens I p. 217f., no. 612f.); Clazomenae (*I.G.R.* IV 1551); Colossae (*I.G.R.* IV 869); Cyme (*I.G.R.* IV 1301); Cyzicus (*I.G.R.* IV 138-9 and Mionnet II p. 539, no. 173); Elaea (*I.G.R.* IV 268); Ephesus (see below note 29); Ilium (*I.G.R.* IV 212); Laodiceia-on-Lycus (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 310, no. 195); Metropolis, Ionia (*I.G.R.* IV 1594); Miletopolis ? (*I.G.R.* IV 128); Miletus (see below note 31); Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 183-197 and *Suppl.* nos. 53, 54, 56 and 57); Myrina (*I.G.R.* IV 1174); Nacrasa ? (*I.G.R.* 519=1157); Parium (see above note 12); Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 342-8, 353 and 1685); Phocaea (*I.G.R.* IV 1319 and 1320 and *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 88); Samos (see below note 32); Smyrna (*I.G.R.* IV 1394-5 and *R.A.* VI [1935], p. 99); Temnus (Mionnet III p. 29, no. 170 and *Suppl.* VI p. 42, no. 266); Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1196-9); uncertain (*I.G.R.* IV 1661). In Bithynia: Nicomedeia (F. K. Dörner *Inschr. u. Denkmäler aus Bith.* [1942], no. 38, cited by Robert in *R. Phil.* LXIX [1943], p. 195, and *Receuil* I p. 522, note 1, "non revue"); Prusias-on-Hypius (*I.G.R.* III 52). In Pisidia: Pogla (*I.G.R.* III 403); Sagalassus (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 242, no. 12); Termessus (*T.A.M.* III 1, 10=*I.G.R.* III 430). In Lycia: Acalissus (*T.A.M.* II 1192=*I.G.R.* III 756); Corydalla (*T.A.M.* II 1193=*I.G.R.* III 757); Patara (*T.A.M.* II 409-11); Phaselis (*I.G.R.* III 758-760 and *S.E.G.* VI 773=*T.A.M.* II 1195, 1194, 1187 and 1191). In Pamphylia: Attaleia (*I.G.R.* III 770-1). In Cilicia: Iotape (*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] [1914], p. 181f., no. 128); Tarsus (*B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 187f., no. 150f.). See also Riewald *ibid.* p. 334f. For Sabina as Νέα Ἥρα see *I.G.R.* IV 1492 (modern Turgutlu); 1595 (Metropolis, Ionia): *T.A.M.* II 412=*I.G.R.* III 663 (Patara): *T.A.M.* II 560 (Tlos).

29. *Syll.*[3] 839=Abbott and Johnson, no. 86, where the meaning of *τῶν κληρονομιῶν καὶ βεβληκότων* (*bona caduca*, according to Dittenberger) *τὰ δίκαια* is not wholly clear. For Hadrian as Zeus Olympius at Ephesus see *C.I.G.* 2963 b: *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 42 (see below note 30): *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 77, no. 224f. For the titles Panionius and Panhellenius (see below note 49) see *I.B.M.* 501 (Ephesus), *Milet* I 2, no. 20 (Miletus) and Robert *Hellenica* III (1946), p. 86f. (Teos). For Erastus, the ship-captain, see above note 16.

30. Pausanias VII 2, 9. While this temple was probably planned, or even begun, when Hadrian was in Ephesus in 129, the title of *δὶς νεωκόρος* (perhaps granted on the possession of a second provincial temple of the emperor, see Chap. XXIV note 18) was not assumed until at least two years later, between 131 and 133. Hadrian appears as Zeus Olympius but the Ephesian *demos* merely as *νεωκόρος* in an inscription dated under the proconsul P. Afranius Flavianus (*J.O.A.I.* VII [1904], *Beibl.* 42), who was Consul about 115 and proconsul of Asia about 130 (see *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 75, no. 443). On the other hand, Ephesus is called *δὶς νεωκόρος* in an inscription dated under C. Julius Alexander Berenicianus (*B.C.H.* I [1877], p. 292, no. 80=VI [1882], p. 289), identified by Calza in *Notiz. d. Scavi* LIX (1934), p. 251 with C. Juliu[s . . .] listed in a fragment of the *Fasti Ostienses* as Consul suffectus in 116 and shown to have been proconsul of Asia in 131/2 or 132/3 by an

inscription of Laodiceia in the temple of Apollo at Clarus (*I.G.R.* IV 1587), dated in the year of the prytanis and prophet who is mentioned in a similar inscription of Neocaesareia in Pontus dated τοῦ ξθ' ἔτους τῆς ἐπαρχείας *i.e.* A.D. 132/3 (see *J.O.A.I.* VIII p. 165, no. II 2 and Chap. XXIII note 62); see also Stein in *R.E.* X 157f. The title δὶς νεωκόρος appears also on coins of Ephesus showing Hadrian as Olympius (*B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 77, nos. 227-228) and in the inscriptions on the statues erected by the Ephesians to Hadrian in the Olympieium at Athens about 132 (*I.G.* II² 3297, see above note 27) and to Sabina at Ephesus under the proconsulship of the later emperor Antoninus Pius about 135 (*C.I.G.* 2965 = L.W. 146, see Chap. XXVII note 2). Since the latter inscription is dated under an ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, the Ephesian Olympieium had presumably not yet been dedicated. For a suggestion, based on numismatic evidence, that this temple was the so-called "Serapeum" (see Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXIII [1926], *Beibl.* 265f. and *Führer*², p. 78f.) see B. L. Trell in *Num. Notes and Mon.* CVII (1945), p. 50f. For the Hadrianeia Olympia at Ephesus see above note 17.

31. See *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 54 (text not wholly published). For the altars see *C.I.G.* 2863, 2866 and 2877: L.W. 211: *Milet* I 2, p. 119f., nos. 21 and 22; I 7, p. 350f., nos. 290, 292-295, 301 and 302: *A.M.* V (1880), p. 335, no. 3: *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 18, nos. 1 and 2. For a statue erected in 136 see *Milet* I 2, no. 20. Hadrian's gifts to Magnesia-on-Maeander, mentioned in *I.G.* II² 1091 = *O.G.I.* 503 (see below note 49), were perhaps made during this journey. For his probable restoration of the Temple of Dionysus at Teos see Robert *Hellenica* III p. 86f.

32. See *I.G.* XII 3, 177 and *Suppl.* p. 278 = *I.G.R.* IV 1033, dated in 129 and written from Laodiceia-on-Lycus. A statue of Hadrian at Cnidus (*I.B.M.* 798), although it lacks the title Olympius, may have been erected on the occasion of this visit to Caria. For inscriptions at Samos honouring him as Zeus Olympius, Saviour and Founder see *I.G.R.* IV 986 and *S.E.G.* I 402. Even at the κατοικία of the Tateicometae, south of the plain of the lower Hermus (see Chap. V note 69), a monument was dedicated to Hadrian and Νέα Ἥρα Sabina Augusta (*I.G.R.* IV 1492).

33. *C.I.G.* 2927, erected by the resident Romans, whom Hadrian addressed in a letter, now a mere fragment (*C.I.L.* III 444). For a coin of Tralles on which Hadrian appears as Κτίστης see *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 346, no. 136. For the inscriptions in which he is called Σωτὴρ καὶ Κτίστης see Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις (Athens 1895), no. 113 (= *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX [1893], p. 92, no. 7) and no. 147 (in which Sabina appears as Augusta). It was supposed by Ramsay in *P.A.S.* I p. 102f. that the ἀνανέωσις of the Olympiads at Tralles which appears in several inscriptions dates from Hadrian's visit in 129, when the quadrennial festival of the Olympia was established in honour of the occasion, but that a system was introduced for the purpose of giving it a "spurious antiquity," whereby the celebration of 129 was counted as the fiftieth. This theory was widely accepted; but it was shown

by Robert in *R. Phil.* LVI (1930), p. 34f. (followed by Ruge in *R.E.* VI A 2119f.) and *Ét. Anat.* p. 424f. that the system proposed by Ramsay depends on the emendation of an inscription (*B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 298, no. 7) of which the text is assured, and that, apart from the improbability of the "patriotic fraud" which this theory presupposes, the mention of a festival called Commodeia in an inscription of the 62d Olympiad *μετὰ τὴν ἀνανέωσιν* (*B.C.H.* XXVIII [1904], p. 85f., no. 7, see no. 8) shows that this Olympiad occurred in 180 at the earliest; consequently, the 50th celebration of the festival could not have taken place before 132 and may well have been later. See also Chap. X note 58. Robert also observed (*R. Phil.* LVI p. 32f.) that there is no evidence for the existence of a festival called Ἀδριανά at Tralles, since in *B.C.H.* XXVIII p. 82, no. 5 (cited by Weber *Untersuch.* p. 222) the words Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια are to be read together as a festival of Smyrna.

34. For Phlegon see *Vit. Hadr.* 16, 1 and *Vit. Sev.* 20, 1 and Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 1159f. For Alcibiades see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 1632f.: *P.I.R.*² I p. 20, no. 134: Robert *Ét. épigr. et philol.* p. 49f. For the statues of Hadrian erected by him at Nysa see Pappakonstantinou, no. 51 and *S.E.G.* I 441 = IV 417. For statues of Alcibiades at Nysa, erected by three city-tribes and an acquaintance, see *C.I.G.* 2947 (= Dessau 8857) and 2948: *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 269, no. 13: L.W. 1652 *f.*

35. *I.G.R.* IV 848, dated in the proconsulship of Gargilius Antiquus, of whom nothing else is known except that he was a witness of a senatus consultum in 138 (*C.I.L.* VIII 23246, see *R.E.* VII 762f.). It is improbable, however, that he was proconsul as early as 123-125, as suggested by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 72) and Chapot (*Prov. Procons.* p. 311 and *Mél. Fr. Martroye,* p. 89); for since Sabina appears in the inscription as Augusta, he can hardly have held office before 128 and may reasonably be placed in 129, perhaps as the predecessor of Afranius Flavianus (see above note 30). An apparent era of Laodiceia, which appears as ἔτ(ους) (if the ligature is rightly read) *πη'* on coins of the time of Caracalla has been connected with a visit of Hadrian to the city; see Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen,* p. 219 and *Kl. M.* pp. 222 and 272f.: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia,* pp. lxxx, 296f., 313f. and 317f. But unless it be assumed that Hadrian visited Laodiceia in 123/4, for which there is no evidence, it must be supposed (so Weber *Untersuch.* p. 223), in order to connect this era with his visit in 129, that these coins were issued in 217, in April of which year Caracalla was killed. It would seem safer, however, not to assume a connexion between this era and Hadrian's visit. For a dedication for Sabina at Dionysopolis see *J.H.S.* L (1930), p. 276 = *Ann. Ép.* 1931, 76. The festival of Hadrianeia supposed to have been held at Attuda near Laodiceia (*I.G.R.* IV 844) never existed, for a rereading of the stone (*M.A.M.A.* VI 76 with photograph) shows Ἀνδριάντεια (found also *ibid.* no. 82). A statue of Hadrian erected in 129 by a former prefect of Legio XXX Ulpia (*B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 341, no. 24), which was found in the plain south of Mt. Salbacus and may have come from either Heracleia Salbace or Tabae, suggests that he visited this region.

36. *I.G.* XIV 829 = *I.G.R.* I 418 and *C.I.G.* 4380. In 137 Cibyra honoured L. Aelius Caesar as Benefactor (*I.G.R.* IV 900). For the road leading from Cibyra through Lycia by way of Podalia to the Plain of Finike see Chap. XXII note 12. For the inscriptions of Acalissus and Corydalla, found at Phaselis, see *T.A.M.* II 1192 and 1193 = *I.G.R.* III 756 and 757, which, save for the place-names, are identical in wording not only with each other but also with a dedication by the Council and People of Phaselis (*T.A.M.* II 1191 = *S.E.G.* VI 773, see below note 38).

37. For these granaries see *C.I.L.* III 6738 = Dessau 5908 and *C.I.L.* III 12129 = *T.A.M.* II 397. For Patara see *T.A.M.* II 409-412 = *I.G.R.* III 661-663; see also *T.A.M.* II 419 = *I.G.R.* III 660 + 665, statues of Hadrian and Sabina (with Matidia ?), to which statues of Marcus Aurelius, Verus and Faustina were added later, forming a group of six. For Sabina as Νέα Ἥρα see above note 28.

38. *T.A.M.* II 1172 and 1191 = *I.G.R.* III 752 and *S.E.G.* VI 773 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 26). Olympus is supposed to be the Hadrianopolis mentioned in Maximus *Schol. ad Dionysium Areopagitam* 86 (Migne *Patr. Graec.* IV 175 B); see Ruge in *R.E.* XVIII 317. For the dedication to Hadrian at Phaselis in 131 see *T.A.M.* II 1187 = *I.G.R.* III 760 (see also *Reisen* I p. 117, note 3 and Weber *Untersuch.* p. 225). For a similar dedication by a private citizen, also dated in 131, see *T.A.M.* II 1194 = *I.G.R.* III 759. For Attaleia see Lanckoroński I pp. 12f. and 154f. and *I.G.R.* III 770 and 772. For a description of the gate see G. Moretti in *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-4), p. 453f. The restoration of Hadrian's name on a statue-base at Perge (*S.E.G.* II 706) is too uncertain to serve as evidence for a visit to the place.

39. *T.A.M.* III 1, 10, 37 and 115 = *I.G.R.* III 430, 429 and 1496 (Termessus): *I.G.R.* III 403 (Pogla): *C.I.L.* III 6874 = Lanckoroński II p. 232, no. 236 (Cremna): *I.G.R.* III 347 (Sagalassus). For a coin of Sagalassus on which Hadrian is called Olympius see above note 28. A εὐχή for Hadrian and the *demos* by a ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ προθύτης τ[ῶν Σεβ]αστῶν (*S.E.G.* II 718) has been found at the site somewhat hazardously regarded as Pednelissus (see Chap. XIX note 25). It is impossible to draw any conclusions as to Hadrian's presence in northern Pisidia from three milestones bearing his name found on the line of the road leading eastward from Apollonia to the northern end of Lake Eğridir (*C.I.L.* III 6967, 6968 [= *M.A.M.A.* IV 234] and 6970, see Chap. XIX note 19), for the first of these is dated in 128 and the second in 122, while the third is only a fragment.

40. For Germanicopolis see Chap. XXIII note 31. For Adana, Aegaeae, Diocaesareia (which became a *polis* probably under Vespasian, see Chap. XXIV note 27, end), Mopsuestia, Olba, Tarsus and Zephyrium see *Coll. Wadd.* 4049f., 4079f., 4266f., 4382f., 4436, 4624f., and 4697f.: *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* pp. 17f., 23, 71f., 105f., 125f., 185f. and 233: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* pp. 439, 474f., 479 and 494. For Mopsuestia see also *I.G.* XIV 1051 = *I.G.R.* I 121

= *O.G.I.* 575, and for Tarsus see *I.G.R.* III 878, 879, 880 (= 1526 = *O.G.I.* 578) and 882. For the Σεουήρεια Ἀδριάν(εια) at Tarsus see *Coll. Wadd.* 4672. For the statues see *I.G.R.* III 846 (Diocaesareia, see *J.H.S.* XII [1891], p. 264, no. 51), 854 (Corycus), 872 (Soli) and 877 (Tarsus). A statue at Anazarbus (*I.G.R.* III 896) is dated in 136.

41. Cassius Dio LXIX 11, 1f.: *Vit. Hadr.* 14, 4f.: Epiphanius *de Mens. et Pond.* 14 (Migne *Patr. Gr.* XLIII p. 260f.). See also Weber *Untersuch.* p. 246f. and Henderson, p. 128f. Coins of Alexandria show that Hadrian arrived in the city before 28 Aug. 130 and left it before 28 Aug. 131; see J. Vogt *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart 1924), p. 103.

42. *Vit. Hadr.* 13, 7. Rostovtzeff observed (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 564, note 7) that these *servitia* may have been the serfs of the local aristocracy. The suggestion of Hirschfeld (*V.B.* p. 314, note 1) that by *castra* was meant the imperial court seems, in view of the military camps along the Euphrates frontier, to be improbable. For the Cappadocian militia in the time of Claudius see Chap. XXIII note 36. The force called τὸ συμμαχικόν in Arrian *Expeditio c. Alanos* 7, which was made up of men from Armenia Minor, Trapezus and Rhizus, evidently belonged to the provincial militia, which seems to appear also in the inscription of P. Aelius Ammonius under Gordian III (*I.G.R.* I 623 = Dessau 8851) described as ἡγησάμενος στρατιωτικοῦ ἐν παρατάξει Ἀρμενιακῇ στρατιωτῶν ἐπαρχείας Καππαδόκων; see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VI p. 148 and Stappers in *Mus. Belge* VII (1903), p. 304f. For the auxiliary troops in Cappadocia (11,000 in all) in the time of Hadrian see G. L. Cheesman *The Auxilia of the Rom. Imp. Army* (Oxford 1914), p. 159f.

43. Cassius Dio LXIX 15, 1, where the invasion is said to have been instigated by Pharasmanes of Iberia; see also Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 242f. For Pharasmanes see M. N. Tod in *J.R.S.* XXXIII (1943), p. 85f. According to Dio, the Alans were prevented from entering Cappadocia by Arrian, who was governor of the province in 137; see *I.G.R.* III 111 = Dessau 8801. His name has been restored as Fl. A[rrianus] in a fragmentary inscription of a legate (*Ann. Ép.* 1905, 175) found at Sukhum at the eastern end of the Black Sea, which shows that this region also was under his control (see also below note 44). For Arrian's governorship see also H. F. Pelham *Essays on Rom. Hist.* (Oxford 1911), p. 212f.

44. *Vit. Hadr.* 13, 9; 17, 10f.; 21, 13. According to the last two passages, however, Hadrian and Pharasmanes exchanged gifts. For a list of the "kings" at the southeastern corner of the Black Sea see Arrian *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 11 Roos, where three are specifically mentioned as having obtained their kingdoms from Hadrian. For troops (legionary cohorts) stationed at Absarus, near the mouth of the Çoruh Su under Hadrian see Arrian *ibid.* 6, 1f. and *C.I.L.* X 1202 = Dessau 2660; for a garrison of 400 soldiers in a fort at the mouth of the Phasis see Arrian 9, 3f. For a detachment of cavalry at

Dioscurias, near Sukhum (see Chap. XV note 10 and above note 43), see Arrian 10, 3.

45. For Hadrian's visit to Trapezus see Arrian *Periplus Pont. Eux.* 1-2 and 16, 6 Roos. See also C. Patsch in *Klio* IV (1904), p. 71f. and Weber *Untersuch.* p. 264f., who dated it in 131.

46. For this road and a milestone of 129 (*Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1905, p. 221, note 3, mentioned in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 324f.) and another milestone of 129 (*C.I.L.* III 6057 = 12154, erected by the *civitas Nicopolitanorum*), perhaps on a route which joined the road from Satala to Melitene, see Chap. VIII note 33. For Nicopolis as Ἁδριανή (and *neokoros* and *metropolis*) see *C.I.G.* 4189. A coin with the head of Hadrian and the legend [Ν]ικοπολιτῶν Ἁδρια . . . is probably to be assigned to this Nicopolis; see *Receuil* I² p. 137, no. 9 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 4, note 4. For Amaseia and Neocaesareia (Hadrianopolis according to Stephanus Byzantius, see above note 6) as Ἁδρ(ιανή) see *Receuil* I² p. 36f., no. 18f. and p. 119, no. 8f. and, for the latter, *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 165, no. II 2 (A.D. 132/3). For Sebastopolis see *I.G.R.* III 112 and 115 (= *O.G.I.* 529); a dedication to Hadrian and Aelius Caesar (*I.G.R.* III 111 = Dessau 8801) is dated in 136/7 (under Arrian, see above note 43).

47. *I.G.R.* III 273 = 1487, under C. Bruttius Praesens, governor of Galatia under Hadrian (*P.I.R.*² I p. 370f., no. 164). For dedications in Hadrian's honour at Isaura Vetus see *I.G.R.* III 285 and 286 (by the Council and People). For the founding of the colony at Iconium by Hadrian see Ramsay in *Cl. Rev.* XIX (1905), p. 413f. For the name see *C.I.L.* III 12136, dated A.D. 137 (probably the same inscription as *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII [1923-24], p. 347, where, however, the name appears as *Col. Aelia Traiana Aug.*); 12137 (A.D. 212): *Coll. Wadd.* 4769. Iconium is also referred to as a colony in *C.I.G.* 3993: *I G.R.* III 264, 1474 (κολωνεία Κλαυδεικονιέων, see Chap. XXIII note 21) and 1478 and IV 1589 (after A.D. 132, see *I.G.R.* IV 1586). For a *princeps col(oniae) n(ostrae)* and *duumvir primus col(oniae)* see *A.M.* XXX (1905), p. 326, no. 3 = *Cl. Rev.* XIX (1905), p. 414, no. 6. For the figure of "Marsyas" on a coin of Iconium see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 418, no. 9 and for its significance as indicating full liberty see Chap. XVII note 36. For the four tribes of Iconium, three of which were called *Athena* [*Polias* ?], *Augusta* and *Hadriana Herculana*, see *C.I.G.* 3995 b = *J.H.S.* XXXVIII (1918), p. 182f., no. 24 and *A.M.* XXX p. 324f., nos. 1 and 2. A road in the neighbourhood of Iconium seems to have been repaired in preparation for Hadrian's visit; see *C.I.L.* III 14402, dated in 129. For Hadrianopolis see *P.A.S.* II p. 168, no. 160 and *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 25, no. 1, the inscriptions of a Ἁδριανοπολείτης, found, respectively, at Kara Ağaç, nearly twenty miles southeast of Philomelium, and between Philomelium and Iconium (see Ramsay *Social Basis of Rom. Power*, p. 151). The suggestion of Ramsay (*H.G.* pp. 42 and 140), followed by A.H.M. Jones (*Cities*, p. 65), that this Hadrianopolis was a refoundation of the ancient Thymbrium was a mere conjecture; see Ruge in *R.E.* VII 2174. For possible sites see Anderson in *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 116f. and Calder in *A.J.A.* XXXVI

(1932), p. 456. For coins assigned to this city (Sebaste-Hadrianopolis) see *Coll. Wadd.* 6059f. and *B. M. Cat. Phrygia,* pp. lxiv f. and 225f.

48. *I.G.R.* III 71. Dedications to Hadrian by two of the city-tribes (*I.G.R.* III 72 and 1424) are dated in 134. An altar to Hadrian was erected in 131 by a resident of the *katoikia* of the Καναλην̂ων near Trajanopolis; see *I.G.R.* IV 624. For the coins see *Receuil* I p. 239f., no. 29f. (*Com. Bit.*); p. 240, no. 34f. and p. 242f., no. 50f. (Κοινὸν Βειθυνίας): Mattingly-Sydenham II p. 396f. (*Com. Bit.*). The frieze of the temple which appears on the coins with legends in Latin is inscribed *Rom(ae) S(enatui) P(opulo) Aug(usto).* Since the title *P(ater) P(atriae)* which appears on the Latin coins shows that they were issued after 128, they were assigned "tentatively to Hadrian's second visit" by Mattingly-Sydenham (p. 319).

49. For the Panhellenium see Pausanias I 18, 9 and Cassius Dio LXIX 16, 2. For its foundation in 131/2 see *I.G.* IV² 384 = *Syll.*³ 842 (for the era of Hadrian's ἐπιδημία see above note 25). For the title of Panhellenius borne by Hadrian see *Milet* I 2, p. 119f., no. 20 (A.D. 136) and I 7, p. 314, no. 233 (under Antoninus Pius) from Miletus: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 51 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 278 (A.D. 137) from Pergamum: *I.B.M.* 501 from Ephesus: *C.R.A.I.* 1906, p. 167 + 1914, p. 49 from Aphrodisias: *I.G.R.* IV 519 = 1157 from Kırkağaç, perhaps from Nacrasa: *I.G.R.* IV 552 from Goloe, Mysia. For a priest of Hadrian Panhellenius, who was also *archon* of the Panhellenes and agonothete of the Panhellenia, see *I.G.R.* IV 573 and 576 = *O.G.I.* 504 and 507 (in honour of M. Ulpius Eurycles of Aezani) and *I.G.* II² 3626. For a priest and archon see *I.G.* IV 1600. For the festival of the Panhellenia (also τὰ Μεγάλα Πανελλήνια), celebrated at Athens, see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 1, 7 and 17, 1: *I.G.R.* IV 573 and 576 (see above): *I.G.* II² 2243, l. 5f. (an agonothete), 3162 and 3163. For the organization of the Panhellenes see M. N. Tod in *J.H.S.* XLII (1922), p. 173f. and P. Graindor *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo 1934), pp. 52f. and 103f. The league was called varyingly τὸ Κοινὸν τοῦ Πανελληνίου, τὸ Πανελλήνιον and ἡ πολιτεία τῶν Συνπανελλήνων; see *I.G.R.* IV 573, 575 (= *O.G.I.* 506, a letter of Antoninus Pius in A.D. 157) and 576 and *I.G.* IV 1600. The individual delegate (from Aezani) is called σύνεδρος ὁ Πανέλλην in *I.G.R.* IV 562; see also *O.G.I.* 504, note 1. For decrees of the Panhellenic Council see *I.G.* II² 1088-1091 (= *O.G.I.* 503), of which the first was passed at the request of Thyateira to express thanks to Hadrian and the last (under Antoninus Pius) authorized the admission of Magnesia-on-Maeander to the League.

50. For the coins of the cistophoric type issued under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian see Pinder in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1855, p. 587f.: Mattingly-Sydenham II pp. 231, 296, 319, 334f. and 396f.: Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* III pp. xii, li, cvii f., clvii f., 12f., 146f. and 382f.: Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde* (Geneva 1908), p. 9f.: H. Herzfelder in *Num. Chron.* XVI (1936), p. 1f., who showed that the deities appearing on the coins indicate that these were minted in Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Hierapolis, Lao-

diceia, Miletus, Mylasa, Pergamum, Sardis and Smyrna, and perhaps also at Aezani, Apameia, Eumeneia and Thyateira. Those coins on which *Pater Patriae* does not appear among Hadrian's titles were presumably issued before 128. For silver coins issued by the cities see J. Hammer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 111f.

51. *I.G.R.* IV 352 = *O.G.I.* 484 and II p. 552 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 81. See also Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 892f. The name of the writer of this rescript has been lost together with the beginning of the document, but on account of the close resemblance of the lettering to that of an inscription of C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 384 = *O.G.I.* 486 = Dessau 8819, see Chap. XXIV notes 22 and 35), to be dated after 110, the document has been assigned to the time of either Trajan or Hadrian, but more probably to that of the latter (see *O.G.I.* 484, note 1). The fact that the writer usually (though not invariably) refers to himself in the plural seems to show that he was the emperor, since it was customary for proconsuls and imperial legates to use the singular; see L. Lafoscade *De Epistulis Impp. Magistratuumque Rom.* (Lille 1902), p. 38f. The nature of the particular form of profit referred to in l. 25f. as τὸ καλούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς προσφάγιον is uncertain. The suggestion was made in van Herwerden *Lexicon Gr. Suppletorium*[2] I p. 223 that it was a certain amount of merchandise taken from the dealers without payment, and the meaning of "tip" was suggested by Broughton.

52. *C.I.L.* III 355 = 14191[1] = *I.G.R.* IV 571 = *O.G.I.* 502 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 82, consisting of a letter of the proconsul Avidius Quietus to the city-authorities with copies of a rescript addressed to him by Hadrian, of a letter of his own to the procurator, Hesperus, and of Hesperus's reply. The proconsulship of Quietus, who was the predecessor of Stertinius Quartus, can be dated in 125/6; see above note 17 and *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 287f., no. 1409. For the ownership of the land by the Temple of Zeus see Chap. V note 64. For Hadrian's general policy of strengthening the class of small landholders see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 319f.

53. For the *curator rei publicae* see Chap. XXV note 13. For the curator of the *gerousia* at Ephesus see above note 17. For an ἐπιμελητής (curator) appointed by Hadrian at Trapezopolis in Phrygia see *O.G.I.* 492 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 60. For the *corrector* (*missus ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatium*) see Chap. XXV note 11. For Atticus Herodes as *corrector* of the free cities of Asia see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 13 and II 1, 4; for the time (the proconsulship of the later emperor Antoninus Pius about 135) see II 1, 17. For his career see Münscher in *R.E.* VIII 921f. and *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 175f., no. 802. For his bath at Alexandria Troas see Philostratus II 1, 4; it was probably the great bath described in *A.M.* IX (1884), p. 36f.

54. Cassius Dio (Xiphilinus) LXIX 14, 4: *I.G.R.* III 174 (= 1461 = *O.G.I.* 543 = Dessau 8826) and 175, where Severus is called πρὸς πέντε ῥάβδους

πεμφθεὶς εἰς Βειθυνίαν διορθωτὴς καὶ λογιστὴς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ. He appears also in *M.A.M.A.* v 60 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 144, where he is called πρεσβ(ευτὴς) αὐτοῦ (*i.e.* Ἀδριανοῦ) ἀντιστράτηγος, in *Corinth* VIII 2, p. 38, no. 56 = *Ann. Ép.* 1923, 4 (as proconsul of Achaea) and in *I.G.R.* III 190 = 1463 = *O.G.I.* 545 (an inscription of his wife). He was subsequently Consul and, probably in 152/3, proconsul of Asia; see *I.G.R.* III 175: Aristides *Orat.* L 12 and 71 Keil: Miltner in *R.E.* II A 1938, no. 7: W. Hüttl *Antoninus Pius* II (Prague 1933), p. 51f. For his care of the troops in 113/4 see Chap. XXV note 30. For his career see Groag in *R.E.* X 811f. Because of his title of διορθωτὴς καὶ λογιστής Brandis supposed (*Herm.* XXXI [1896], p. 162) that Severus's duties in Bithynia were limited to the supervision of the communities' finances and that he held office under the senatorial governor of the province. It was observed by Groag (*ibid.* 817f.), however, that his possession of the five fasces which were regularly given to an imperial legate (Mommsen *R. St. R.* I^3 pp. 385f. and 388 and II^3 pp. 260 and 858 and p. 861, note 3) shows that he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore ad corrigendum statum provinciae*, a post analogous to that held by Pliny and his successor Tertullus (see Chap. XXV notes 12 and 23). This observation would be confirmed by his title in *M.A.M.A.* v 60 if it were certain that this did not refer to the post of legate of the proconsul of Asia, which he held early in his career ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς καὶ κωδικίλλων of Hadrian (*I.G.R.* III 174 and 175). It seems hardly necessary to suppose, with G. Barbieri in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 366f., that the description of Severus as ἄρχων καὶ ἐπιστάτης in Dio. *l.c.* shows that he was sent to Bithynia in an extraordinary capacity but later was made imperial legate of the province. For the permanent transfer, probably about 165, of Bithynia to the emperor see Chap. XXVIII note 7.

55. *M.A.M.A.* v 60 (see above note 54), found near Dorylaeum. Since Severus determined the boundary "by command of Hadrian" it may be supposed that he was acting in his capacity as imperial legate of Bithynia; see also Robert in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 321, note 2. If so, the second of the two communities was presumably in this province. The restoration [Νικ]αιέων however, is questionable, for it is difficult to believe that the territory of Nicaea was so large as to be conterminous with that of Dorylaeum. On the other hand, as the editors of the inscription observed, it is possible that Severus was acting as legate of the proconsul of Asia, a post to which he was appointed by Hadrian (see above note 54); in this case, the second community must have been in Asia. For the adjustment of boundaries between city-territories by special commissioners appointed by the emperor with the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore* see Chap. XXV note 11 (under Trajan) and Dessau 5957-5958 b. On the other hand, by order of Nero the boundary between the territories of the city of Sagalassus and a neighbouring village was determined by the governor of Galatia in conjunction with the procurator (see Chap. XXIII note 65) and at Hadrian's command that between two cities of Thessaly was adjusted by the proconsul of Macedonia (*C.I.L.* III 586 = Dessau 5947 a) and a dispute between Thyateira and Hierocaesareia was decided by a Roman official (Keil-Premerstein II no. 18). Robert, in the

belief that Severus was imperial legate of Bithynia and that the province was transferred to the emperor at this time (see above note 54), suggested that the determination of the boundary between the two communities may have taken place in connexion with an alteration in the frontiers of the two provinces made on the occasion of the transfer.

56. For Julius Quadratus (Consul in 93), Polemaeanus (Consul in 92) and Caristanius Fronto (Consul under Domitian), who may, to be sure, have belonged to one of the Roman families of the colony, see Chap. XXIV notes 22 and 35. For Quadratus Bassus see Chap. XXV note 16. For Servenius Cornutus from Acmonia, legate of the proconsul of Asia, see above p. 582. For Flavius Arrianus see above note 43. For the admission of Orientals to office under the Roman government from the Flavian period onward see Groag in *J.O.A.I.* x (1907), p. 282f.: Dessau in *Herm.* XLV (1910), pp. 15f. and 615f.: B. Stech *Senatores Rom. . . . a Vespasiano usque ad Traiani Exitum = Klio Beih.* x (1912), p. 171f.: G. Lully *De Senatorum Rom. Patria* (Rome 1918), p. 217f.: L. Hahn *Röm. Beamte Griech. u. Orient. Abstammung* in *d. Kaiserzeit in Festgabe z. 400-Jahrfeier d. Alt. Gym. Nürnberg* (1926), p. 14f. (see Chap. XVIII note 64): A. Stein *Der Röm. Ritterstand = Münch. Beitr.* x (1927), pp. 220f., 294f. and 397f.: C. S. Walton in *J.R.S.* XIX (1929), p. 46f.: P. Lambrechts *La Composition du Sénat Rom. de Hadrien à la Mort de Commode = Univ. of Ghent Fac. de Phil. et de Lettres* 79 (1936), p. 202f. For claims of relationship to συγκλητικοί in Lycia see Chap. XXII note 70. For the other Asianic provinces see *e.g. I.G.R.* III 63 = *O.G.I.* 528 (Prusias ad Hypium); 173 and 179 (= *O.G.I.* 544 and 549) and 205 (Ancyra); 244 = 1485 (Kireli Kasaba, Lake Beyşehir); 883 (Tarsus); IV 858 (Laodiceia); 910 and 912 (Cibyra); 990 (Samos); 1150 (Lindus); 1435 (Smyrna); 1544 (Erythrae): Keil-Premerstein III p. 72, no. 91 (Hypaepa): *O.G.I.* 499-501 and *A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 330f., no. 11 = Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, no. 25 (Tralles): *Milet* I 3, p. 396, no. 176 = *Ann. Ép.* 1914, 213: *Ephesos* I pp. 211 and 212 and III p. 145, no. 62: *C.I.G.* 2782 and L.W. 595, 1597 and 1617 (Aphrodisias): *C.I.G.* 2944 b (Nysa).

57. See Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 426f.: A. von Domaszewski in *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXVII (1908), p. 141f.: H. Mattingly *The Imperial Civil Service of Rome* (Cambridge 1910), p. 35f.: R. H. Lacey *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian* (Princeton 1917), p. 38f.: Henderson *Hadrian,* p. 64f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 317: A. Stein *ibid.* p. 447. For a list of the Equestrian officials under Trajan and Hadrian see Lacey, p. 1f. For Hadrian's general policy of refraining from employing imperial freedmen in public office and for his replacement of them by *Equites* in the posts of *ab Epistulis* and *a Libellis* see *Vit. Hadr.* 21, 2 and 22, 8, where, as Lacey observed (p. 39 and note 15), *primus habuit* is inexact, since these positions had been held by *Equites* under Otho, Vitellius and Domitian; see also Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 838, note 2. The post of *a Rationibus,* moreover, had been held by an *Eques,* L. Vibius Lentulus, under Trajan; see *Ephesos* II p. 174, nos. 61 I and II and *Ephesos* III p. 132, no. 46 = *Ann. Ép.* 1913, 143 a and b and 1924,

81 and Lacey, pp. 4 and 40. These cases, however, seem to have been exceptional, and the statement of the *Vita* is correct to the extent that from the time of Hadrian onward the employment of *Equites* in these positions was customary. Nevertheless, under Marcus Aurelius an imperial freedman served as *a Rationibus* (*C.I.L.* VI 455; IX 2438; XV 7443 = Dessau 1476), and freedmen also held provincial procuratorships; see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 381, note 4 and Mattingly *ibid.* p. 39. For the creation of the office of *advocatus fisci* by Hadrian see *Vit. Hadr.* 20, 6; the earliest known incumbent held office under Antoninus Pius (*C.I.L.* VIII 1174 = Dessau 1451, see *P.I.R.*^{2} II p. 6, no. 37), but the statement of the *Vita* was accepted by Hirschfeld (*V.B.* p. 49).

58. For the *cursus publicus* see Chap. XX note 56. Reforms intended to relieve the communities of at least part of the burden are said to have been carried out by Hadrian (*Vit. Hadr.* 7, 5), Antoninus Pius (*Vit. Pii* 12, 3) and Septimius Severus (*Vit. Sev.* 14, 2). It is not wholly certain, however, what these reforms were. Hirschfeld (*V.B.* p. 192), followed by Lacey (p. 43), by Holmberg *Zur Gesch. d. Cursus Publ.* p. 45 and by Pflaum (anonymously) in *Mém. prés. . . . a l'Acad. d. Inscrs. et B.-L.* XIV 1 (1940), p. 251f., pointed out that the statement that Hadrian *statum cursum fiscalem instituit, ne magistratus hoc onere gravarentur* presumably means that he made the post a governmental institution with fixed stations under imperial supervision, and that this is borne out by the fact that the earliest known *praefectus vehiculorum,* L. Baebius Juncinus (*C.I.L.* X 6976 = Dessau 1434), is evidently to be dated under him (see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 347, no. 18). This position, as the inscriptions cited by Pflaum (p. 253f.) show, was regularly held by an *Eques* and became one of considerable importance. Pflaum connected with Hadrian's reform the mention of *mancipes et iunctores iumentarii viarum, etc.* in *C.I.L.* VI 31338 a (= Dessau 452), 31369 and 31370, whom he regarded as local contractors for the transport of the post; but, as the first of these inscriptions is dated in 214, the second in 226 and the third is undatable, such a connexion is doubtful. In any case, the statement that Antoninus Pius *vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit* indicates that Hadrian did not altogether free the communities from the burden of the post, and it was suggested by W. Seston in *R.E.A.* XLV (1943), p. 56 that he fixed limits for the requisitioning of vehicles and personnel, thereby relieving the communities of part of the cost. Severus, on the other hand, according to *Vit. Sev.* 14, 2, in order to gain popular favour, *vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit.* If this is true and if the inscriptions of the *mancipes et iunctores iumentarii* cited above are to be connected with this change, it may be supposed that the fiscus contracted for the transport. On the other hand, the specific exemption, in A.D. 202, of the inhabitants of the new *emporium* of Pizus in Thrace (*I.G.R.* I 766 = *Syll.*^{3} 880, see Chap. XXVIII note 39) from the *συν[τήρ]εια ἀνγαρειῶν, i.e.* the furnishing of vehicles and draught animals (see Rostovtzeff in *Klio* VI [1906], p. 249f.) indicates that at this time the communities in general were obliged to supply them. It was suggested by Pflaum (pp. 282f. and 302) that Severus's reform

applied only to Italy, Gaul and the provinces of the Rhine and the Danube, and by Seston (p. 58f.) only to certain cities in Italy. These suggestions, however, were based on the assumption that the reform took place in 197 or in 196 (before Severus's campaign against Albinus, see above p. 673f.), whereas there is actually no reason to suppose that it should be dated before the foundation of Pizus. In fact, the mention of an *ἐπιμελητὴς κτηνῶν Καίσαρος* honoured by *οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν στατιώνων τῶν ἄκτων καὶ νουμέρων καὶ οἱ [μ]ουλίωνες οἱ ἐπεστῶντες* (*sic*) *συνωρίᾳ* in an inscription from Gebze between Chalcedon and Nicomedeia (*I.G.R.* III 2 = *S.E.G.* II 666 = *Ann. Ép.* 1923, 44) suggests, as Keil (*J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII [1922-24], *Beibl.* 261f.) and Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 593, note 38) observed, that at this time (the third century) there was in Bithynia a manager of an imperial herd who supplied the post station with draught animals. Nevertheless, as Hirschfeld showed (p. 192f.), Severus's reform was either not universally applied or only temporary; for the jurists of the third century regarded the *cursus vehicularis sollicitudo* and the *angariarum praebitio* as a *munus* and in the fourth century the provincials complained of the burden. Of the Emperor Julian it was said that *remota provincialibus cura cursum fiscalem breviatis mutationum spatiis fieri iussit* (*C.I.L.* V 8987 = Dessau 755).

59. See Mattingly-Syndenham II pp. xiv, 331f., 374f., 445f.: Strack *Untersuchungen* II p. 139f.: Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* III pp. cxlii f. and clxxi f. These series were dated in 134 and the following years by Mattingly-Sydenham, in 137 by Strack, whose dating was questioned by Mattingly in *J.R.S.* XXIV (1934), p. 79 and *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* III p. cxlii. The names in the series, as Strack (p. 140) pointed out, do not always correspond to the administrative divisions of the Empire, for *Hispania* actually contained three provinces and *Germania* two. On the other hand, they do not correspond, as Strack suggested, to *nationes*. They are rather, as Mattingly observed (*B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* III p. clxxv), "a blend in which administrative districts and racial character are curiously mixed." In the inclusion of *Phrygia* in the *Adventus*-series, unless, as was suggested by Strack (p. 145), Galatia is meant, there is no thought of an administrative unit but merely of a geographical district. For the suggestion that these provinces represented a "partnership" (compared to the "British view of Empire") see Mattingly *B. M. Cat. Rom. Emp.* III p. clxxxi.

60. Aristides *Orat.* XXVI 29 Keil. See also Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 125f.: Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 316: W. Hüttl *Antoninus Pius* I (Prague 1936), p. 327.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. *Vit. Hadr.* 24, 1f.; *Vit. Ael.* 6, 9; 7, 2; *Vit. Pii* 2; 4; *Vit. Marc.* 5, 1; *Vit. Veri* 2, 2: Cassius Dio LXIX 20f.; LXX 1. For Antoninus's principate see G. Lacour-Gayet *Antonin le Pieux et son Temps* (Paris 1888), p. 27f.: E. E. Bryant *The Reign of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge 1895), p. 25f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* II 2497f.: W. Hüttl *Antoninus Pius* I and II (Prague 1933-36): Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 326f. According to *Vit. Pii* 4, 6, he was adopted on 25 Feb. 138, and this date is confirmed by the *Fasti* of Philocalus (*C.I.L.* I^2 pp. 258 and 310 and Hüttl I p. 45, note 64).

2. For Antoninus's proconsulship of Asia, dated in 135/6 by Hüttl (I p. 36f., note 38), see *C.I.G.* 2965=L.W. 146: *Vit. Pii* 3, 2f.: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 7; II 1, 17. For the decree of Ephesus see *Ephesos* II no. 19= *O.G.I.* 493. For Antoninus's edict to the eirenarchs (see below note 46) see *Digesta* XLVIII 3, 6, 1.

3. Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 33f., nos. 61, 64, and 79; p. 64, no. 315. See also Hüttl I p. 352, note 1. For a dedication by the Senate to Antoninus as *cum summa benignitate iustissimus ob insignem erga caerimonias publicas curam ac religionem* see *C.I.L.* VI 1001=Dessau 341 (A.D. 143).

4. *Vit. Pii* 5, 3. For a list of those known to have had a long tenure of office in the provinces see Hüttl I p. 329, note 12.

5. *Vit. Pii* 4, 10. For Hadrian's remission of the *aurum coronarium* see Chap. XXVI note 4. For the "provincial" coins see Mattingly-Sydenham III pp. 6 and 104f. and P. L. Strack *Untersuchungen* III p. 39f., who, approved by Mattingly in *J.R.S.* XXIX (1939), p. 120, inferred from the representation of *Italia* (Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 106, no. 594) as seated on a globe and carrying no wreath that Rome and Italy were the recipients of the gifts, while the provinces were regarded as subordinate, indicating a reaction against Hadrian's policy of placing them on an equal footing with Italy, as shown by his "provincial" coins (see Chap. XXVI note 59). The prevailing view (see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 6) that the series commemorated the offering of the *aurum coronarium* was challenged by Schehl in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 189f. on the ground that *Parthia* is included (Mattingly-Sydenham, no. 586), which, although perhaps regarded as a dependent state, would hardly have been represented as offering the *aurum coronarium*.

6. *Vit. Pii* 9, 1: Pausanias II 7, 1; VIII 43, 4: Aristides *Orat.* XXIV 3 and 59; XXV 9f. Keil. For Stratoniceia see *C.I.G.* 2721 and 2718 c, and for Iasus (or Passala) see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 218, no. 11. A monument to Antoninus on Cos (*I.G.R.* IV 1106) may perhaps have been erected in consequence of assistance received at this time. The suggestion of Cichorius in *Alt. v. Hierap.* p. 25, accepted by Ramsay in *J.O.A.I.* XXVII (1932), *Beibl.* 252, that Ti. Clau-

dius Telemachus, described as οἰκιστὴς Λαοδικέων Ἱεραπολειτῶν in *T.A.M.* II 194 = *I.G.R.* III 581 = 1514, aided in the rebuilding of the two cities after this earthquake is not tenable, for Telemachus seems to have lived at the end of the second century; see *P.I.R.*² II p. 252f., no. 1037. For the aid rendered by Opramoas see *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 40, 42, 46, 47, 53, 55, 59 and 63 and Chap. XXII notes 53, 59 and 71. For monuments of Antoninus in Lycia see *T.A.M.* II 505 = *I.G.R.* III 575 (Pinara): *T.A.M.* II 702 = *I.G.R.* III 504 (Araxa): *I.G.R.* III 483 (Oenoanda); 700-701 (Cyaneae): *T.A.M.* II 912 and 1196 = *I.G.R.* III 734 (Rhodiapolis) and 761 (Phaselis). This earthquake was dated in 141 by Heberdey in *Opramoas* (Vienna 1897), p. 68f., but there is at least a possibility that it took place as early as 139; for while it is definitely mentioned for the first time in a decree of the Lycian *Koinon* despatching an envoy to inform Antoninus of Opramoas's benefactions (*T.A.M.* II 905, c. 53), which is dated in November (Γορπιαίου ζ') of an unknown year, perhaps 143 rather than 142 (see Hüttl II p. 39), it is not impossible that the fragmentary letters of Antoninus to Myra and Tlos dated, respectively, in 139 and December, 140 (*T.A.M.* II 905, cc. 37 and 38) dealt with the aid which Opramoas gave to these two cities. It seems clear, moreover, that it was this earthquake which was reported to Aelius Aristides during his stay in Egypt (Aristides *Orat.* XXIV 3 Keil); see Waddington in *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et B. L.* XXVI (1867), pp. 243 and 267 (doubted by Christ-Schmid *Gesch. Gr. Lit.*⁶ II p. 701, note 6). This visit was dated in 138-42 by Waddington (whose chronology was accepted by von Wilamowitz in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1925, p. 334f.) and in 142 by R. Bloch *De Pseudo-Luciani Amoribus* = *Diss. philol. Argentor.* XII 3 (1907), pp. 53f. and 67f. and A. Boulanger *Aelius Aristide* (Paris 1923), pp. 123, 161, 374, note 1 and p. 490. It is generally supposed that it was on the occasion of this visit that Aristides formed his friendship with the Prefect of Egypt, C. Avidius Heliodorus, whose term can be dated in 138-140, and certainly not later than July, 142, when his successor was already in office; see O. W. Reinmuth *The Prefect of Egypt, etc.* = *Klio Beiheft* XXXIV (1935), p. 134: *P.I.R.*² I p. 284, no. 1405: Hüttl II p. 39f. While it is possible that Aristides remained in Egypt after Heliodorus's departure and heard of the earthquake during this period, his presumable presence in the country in 139/40, when combined with the inference to be drawn from Opramoas's gifts to Myra and Tlos during those years, at least suggests that the earthquake may have occurred as early as 139.

7. Aristides *Orat.* XLIX 38f. Keil, where this earthquake is dated ἐπὶ Ἄλβου ἄρχοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, identified by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 214) with L. Antonius Albus, who is now known from an inscription from Ephesus (*S.E.G.* IV 533, see below note 9) to have been proconsul of Asia under Antoninus; his term of office was placed in 147/8 by Hüttl II p. 48f. (see also *P.I.R.*² I p. 155, no. 810). For monuments in honour of Antoninus see *I.G.* XII 2, 215 = *I.G.R.* IV 90 (Mitylene): *I.G.R.* IV 1388 (Smyrna): *Ins. Magn.* 183 and 184 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum): *I.G.R.* IV 966 (= 1704) and 987 (Samos); the first of these is dated ἐν τῷ ρμ΄ [ἔτει], presumably reckoned according to the ἔτος τῆς ἀποθεώσεως of Augustus in A.D. 14 (see Chap. XX

note 63) and so not before A.D. 154: *C.I.L.* III 6885 (Comama, by a citizen *pro meritis quae patriae eius praestitit*).

8. Cassius Dio LXX 4. The date is uncertain, for the question was raised by Boissevain in *Herm.* XXVI (1891), p. 445f. whether the fragment should not be placed under Marcus Aurelius. His conclusions were not wholly definite (see his edition of Dio III p. 245), but, on the other hand, it cannot be positively asserted that this earthquake occurred under Antoninus, for there is no inscription from the Hellespontine region that can be connected with aid given by him on this occasion; the dedication to Antoninus, Dionysus and the *Mystae* published by M. J. Gedeon Προικόννησος (Constantinople 1895), p. 101 and cited by Hüttl II p. 359 (from Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 267, no. 13) is not from Cyzicus but from the island of Proconnesus. For the temple at Cyzicus see Chap. XXVI note 11. For Antoninus as hipparch at Cyzicus see *I.G.R.* IV 117.

9. For Antoninus's statues at Ephesus see *I.B.M.* 504 and *Ephesos* II no. 50. For P. Vedius Antoninus (more fully, M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus) see *I.B.M.* 491 = *Syll.*[3] 850 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 101 (A.D. 145): *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), *Beibl.* 25f. = *S.E.G.* IV 533 = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 80 (A.D. 147/8, see above note 7, from his gymnasium): *I.B.M.* 493 (A.D. 149/50, see Hüttl I p. 208, note 351 and II p. 49f.): *I.B.M.* 492 (A.D. 150). He appears as γραμματεύων of Ephesus in *I.B.M.* 489 = *Syll.*[3] 849 of A.D. 140-144 (see below note 17) and (if the restoration is correct) as πρυτανεύων of the city in *S.E.G.* IV 534. He is called κτίστης τῆς πόλεως in *Herm.* VII (1873), p. 31, no. 2 = Wood *Ephesus, Append.* VIII no. 4 and *Ephesos* III no. 75. For his military service as tribune of Legio IV Scythica and his senatorial career, in which the last office named is the quaestorship of Cyprus, see *Ephesos* IV 1, no. 10 = *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 166. For his family see Groag in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 291f. and (with some differences) Keil in *Ephesos* III p. 166f. The M. Claudius Sabinus and his son, Claudius Phaedrus, who erected a statue of the Empress Sabina at Ephesus (*Ephesos* IV 1, no. 8 = *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 165, see Chap. XXVI note 17) were regarded by Keil as Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus and his father, M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus. It was suggested by C. S. Walton in *J.R.S.* XIX (1929), p. 57, note 3 that the Vedius Antoninus of the Emperor's letters (*I.B.M.* 491 and 493) was the father of Sabinus. This suggestion, however, was based only on the improbability of Keil's supposition that the apparent early termination of Antoninus Phaedrus's senatorial career arose from a desire to stay at home and serve his native city, and it is not certain that the quaestorship was actually his last office.

10. *C.I.L.* III 7071 (Alexandria Troas): *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1894, p. 918 (Hyllarima, see Fabricius in *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert*, p. 127f.): *Ins. Sardis* 58 = *I.G.R.* IV 1506 (Sardis, where the reading δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας β′ is doubtful and the epithet Ἥρως suggests that the inscription is to be dated after Antoninus's death): *I.G.R.* IV 354 and 355 (Pergamum). For the πρόπυλον

of Charax see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 7f., no. 13 and p. 52f., no. 4 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 274 and 279. It was perhaps the προπύλαια τοῦ ἱεροῦ mentioned in Aristides *Orat.* XLVIII 31 Keil. Charax seems to appear as εὐεργέτης (of Pergamum) in *I.G.R.* IV 494, l. 14 as corrected in *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 354; see Hepding in *Philol.* LXXXVIII (1933), p. 93, note 19. For his Ἑλληνικά and Χρονικά see Jacoby *F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 482f.

11. *C.I.G.* 2658 (Halicarnassus): *I.G.R.* III 78 (=Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 245f., Heracleia Pontica); 113 (Sebastopolis); 311 (=*M.A.M.A.* IV 235, Tymandus); 348 (Sagalassus); 386 (Milyas ?); 425 (=*T.A.M.* III 1, 12, Termessus); 664 =1520 (=*T.A.M.* II 408, Patara); 774 (Attaleia); 832 (Iotape); 915 (Mopsuestia); IV 594 (Synaus); 769 (Hyrgaleis, see *Cl. Rev.* XXI [1907], p. 58); 1158 (Stratoniceia-Hadrianopolis); 1354 (Hyrcanis, see Robert *Hellenica* VI [1948], p. 17); 1497 (*katoikia* of Selindus): *M.A.M.A.* IV 5 (Prymnessus); 54 (Synnada, as Θεός): *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-24), p. 446, no. 159 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 31 (Andeda or Isinda ?, Pisidia): *I.G.* XIV 1051 = *I.G.R.* I 121 = *O.G.I.* 575 (Mopsuestia in Rome, for "preserving its original rights"). For the cities of Lycia see above note 6. For letters of Antoninus to the cities see *I.B.M.* 489 (see below note 17), 491 and 492 (see above note 9) (Ephesus); 493 (*Koinon* of Asia): *I.G.R.* IV 356 and 357 (Pergamum, A.D. 139 and 140-146); 575 (=*O.G.I.* 506, the Panhellenes, A.D. 157); 1399 (μύσται of Dionysus in Smyrna, A.D. 158); III 467 (Balbura, A.D. 158); 702 and 704 III D (*Koinon* of Lycia); *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 37 (Myra), c. 38 (Tlos), c. 40-42 and 44 (*Koinon* of Lycia), c. 46 (Limyra), c. 47 (Corydalla), c. 48 (Neisa), c. 49 (*Koinon* of Lycia), c. 50 (Gagae), c. 51 (*Koinon* of Lycia): *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 2 (see below note 13).

12. *Ephesos* II no. 19 = *O.G.I.* 493 II = Abbott and Johnson, no. 98 (see above note 2). The significance of the proconsul's ratification (νενομοθετήσθω) was pointed out by Mommsen in *J.O.A.I.* III (1900), p. 4f. See also below note 29. For the *curator* see Chap. XXV note 13. For Ilium see *I.G.R.* IV 218, and for the city's exemption from *tutela* see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 17, 1. This rescript was somewhat arbitrarily connected by Haubold *de Rebus Iliensium* (Leipzig 1888), p. 55f. with the nine-hundredth celebration of the founding of Rome held in 147.

13. *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 2f. (but see *Vit. Pii* 11, 3). The physicians whose numbers were thus limited were evidently the officially recognized public physicians; see R. Pohl *De Graecorum Medicis Publicis* (Berlin 1905), pp. 23f. and 43, who showed that (presumably from the time of Antoninus's letter onward) they had the title of ἀρχιατρός, once held by the physicians of Antiochus VII and Mithradates Eupator (*O.G.I.* 256 and 374) and afterward by Claudius's physician C. Stertinius Xenophon (*I.G.R.* IV 1086 = *Syll.*[3] 804, see Chap. XXIII note 9), on whom it may have been conferred by the Coans after Claudius's death; it was applied by Galen (Vol. XIV pp. 2 and 261 Kühn) to Nero's physician Andromachus as well as to other, later, imperial physicians. Pohl (p. 36f.) pointed out that the title ἀρχιατρὸς πόλεως

(or τῆς πόλεως) occurs in three inscriptions found, respectively, in Euromus in Caria (*C.I.G.* 2714 = L.W. 314-318), in Troezen (*I.G.* IV 782) and in Aeclanum in Italy (*I.G.* XIV 689 = *I.G.R.* I 461), to which should be added an ἀρχιατρὸς τῆς [Ἐ]φεσίων πόλεως (*Ephesos* III no. 55). The usual designation, however, is ἀρχιατρός, which appears in inscriptions and on coins from twenty-one places in Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, as listed by Pohl, p. 37f. and by J. Oehler *Epigr. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Aerztestandes* (Vienna 1907), p. 8, to whose lists should be added: *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 128f. a, e and f and XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 263 = *S.E.G.* IV 521 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 94 (Ephesus, see Chap. XXIV note 15): *I.G.R.* IV 1278 (Thyateira): *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 75f., no. 6 B (Lagina): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 363f., no. 1 (southwest Phrygia): *T.A.M.* II 224 (Sidyma): *M.A.M.A.* III 22 (Seleuceia-on-Calycadnus); VI 117 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 191 (Heracleia Salbace); VI 373 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 205 (Synnada): *T.A.P.A.* LVII (1926), p. 226, no. 52 and *Cl. Rev.* XXXIII (1919), p. 2 (Antioch-near-Pisidia): *Stud. Pont.* III no. 110 a (Amaseia). For an ἀρχιατ[ρός] and φίλος of Trajan at Heracleia Salbace see *M.A.M.A.* VI 91 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 85 and for a φίλος καὶ ἀρχιατρός of M. Aurelius at Antioch see *T.A.P.A.* LVII p. 224, no. 48 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 171. For the other exemptions see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 17, 2 and L 6, 6, 3f. and Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 359f. For the *collegia* of the *negotiatores et navicularii*, the *fabri* and the *centonarii* see Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 393f. and VI 1913f.: Stöckle in *R.E.* XVI 1927f. and *Suppl.* IV 157f.: O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 98f. For an imperial rescript concerning the privileges of the *collegium centonariorum* in A.D. 205 at Solva in Noricum see *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), p. 98f. For the liability of the tenants of the imperial estates to liturgies until they were declared exempt (*Digesta* L 6, 6, 11), probably under Septimius Severus, see Chap. XXVIII note 35.

14. *C.I.L.* III 7060 = Dessau 7190 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 106, dated by Hüttl (I p. 73, note 8) in 138 before Hadrian's death. For the Νέοι at Cyzicus about 277 B.C. see *O.G.I.* 748 (see Chap. I note 9), and for the prevalence of their associations in the Asianic cities see Chap. III note 37. It was supposed by M. Radin *Legislation of the Greeks and Romans on Corporations* (New York 1909), p. 125, followed by C. A. Forbes Νέοι (Middletown, Conn. 1933), p. 41, that this senatus consultum was "honorific, not constitutory" and that it was not necessary to obtain a formal authorization for the Association. For the disorders perpetrated by the *Neoi* see *Digesta* XLVIII 19, 28, 3.

15. *T.A.M.* II 175 (= *I.G.R.* III 582 = 1515 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 114) and 176. Since Lycia was a senatorial province at this time (see Chap. XXVIII note 7), the application, as in the case of Cyzicus (see above note 14), had to be made to the Senate or the senatorial governor; see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II³ p. 886f.

16. *I.G.R.* IV 444 (Pergamum): *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1904, p. 83 = *Arch. Jahrb.* XIX (1904), *Arch. Anz.* p. 8 (Miletus): *Ins. Magn.* 114 = Abbott and John-

son, no. 124 (Ephesus, see *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxv [1915], 243). For these labour disputes see Buckler in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 27f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 540: Ziebarth in *R.E. Suppl.* VII 1251. It was supposed by Rostovtzeff that the Ephesian bakers, *i.e.* the owners of bakeries, were "concessionaires of the city or working under a special authorization of the city magistrates and the city council." This would explain why the Ephesian βουλή acted in the matter (l. 15f.), while the proconsul (if the διάταγμα emanated from him) took measures to suppress a seditious meeting, an action similar to that feared by the Ephesian *grammateus* at the time of the rioting aroused by the preaching of St. Paul (*Acta Apost.* XIX 40, see below note 29).

17. Cassius Dio LII 37, 10 (a speech attributed to Maecenas but reflecting later conditions). For the rivalry in titles see Gäbler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV (1904), pp. 263f. and 337f. and Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 741f. For the enmity between Nicomedeia and Nicaea and between Ephesus and Smyrna see above p. 589 and p. 599. For Antoninus's letter (A.D. 140-44) see *I.B.M.* 489 = *Syll.*[3] 849 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 100. The embassy which, according to Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 19, was sent to the emperor by Smyrna in a dispute ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δικαίων and is described as τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα was probably, as Boulanger observed (*Aelius Aristide*, p. 377, note 1), connected with the imperial cult. It was dated under M. Aurelius in *Syll.*[3] 849, note 2, but under Antoninus by Boulanger. For the title of ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας borne by Ephesus in the time of the Antonines and Septimius Severus see L.W. 140 and 147 a: *I.B.M.* 482 (= *Syll.*[3] 867), 503 (= *O.G.I.* 496), 541, 543 and 606: *Ephesos* II nos. 39 (= *O.G.I.* 510), 50, 66 and 69; III nos. 35-37; IV 1, no. 9: *S.E.G.* IV 519, 520 and 534.

18. Aristides *Orat.* XXIII 12 and 67 Keil (between A.D. 161 and 169, see Boulanger *ibid.* p. 376). For the titles of Smyrna see *I.G.R.* IV 541, 1419-21, 1425 and 1482 (= *C.I.L.* III 471): *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 286f., nos. 389f., 404f. and 412f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 1957. For the title of Pergamum see *C.I.G.* 3538 = *B.C.H.* XLVI (1922), p. 190f.: *I.G.R.* IV 426, 480 and 1687: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 42f., nos. 2, 4 and 15 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 269, 270 and 276. For the second neocory of Pergamum (between 109 and 116) see Chap. XXV note 7. For Magnesia see Eckel *D.N.* III p. 527 and Mionnet III p. 156, no. 694f. (Gordian).

19. L.W. 212: *Milet* I 7, p. 315f., nos. 234-236, 240, 260, 262 and 267 (Miletus): *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 884, no. 47 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 245f. (incomplete in *I.G.R.* III 78) and *Receuil* I p. 376f., nos. 205, 215f. and 231 (Heracleia): *Ins. Sardis* 63 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1528), 65-70 (Sardis): *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 63f., no. 6 = *S.E.G.* IV 263 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 58, dated perhaps under Hadrian in *B.C.H.* LXI (1937), p. 258, no. 65 (Stratoniceia).

20. *I.G.R.* IV 154 and *Ephesos* I no. 3 (Cyzicus): *I.G.R.* IV 859 and 863 as restored in *J.H.S.* LVI (1936), p. 78f., no. 1 (Laodiceia): L.W. 604 = *I.G.R.* IV 1341 (see *R. Phil.* LV [1929], p. 138f.) and *A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 333, no. 13 (= Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις, p. 20, no. 7); XIX (1894), p. 111f., no. 12 (= *R.E.G.* XIV [1901], p. 303f., no. 1 = Pappakonstantinou, p. 63, no. 112); XXVI (1901), p. 240, no. 6 (Tralles): *I.G.R.* IV 618 (Temenothyrae) and 1380 (Silandus, A.D. 299-302). For Synnada as a metropolis see *I.G.R.* IV 700 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 59 (A.D. 293-305). For the *metropoleis* in the other provinces see Broughton, p. 742f. and Bosch *Kl. M.* I 1, p. 222, note 64, where the following places are listed: Nicomedeia and Amastris in Bithynia; Ancyra in Galatia; Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia; Perge ("First City") and Aspendus ("Third City") in Pamphylia; Laranda and Isaura Palaea in Lycaonia; Amaseia ("First City"), Neocaesareia, Sebasteia and Mazaca-Caesareia in Pontus and Cappadocia; Tarsus, Anazarbus, Sebaste, Diocaesareia (metropolis of Cennatis), Olba (of Cennatis and Cietis), Coropissus (of Cietis) and Lamus (of Lamotis) in Cilicia. To these should be added Nicopolis in Armenia Minor (see *C.I.G.* 4189 and *B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 35, no. 13) and (perhaps in the fourth century) Side (*C.I.G.* 4361). For the five *metropoleis* of Lycia see Chap. XXII note 60.

21. For the grant of this title see Chap. XXIV note 18. For lists of the cities which bore it see Pick in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), p. 1f.: K. Hanell in *R.E.* XVI 2425f.: Broughton, p. 742: Bosch *Kl. M.* I 1, p. 222, note 64. For the neocories of Pergamum, Ephesus, Smyrna and Cyzicus see Chap. XXIV note 18 and Chap. XXVI note 11. The neocory of Sardis seems to appear for the first time on a coin of Antinous (*i.e.* under Hadrian); see Mionnet IV p. 126, no. 716 and Head in *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cvii. For Nicomedeia see *C.I.G.* 1720 (Ἀδριανή and νε[ω]κόρος). For Tarsus see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 189, no. 158f. (Antinous). For Tralles see L.W. 1652 a and the inscriptions cited above in note 20, all apparently of the third century. The neocory of Tralles appears also on coins of Caracalla (Mionnet IV p. 189, no. 1101f. and *Suppl.* VII p. 474, no. 733, see also Buresch in *A.M.* XIX [1894], p. 115) and Severus Alexander (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 353f., nos. 161 and 164f.). For Philadelpheia (*I.G.R.* IV 1619 = *Syll.*[3] 883, letter of Caracalla) and Laodiceia under Caracalla see Chap. XXVIII notes 41 and 42. For meetings of the *Koinon* of Asia in these three cities as well as in Miletus see Chap. XVIII note 55. The lists show that in addition to these cities the title of νεωκόρος (without τῶν Σεβαστῶν) was borne by the following in the late second and the early third century: in Asia, Hierapolis and Synnada; in Bithynia-Pontus, Amaseia, Heracleia Pontica, Juliopolis and Neocaesareia; in Galatia, Ancyra; in Cappadocia, Mazaca-Caesareia; in Pamphylia, Aspendus, Perge and Side; in Cilicia, Aegaeae, Anazarbus and Olba (perhaps of Zeus); in Armenia Minor, Nicopolis. For the second neocories of Pergamum (under Trajan), Smyrna and Ephesus (under Hadrian) see Chap. XXV note 7 and Chap. XXVI notes 15 and 30. The lists show that the following cities had also second neocories: Cyzicus, Sardis, Synnada, Neocaesareia, Nicomedeia (under Commodus temporarily, restored under Severus, see Pick *ibid.* p. 27f. and Chap.

XXVIII note 19), Nicopolis (*Ann. Ép.* 1909, 19), Ancyra, Mazaca-Caesareia and Tarsus. The title of *τρὶς νεωκόρος* was obtained by Pergamum and Smyrna under Caracalla; see Chap. XXVIII notes 41 and 42. The prevailing belief that under him Ephesus also received a third neocory, based on a coin of his time with the legend *Ἐφεσίων τρὶς νεωκόρων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος* (see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 89, no. 292 and Pick in *Corolla Numismatica . . . in Honour of B. V. Head* [Oxford 1906], p. 239f.), was refuted by Keil in *Num. Ztschr.* XLVIII (1915), p. 125f., who showed that the correct text of L.W. 147 b (cf. *B.C.H.* I [1877], p. 291, no. 79) of 213-217 (*τρὶς νεωκόρου, πρώτης δὶς μὲν τ(ὼ)ν Σεβαστ(ὼ)ν ἅπα(ξ) δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*) indicates that no imperial neocory was granted under Caracalla; he also showed that the third neocory of the city which appears in inscriptions (*Ephesos* II nos. 53, 54 and 56) and on a coin of this time was that of Artemis. Keil's refutation was subsequently confirmed by an inscription in honour of Gordian (*S.E.G.* IV 523), in which Ephesus is called *νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν*. An additional neocory was granted to Ephesus, Sardis and Nicomedeia by Elagabalus; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 90f., no. 300f. (Ephesus as *δ' νεωκόρος*, the fourth being evidently that of Artemis): *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 265, no. 170f. and *Sardis* XI 1, p. 33, no. 301 (Sardis as *τρὶς νεωκόρος*): *Receuil* I p. 552f., no. 274f. (Nicomedeia as *τρὶς νεωκόρος*). These were subsequently abolished, presumably on account of the *damnatio memoriae* of the Emperor, for under Severus Alexander and his successors the three cities bore their earlier titles; see Pick in *J.O.A.I.* VII p. 29f. These cities, however, received an additional neocory under Valerian and Gallienus, from whom also Ancyra and Neocaesareia obtained their second neocory and Perge and Side their first. For Magnesia and Aezani as *neokoros*, respectively, of Artemis and Zeus in the third century see *Coll. Wadd.* 1749, 1751 and 5581: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 168, no. 73: *I.G.R.* IV 567 and 581.

22. See A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 324, note 67, where, in addition to Nicomedeia and Sardis, the following Asianic cities are listed: Amorium, Sagalassus, Aspendus, Sillyum, Side and Mopsuestia. To these may be added Nicaea (Schneider and Karnapp *Stadtmauer v. Iznik*, p. 46, no. 16) and Aphrodisias (*J. H. S.* XX [1900], p. 77f., no. 6). The *συμμαχία* between Rome and Magnesia ad Maeandrum is mentioned in *I.G.* II^2 1091 = *O.G.I.* 503 (under Antoninus, see Chap. XXVI note 49).

23. *Receuil* I p. 405f., nos. 54f., 78, 80, 90, 108f., 159f., 219 and 269f. (Nicaea); I p. 619f., nos. 24, 28 and 67 (Tieium); I p. 316f., nos. 28f., 40 and 68 (Cius); I^2 p. 42, no. 53 (Amaseia): *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 340, no. 9 (Nacoleia). For Mopsus, Amphilochus and Calchas in Pamphylia and Cilicia see Chap. XI notes 3, 29 and 32. For various mythical founders of Tarsus see Chap. XI note 28. For other founders see A. H. M. Jones *Cities*, p. 67 and *Greek City*, p. 49, where the following are cited: Chromius (*Iliad* II 858; XVII 218, 494 and 534) as *προπάτωρ* of the Abbaïtae (*O.G.I.* 446); the Phrygian heroes Otreus and Mygdon (*Iliad* III 186), of whom the former gave his name to Otrus in Phrygia and the latter was supposed to have a tomb at Stectorium

(Pausanias x 27, 1); Acamas (*Iliad* II 823; XII 100, *etc.*) at Synnada (Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Σύνναδα and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 397, no. 27); Acamas and Dorylaus at Dorylaeum (*I.G.R.* IV 527: *Nouv. Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* VI [1895], p. 559, no. 3: *C.I.L.* XVI 145: J. Weiss in *J.O.A.I.* XVI [1913], *Beibl.* 71f.). For Acamas at Metropolis see Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 277. For Telephus and Pergamus see Chap. I note 3: *I.G.R.* IV 1682 (see Chap. XVII note 4): *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 136, no. 224. For Erythrus and Iasus as κτίσται see *Coll. Wadd.* 1672f. and *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 142, no. 228 and *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 126, no. 15. For *Parius Condit(or)* see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 102, no. 83. For Tralleus and Meiletus as κτίσται and the "heroes" Cyzicus and Poemes see *Coll. Wadd.* 5436: *Num. Chron.* VI (1906), p. 33f.: *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 42f.: *Ztschr. f. Num.* III (1876), p. 123f. For Temenus as οἰκιστής and κτίστης see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 407f., nos. 1 and 18 and *Coll. Wadd.* 5310.

23 a. For the formula συνθύσας ἐπὶ τῇ δεδομένῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος δωρεᾷ see *C.I.G.* 2761-2765 (Apollonia Salbace, Heracleia Salbace, Hierapolis, Cibyra and Tabae) and *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX (1893), p. 102, no. 12 = *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 112, no. 32 (Ceretapa, see Robert *Villes*, p. 105f.). For the statues at Ephesus see *Ephesos* II nos. 54-56. For those of Ὁμόνοια at Antioch see Chap. XIX note 31, and for the ὁμόνοια between Mopsuestia and Anazarbus see *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* IV (1911), p. 43, no. 27. For the joint issues of coins see Eckhel *D.N.* IV p. 333f.: Head *H.N.*² p. lxxxiv: L. Weber in *Journ. Internat. d'Arch. Numism.* XIV (1912), p. 65f.: Bosch in *Arch. Jahrb.* XLVI (1931), *Arch. Anz.* 441: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 872. The lists of Weber (pp. 67f. and 109f.) contain the names of 68 combinations, including the tripartite Ephesus-Pergamum-Smyrna and Ephesus-Pergamum-Sardis. The only combination in which one of the members is not a city is that of Apollonia (Pisidia)-Lycian Federation. From these lists the following combinations should be omitted as of doubtful authenticity: Ceretapa-Hierapolis (see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. xlv, Weber, p. 96 and Robert *Villes*, p. 108, note 4); Laodiceia-Perinthus and Laodiceia-Antiocheia ad Maeandrum (see *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 330); Pergamum-Tralles (see von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Acad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 100). The following may be added: Smyrna-*Koinon* of Asia (*Hunter. Coll.* II p. 392, no. 290); Adramyttium-Mitylene (*B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 214, no. 232); Alexandria Troas-Smyrna (*Num. Chron.* XII [1892], p. 204, no. 34); Amisus-Nicaea (*Receuil* I² p. 91, no. 130 a); Apollonia-Perge (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl.M.* p. 364, no. 2); Aspendus-Side (*Coll. Wadd.* 3482); Attaleia-Side (Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, p. 180, no. 8); Attuda-Trapezopolis (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 126, no. 14); Bageis-Temenothyrae (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 41, no. 54f.); Bruzus-Ococleia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 281, no. 3); Cyme-Myrina (Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 510, no. 1); Daldis-Philadelpheia (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 211, no. 121); Docimeium-Ephesus (Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, p. 148); Ephesus-Perge (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 334, no. 58 and *McClean Coll.* 8916); Ephesus-Perinthus (*Beschr. d. Ant. Münzen d. Kgl. Mus. z. Berlin* I p. 219); Harpasa-Neapolis, Caria (Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 149); Metro-

polis, Phrygia-Sardis (Head *H.N.*² p. 681, citing Hirsch *Auct. Cat.* XIII 4145); Mitylene-Pergamum (von Fritze *ibid.* p. 99); Myra-Patara (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 78, no. 19f.); Myra-Side (Mionnet III p. 439, no. 54 and p. 485, no. 224); Nicomedeia-Perinthus (*Receuil* I p. 564, no. 371); Perge-Delphi (*Coll. Wadd.* 3410); Perge-Side (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 141f., no. 105f. and p. 164, no. 129f.); Samos-Alexandria (Mionnet III p. 293f., no. 236); Sebaste-Temenothyrae (*Coll. Wadd.* 7063 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 417, no. 42); Selge-Sparta (Mionnet III p. 525, no. 191); Side-Alexandria (*Coll. Wadd.* 3481); Side-Delphi (*B.M. Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 297, no. 128); Tabae-Sparta (*Coll. Wadd.* 7052). The following are less well attested: Adramyttium-Pergamum (Mionnet *Suppl.* V p. 278, no. 17); Cyme-Pergamum (Mionnet *Suppl.* V p. 433, no. 955); Mitylene-Smyrna (Mionnet III p. 47, no. 115). The following coins, on which ὁμόνοια does not appear, should, however, be included: Aegae-Myrina, with two female figures representing the cities (*B.M. Cat. Troas, etc.* p. 100, no. 31); Aezani-Cadi with representations of the two *demoi* (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 43, no. 139f.); Amastris-Amisus with the τύχαι of the two cities (*Receuil* I² p. 176*, no. 72). As thus constituted, the lists contain 74 cities appearing in 96 different combinations, of which only ten lack the word ὁμόνοια. Those most frequently occurring are Smyrna in combination with twenty cities (besides the *Koinon* of Asia), Ephesus with twenty, Hierapolis with nine, Laodiceia and Pergamum with eight, Sardis and Side with six. The following six cities outside Asia Minor appear in a combination with an Asianic city: Athens with Smyrna; Byzantium with Nicaea; Delphi with Perge and Side; Alexandria with Ephesus, Samos and Side; Sparta with Selge, Smyrna and Tabae; Perinthus with Ephesus, Nicomedeia and Smyrna. The earliest coins are those of Pergamum-Sardis with the head of Augustus (*B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 166, no. 360f. and *Lydia*, p. 275, no. 213) and Laodiceia-Smyrna under Nero (*Coll. Wadd.* 6243 and *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 324f., no. 263f.), which, although they lack the word ὁμόνοια, show the figures or the heads of the two *demoi*. The earliest coins inscribed ὁμόνοια are those of Ephesus-Pergamum (von Fritze *ibid.* p. 99) and Ephesus-Smyrna (*Coll. Wadd.* 1625f. and 1629 and *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 110f., no. 405f.), issued under Domitian. Single examples occur also under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, but these coins were issued much more extensively under the Antonines and in still greater numbers in the third century from Severus to Gallienus.

While the word ὁμόνοια on a coin of Nicomedeia (*Receuil* I p. 529, no. 95, βουλὴ δῆμος ὁμόνοια) and perhaps in inscriptions at Prusias ad Hypium (*I.G.R.* III 60, 65, 67 and 68) suggests the restoration of "concord" between hostile factions in these cities, this can hardly be the significance of the word as used in the joint issues. Eckhel observed (p. 333f.) that the distance between issuing cities, as, for example, between Ephesus and Alexandria, precludes the explanation of a reconciliation terminating a feud, and, indeed, there are too many instances of a combination between far distant cities to make it credible that these had engaged in feuds. It is difficult, moreover, to believe that during the first three centuries at least ninety-six inter-city feuds existed. Nevertheless, it was supposed by Gaebler in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV

(1904), p. 337f. that the coin of Ephesus-Pergamum-Smyrna was issued to mark the end of the dispute between these cities under Antoninus Pius, and von Fritze (p. 102) suggested that, in general, quarrels resulting from rivalry in rank and title were ended by a ὁμόνοια expressed by the celebration of a common festival. The explanation offered by Eckhel, namely, that the purpose of the combinations was a joint celebration of sacred rites and a festival, was accepted by Regling in F. von Schrötter's *Wörterbuch d. Münzkunde* (Berlin 1930), p. 275, and in part by Head (*ibid.*), who admitted it only in cases of neighbouring cities, supposing that in the cases of those far distant from each other *homonoia* could "signify little more than an *entente cordiale*" (the purpose of which, however, Head did not specify). A different explanation was offered by Weber (p. 121f.), who supposed that the word *homonoia* was used to indicate a league formed by those cities which, having obtained the title of *neokoros*, constituted a specially privileged group, the purpose of the relationship being to strengthen the tie which bound the chief cities of a province together, as the imperial cult bound the province as a whole. This theory, however, is inadmissible, for it fails to take into consideration the fact that many of these cities did not have the title *neokoros* and it does not account for the combinations of unimportant places. Weber, however, did point out (pp. 117 and 119) the comparatively large number of the combinations formed by the chief commercial centres of the province of Asia, not merely the great ports of Smyrna and Ephesus but also the places on the important trade-routes, such as Hierapolis, Laodiceia, Pergamum and Sardis. To these may be added the centres of commerce in Cilicia, Perge and Side, which issued *homonoia* coins not only with each other but with Delphi and, in the case of the former, with Ephesus and Mitylene, and in the case of the latter, with Alexandria. Both the frequency of the appearance of all these centres of trade in combinations described by the word *homonoia* and the existence of a relationship between the large number of small, neighbouring places can be best explained, as suggested by Broughton, by supposing that a "commercial bond" of some sort was established between them.

24. For the administration of the cities in the Asianic provinces during the imperial period see Marquardt *R.St.V.*² 1 p. 208f.: J. Menadier *Qua Condicione Ephesii usi sint, etc.* (Berlin 1880), p. 29f.: I. Lévy in *R.E.G.* VIII (1895), p. 203f.; XII (1899), p. 255f.; XIV (1901), p. 350f.: W. Liebenam *Städteverwaltung*, pp. 216f. and 238f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 195f.: Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, p. 69f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, pp. 170f. and 270f. For the founding of cities by emperors see above pp. 471f., 570 and 616f. See also Jones *Greek City*, p. 66f., who pointed out that besides the tribal regions of Abrettene and Olympene, which became the cities of Hadrianeia and Hadriani, the rural commune of the Lower Cilbiani in the valley of the Lydian Caÿster became Κιλβιανοὶ οἱ περὶ Νείκαιαν and later Νικαεῖς Κιλβιανοί and Νείκαια ἡ ἐν Κιλβιανῷ (see Chap. II note 9), and that similarly the centres of the Mocadeni grew into the *metropoleis* Temenothyrae and Silandus and those of the Moxeani into the cities of

Diocleia and Siocharax (see Chap. V note 68). For the letter conferring the *ius civitatis* on Tymandus, east of Apollonia in Pisidia (see *M.A.M.A.* IV p. xiii), see *C.I.L.* 6866 = Dessau 6090 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 236 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 151. It was dated by Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* V p. 550), but only on the basis of the lettering, in the time of Diocletian or later. The fact, however, that the Tymandeis erected a statue of Antoninus Pius in 140 under an eponymous *strategos* (*I.G.R.* III 311) seems to indicate that by this time the place had become a *polis* and suggests that the grant may have been made by Antoninus. For the bestowal of city-rights on Melitene, the headquarters of Legio XII Fulminata, by Trajan see Chap. XXV note 31.

25. For the cities which issued coins during this period see Broughton, pp. 738f. and 746, supplemented by the catalogue of L. C. West (see Chap. XX note 16). These communities were distributed as follows: 168 in Asia; 29 in Bithynia-Paphlagonia-Pontus; 15 in Galatia-Lycaonia; 3 in Cappadocia; 32 in Pisidia; 39 in Cilicia; 6 in Pamphylia; 20 in Lycia, none of which except Cyaneae and Tlos, which coined under Augustus, and Patara, which coined under Pertinax, Caracalla and Gordian, had a coinage of its own until the time of Gordian. The total number may be compared with the 99 cities (including the colonies) which are known to have coined under Augustus; see Chap. XX note 16. The number of places cited in the text as having the organization of a *polis* includes those cities which are known from inscriptions or coins (as listed in Head *H.N.*[2]) to have had a βουλή or civic officials as well as those which are specifically called πόλις. They were distributed as follows: 153 in Asia; 25 in Bithynia-Paphlagonia-Pontus; 10 in Galatia-Lycaonia; 2 in Cappadocia; 24 in Pisidia; 17 in Cilicia; 5 in Pamphylia; 36 in Lycia. Communities designated only as a δῆμος are not included in this list, for they may have been merely a tribe or even a village without the status of a *polis*; see Jones *Cities*, p. 417f., note 40 and *J.R.S.* XXX (1940), p. 25. For the revenues of a city see Liebenam, p. 2f. (in general): Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV p. 353f.: Broughton, p. 797f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 244f. For χωρία or ξύλα δημόσια see *C.I.G.* 3945 = Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 74, no. 6 (Laodiceia): *I.G.R.* IV 870 (Colossae): Lanckoroński II no. 184 (Trebenna). For land belonging to the village of Castollus see *O.G.I.* 488. For τέλη τὰ ἐ[κ] τῆς χώρας at Stratoniceia-Hadrianopolis see *I.G.R.* IV 1156 a = *Syll.*[3] 837 (see Chap. XXVI note 19), and for the yield to the *polis* from land see *A.M.* XXIII (1898), p. 366 (Hypaepa) and *I.G.R.* IV 1168 b (Attaleia, Lydia). For the purchase of land by a city from surplus funds see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 54: *I.G.R.* IV 915 b (Cibyra). For gifts of land see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 124f., A, l. 18f. = *S.E.G.* IV 418 (Nysa); *I.G.R.* III 422 (Ariassus). For local taxes see *I.G.R.* IV 181 and *I.G.* XII 5, 724 and 946 (Lampsacus, Andros and Tenos, poll-taxes): *I.G.R.* IV 259 (Assus, ἡ τῶν πολ[ιτικῶν πρα]κτόρων πρᾶξις): *T.A.M.* II 291 = *I.G.R.* III 634 (Xanthus, τὸ ἐνκύκλιον τοπικὸν τέλος); see also Chap. III note 39. For fines for the violation of tombs see Liebenam, p. 37f. For franchises and fees see *I.G.R.* IV 352 = *O.G.I.* 484 (bank at Pergamum, see Chap. XXVI note 51): *O.G.I.* 515 (bank at Mylasa, see Chap. XXVIII note 38): L.W. 1311 = *O.G.I.* 572 (ferries at

Limyra): *Ins. Magn.* 121 restored by Wilhelm in *S. B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX 6 (1915), p. 38f., no. 31 (fees for use of a public weighing-scale). For the prohibition to a municipium to receive bequests and its abolition by Nerva see Pliny *Epist.* v 7 and Ulpian *Regulae* 22, 5 and 24, 28 (Huschke *Iurisprud. Anteiustin. Reliquiae*[6], pp. 471 and 481). The prohibition seems not to have been rigidly enforced in the East, for there is mention of bequests during the first century to Cibyra (see above), to Ephesus (Dörner *Erlass d. Statthalters v. Asien Paullus Fabius Persicus*, p. 39, see Chap. XXIII note 16) and perhaps to Aphrodisias (L.W. 1611 = *A.M.* v [1880], p. 340f., no. 12). For bequests of land see Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 134f. and Jones, p. 359, note 67. For a building at Prusa see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 70. For bequests of money see *I.G.R.* III 588 (= *T.A.M.* II 179, Sidyma); 828 (Coracesium); IV 1572 (Teos): *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 177f., no. 12 (Iasus).

26. For mention of the ἐκκλησία see *e.g.* Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 110 (Amisus): *I.G.R.* III 226 = *O.G.I.* 537 (Pessinus); 582 = 1515 = *T.A.M.* II 175 (Sidyma); 649 (= *T.A.M.* II 838 *d*, Acalissus); 704 II B (Patara); IV 791 (Apameia): *Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, ll. 22, 89 and 420 and *O.G.I.* 480 = Dessau 7194 (Ephesus, see Chap. XXIV note 43): *T.A.M.* III 1, 4 (Termessus). For ἀρχαιρεσίαι see *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 168f., no. 5 (Iasus) and *O.G.I.* 527 (Hierapolis). For a record of a unanimous vote see *I.B.M.* 788 (Cnidus). For the distinction between ἐκκλησιασταί and πολῖται see *I.G.R.* III 800 and 801 (Sillyum). For the suggestion that there was a property-qualification for the former see Jones *ibid.* p. 174, who pointed out that at Tarsus a payment of 500 drachmae was exacted for the exercise of political rights (Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* XXXIV 23). For the distinction between οἱ ἐνκεκριμένοι and οἱ τὴν ἀγροικίαν κατοικοῦντες or [π]αρ[ο]ικοῦντες see *I.G.R.* III 69. It was suggested by Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 562, note 3) that the latter may have been the same as the πάροικοι in *I.G.R.* III 800 and 801 (see above); there seems, however, to be a distinction between πάροικοι and γεωργοί in *I.G.R.* IV 598 = *O.G.I.* 519 and *Cod. Iust.* I 34, 1, and the word πάροικοι was generally used to designate resident aliens; see *O.G.I.* 219, note 21 and 338, note 11. For the πολιτογράφος, who was presumably responsible for the registration of citizens, see L.W. 136 a = *Syll.*[3] 742, l. 40 (Ephesus, 86 B.C.): *I.G.R.* III 63 (= *O.G.I.* 528), 65, 67 and 69 (Prusias ad Hypium); 179 (= *O.G.I.* 549) and 204, *O.G.I.* 547 and *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 17f., nos. 12 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 89) and 23 (Ancyra): Dio Chrysostom *l.c.* (Tarsus). For a *politographia* see *C.I.L.* III 6998 = 13652 = Dessau 7196 = *M.A.M.A.* V 202 (Nacoleia).

27. See *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2935 and 3673: *I.G.R.* III 215 (= *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII [1928], p. 272f., no. 46, gladiator); IV 160, 162, 1272 (dancer), 1344, 1419 and 1519: *I.B.M.* 605, 606 (actor) and 608 b: L.W. 1618 (poet): *A.M.* VII (1882), p. 255, no. 26 (musician); VIII (1883), p. 326f., no. 9 (corrected in *R. Phil.* LVI [1930], p. 31f.); XXI (1896), p. 113, no. 2: *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 81f., nos. 5, 7, 10 and 16: *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 551 and *Ephesos* II no. 70 (pantomimist, see Robert in *Herm.* LXV [1930], p. 113f.): Robert *Ét. Anat.*

pp. 143, 422 and 432f.: *T.A.M.* II 585. For the multiple citizenship held by prominent men in Lycia see above p. 538.

28. For decrees (sometimes as an εἰσήγησις or εἰσαγγελία of those who did not hold office) as a γνώμη (εἰσήγησις, ἐμφάνισις) of officials, usually the *strategoi* and the *grammateus*, see *e.g.* L.W. 140, *Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, ll. 5f., 416f. and 433f., *Ephesos* II no. 19 = *O.G.I.* 493 and *Syll.*[3] 867 (Ephesus): *Ins. Magn.* 113 = *Syll.*[3] 807 (Magnesia ad Maeandrum, under Claudius or Nero): L.W. 1604 and 1611 (Aphrodisias): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 127 = *S.E.G.* IV 418 (Nysa): *O.G.I.* 572 (Myra, πρυτανέων γνώμη): *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582 (Sidyma). For an εἰσήγησις of the βουλή and a γνώμη (?) of officials see *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 93f., no. 9 (Aphrodisias). For an εἰσήγησις of a private person and an ἐπιψήφισις of a *prytanis* or an Asiarch see *S.E.G.* IV 263 (Stratoniceia) and *I.G.R.* IV 261 (Antandrus). See H. Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 178f. and A. H. M. Jones, p. 340f., note 44. Decrees dealt with such subjects as the following: acceptance of gifts to the city (*I.B.M.* IV no. 481* and *B.C.H.* IX p. 127, see above); declaration of a month sacred to Artemis (*Syll.*[3] 867); an annual celebration of Antoninus's birthday (*Ephesos* II no. 19 = *O.G.I.* 493); immunity for a physician (*Ins. Magn.* 113 = *Syll.*[3] 807); provision for the distribution of money bequeathed by a citizen (L.W. 1611); regulations concerning ferry-charges and unfair competition by reducing rates (*O.G.I.* 572 and *I.G.R.* IV 1427 = *Syll.*[3] 1262); formation of a *gerousia* (*T.A.M.* II 175); punishment of unauthorized money-changers (*O.G.I.* 515, Mylasa); grant of public money to an individual (Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 110, Amisus, see Chap. XXV note 22). See also Jones, p. 340, note 41.

29. For the governor's ratification of enactments of the Assembly see *e.g.* *Ephesos* II no. 27 = *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, l. 336f., a letter of the proconsul approving the action taken with regard to the gift of Vibius Salutaris to Ephesus; *I.B.M.* 482 = *Syll.*[3] 867, a decree of Ephesus declaring a month sacred to Artemis; *Ephesos* II no. 19 (= *O.G.I.* 493, see above note 12) and no. 54 (erection of a statue of Cnidus, see above note 23 a); *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582, a decree of Sidyma (see above note 15). For his ratification of honours bestowed by the federal Assembly in Lycia see Chap. XXII note 61. For the suspension of the right of assembly in Prusa by the governor see above p. 600. The dispersal of the city-mob at Ephesus by the *grammateus*, related in *Acta Apost.* XIX 41, may not be regarded as an instance of the forcible dismissal of the Assembly by an official, for although this gathering is called an ἐκκλησία, it was not a regularly convened meeting of the citizens.

30. This seems to appear in the addition of ἀπὸ (or ἐκ) προγόνων to expressions denoting rank or office: ἀνὴρ τῆς πρώτης τάξεως, Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 342, no. 3 (Sebastopolis, Caria): βουλευτής, *C.I.G.* 2813 (Aphrodisias), *P.A.S.* II no. 17 (Heracleia Salbace) and *Türk Tarih* IV (1940), p. 67f. as read by Robert in *R.E.G.* LVII (1944), p. 224 (Smyrna): ἄρξας, *I.G.R.* III 693 (Aperlae) and *T.A.M.* II 349 (παντάρχων ἐκ γένους, Xanthus): στεφα-

νηφόρος, *I.G.R.* IV 1644 (Philadelpheia): στρατηγοί, Keil-Premerstein I no. 22 (Tmolus ?): πρύτανις, L.W. 1661 = *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 217f., no. 45 (perhaps Nacrasa but more probably Pergamum, see Robert *Villes*, p. 72): *I.G.* XII 2, 243 and *C.I.G.* 3486 = *I.G.R.* IV 1243 (τὰν ἐπώνυμον ἀπὺ βασιλέων πρυτανηίαν ἂν ἐκ γένεος διαδεξάμενος, Mitylene and Pergamum). See also Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 265. For a τάγμα βουλευτικόν at Iotape in Cilicia and a γένος βουλευτικόν at Laodiceia Catacecaumene see *C.I.G.* 4411 b (= *I.G.R.* III 833 b) and 4412 b and *M.A.M.A.* I 284. For the existence of this class in Lycia and the distinction between an ἀρχὴ βουλευτική and an ἀρχὴ δημοτική see Chap. XXII note 68. The nature of the διακοσιάπρωτοι mentioned together with the council and *gerousia* at Aphrodisias (*R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 241f., no. 138 d) is unknown. For the principle *decurionum honoribus plebeii fungi prohibentur* see *Digesta* L 2, 7, 2. For the immunity of a *decurio* and his family from certain forms of punishment and his right, in the event of a capital charge, to present his case to the emperor for decision see *Digesta* XLVIII 19, 9, 11f. and 27, 1f.; XLIX 4 *praef.* For the careers of new citizens see Ramsay *Social Basis of Roman Power*, p. 11f.

31. For the *censor* (τιμητής or βουλογράφος) see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 79, 112 and 114: *I.G.R.* III 60, 64 and 66 and *B.C.H.* XXV (1901), p. 61f., no. 207 (omitted in *I.G.R.* III 1422) (Prusias ad Hypium): *B.C.H.* XXV p. 54, no. 198 (Dia): L.W. 1111 (Prusa): *I.G.R.* III 1397 as restored by Robert in *B.C.H.* LII (1928), p. 410f. (Nicaea): *I.G.R.* IV 445 and 446 and *A.M.* XXXII (1907), p. 329, no. 60 (Pergamum): *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 274f., no. 169 (Aphrodisias): *I.G R.* III 179 (= *O.G.I.* 549) and 206 and *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 17, no. 12 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 89 (Ancyra). See also Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 272f.: Liebenam *Städteverwaltung*, p. 259f.: Robert *ibid.* p. 411: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 171. For expulsion by the censor see Pliny *ibid.* 114 and for the grounds on which a member of an *ordo* might be expelled see *Digesta* XLVII 10, 40 and 43 (*iniuria*); 14, 1, 3 (*abigeatus*); XLVIII 7, 1 (*vis privata*); L 7, 1 (*desertio legationis*) and Kübler in *R.E.* IV 2329f. There seem to have been 450 *bouleutai* at Ephesus (*I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, l. 223), but this was probably an unusually large number. For 50 as an *interim* number at Tymandus see *C.I.L.* III 6866 = Dessau 6090 (see above note 24). For a *legitimus numerus* in the Bithynian cities with the enrollment of additional members and the payment of an entrance-fee see Pliny 39, 5 and 112-13. For Erastus see *Syll.*[3] 838 (see Chap. XXVI note 16). For the fees see also Kübler *ibid.* 2329. For a προῖκα βουλευτής in Galatia see *C.I.L.* III 282 = *I.G.R.* III 154 (A.D. 145). For athletes as *bouleutai* see *e.g.* *I.G.R.* III 370 (Adada); IV 855 (Laodiceia); 1419 (Smyrna); 1761 (Cibyra and Philadelpheia): *C.I.G.* 3426 (Cyme, Philadelpheia and Rhodes): L.W. 1620 a (Apollonia, Miletus, Pessinus and Claudiopolis) and 1652 b = *P.A.S.* II no. 1 = *R.E.G.* XLIX (1936), p. 245 (mime, Antiocheia and Heracleia Salbace): *P.A.S.* III no. 420 (Thymbrium and Adada): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 68f., no. 1 (Aphrodisias, Nicomedeia and Ancyra): *I.B.M.* 615, l. 17 (Ephesus) and 617 (Alexandria, Ephesus and Rhodes): *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 551 (actor, see above note 27, twelve cities in Asia Minor, besides others in Greece). For

athletes who received honours in their native cities see Robert in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 52f. A reluctance to accept the post of *bouleutes* is suggested by Pliny 113, *inviti fiunt decuriones*, which, however, was regarded by Jones (*ibid.* p. 344) as corrupt; but for attempts at evasion see Kübler *ibid.* 2349.

32. For βούλαρχοι see Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 198f., Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 202 and Jones *Greek City*, p. 341, note 45, whose lists include the following cities, all in Asia: Acmonia, Aezani, Aphrodisias, Colossae, Ephesus, Erythrae, Eumeneia, Hierapolis, Hierocaesareia, Mastaura, Miletus, Mitylene, Nysa, Philadelpheia, Smyrna, Thyateira, Tralles. To these may be added Hypaepa (Keil-Premerstein III no. 84) and Priene (*Ins. Priene* 246). For διὰ βίου βούλαρχοι see *I.G.R.* IV 1230, 1233 and 1247 = *O.G.I.* 516 (Thyateira). At Termessus there were twelve πρόβουλοι, apparently one for each month, one of whom had the title of ἀρχιπρόβουλος and was the eponymous official, although inscriptions are often dated by the less exact term πρόβουλος; see Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX 3 (1929), p. 127 and *R.E.* V A 763f. For an eponymous πρόβουλος at Sagalassus see *I.G.R.* III 356, and for an ἀρχιπρόβουλος as foreman of a board of archons at Ariassus in Pisidia see *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 429f., no. 59. For δογματογράφοι see Swoboda, p. 214 and Jones *l.c.*, whose list contains the following cities: Acmonia, Assus, Ephesus, Iasus and Mitylene, to which should probably be added Hieropolis in Phrygia (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 699, no. 631). For restrictions on the passage or rescinding of the decrees of an *ordo* see *Digesta* L 9, 2f. For the prohibition to vote public funds to an individual see also Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 110-11. For the ἐπικύρωσις of a decree of the βουλή of Smyrna by the proconsul see *I.G.R.* IV 1414. At Carmylessus (?) in Lycia even the permission to repair a private tomb was obtained from the proconsul; see *T.A.M.* II 122.

33. See Lévy in *R.E.G.* VIII p. 226f., where the following examples of a council's responsibility were cited: Pliny *ad Trajan.* 81 (public building at Prusa): *B.C.H.* XVI p. 427, no. 58 = *I.G.R.* III 422 (gift of an estate at Ariassus): *C.I.G.* 4283 = *T.A.M.* II 408 = *I.G.R.* III 664 = 1520 (theatre at Patara): L.W. 1124 (statue at Apameia Myrleia). For the authorization of a monument at Smyrna see *I.G.R.* IV 1420. For tombs see *e.g.* *T.A.M.* II 605 (Tlos): *I.G.R.* IV 661 (Acmonia): Keil-Premerstein III p. 110, no. 175 (Metropolis, Ionia): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 74, no. 7 (Laodiceia). See also B. Keil in *Herm.* XLIII (1908), p. 575 and H. Stemler *Die Griech. Grabschriften Kleinasiens* (Halle 1909), p. 42. For appropriations from the πρόσοδοι or πόροι of the βουλή see *I.G.R.* IV 275 (Pergamum, τὰ ἴδια); 578 (Aezani); 615 (Temenothyrae); 1272 (Thyateira); III 415 (Olbasa, παρ' ἑαυτῆς): *Ephesos* III no. 57 (Ephesus, χρήματα). For an ἀργυροταμίας (see below note 45) βουλῆς at Pergamum see Kondoleon Μικρασ. Ἐπιγρ. no. 28 = *Ins. Perg.* 596, and for a ταμίας βουλῆς at Tmolus (Lydia) see *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117, no. 2. For fines for the violation of tombs to be paid to councils see Liebenam, p. 43f. For gifts and bequests to councils see Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 100f. See also L.W. 1609 a (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* IV 1629 and 1632 (Philadelpheia):

A.M. VIII (1883), p. 328f., no. 10 (Tralles): *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 424f., no. 54 (Pogla) and no. 61 [58] (Ariassus): *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 234 (Hierapolis): Keil-Premerstein I no. 99 (Apollonis). For naming teachers and physicians (see above note 13) see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 4 and L 9, 1. For the eirenarch (see below note 46) see Aristides *Orat.* L 72 Keil and *Cod. Iust.* X 77. For other measures see *Ins. Magn.* 114 (Ephesus, see above note 16): L.W. 519-20, corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 516f. (Stratoniceia): *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, l. 431f. (χρυσοφοροῦντες at Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 1414, corrected by Wilhelm in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXI (1924), p. 115f. (φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί at Smyrna).

34. For the eponymous magistrates see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 271f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 235f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 174. For the ἱππάρχης at Cyzicus (see Chap. III note 20) see *Klio* V (1905), p. 293 = *I.G.R.* IV 149 and *I.G.R.* IV 117 (lists). See also *I.G.R.* IV 153f. and *A.M.* X (1885), p. 202 (a list). For the πρυτάνεις at Cyzicus see Chap. III note 18. For the eponymous *prytanis* at Ephesus see *e.g. C.I.G.* 2955 (= *Ephesos* I p. 70), 2982 (= L.W. 152) and 3003 (= L.W. 166 a): *I.B.M.* 503 = *O.G.I.* 496: *Ins. Magn.* 114: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 85 (woman). For Pergamum see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 445, 461, 499, 513 (woman) and 1687 (women): *Ins. Perg.* II p. 251 (woman): *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 442, no. 25 and p. 450, no. 31 (woman): *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 145, no. 278 (woman). See also Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX (1911), p. 506f. = *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 351f. For Notium see *I.G.R.* IV 1586 = *O.G.I.* 530 (Apollo): *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 160 and p. 166f., no. III 2 (women); p. 166f. and XV (1912), p. 46f. (Apollo). For lists of places having stephanephori see Liebenam, p. 556f. and Stier in *R.E.* III A 2343f. For stephanephori at Miletus see *e.g. C.I.G.* 2881: *Milet* I 6, no. 189 (= *S.E.G.* I 426) and I 7, nos. 259, 263 and 265. For eponymous stephanephori see *Ins. Magn.* 113 (= *Syll.*³ 807), 116 (woman), 117 (woman), 178, 179, 182 (woman), *etc.* (Magnesia ad Maeandrum): *C.I.G.* 3162, *I.G.R.* IV 1393 (woman) and 1464, *A.M.* XII (1887), p. 248, no. 7 and Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 26, 2 (Smyrna): *C.I.G.* 2950 (Nysa): *C.I.G.* 2927 (woman) (Tralles): *Alt. v. Hierap.* 55 b (woman) and perhaps p. 180, no. III 6 (Hierapolis): L.W. 1630 (woman), 1633 b, 1634 (woman), 1637 (woman) and 1639 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 241f., nos. 138 d, 142, 163, 168, 169 (women), 179, 180 and 183 (Aphrodisias): L.W. 517 and 519 and *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 78f., nos. 10 and 11 (Stratoniceia): Keil-Premerstein I no. 93 and *I.G.R.* IV 1342 ? (Magnesia ad Sipylum): L.W. 670 and *I.G.R.* IV 1374 (Maeonia). In some places the titles of *prytanis* and stephanephorus appear together in lists of offices, but there is nothing to indicate that either was eponymous; see *I.G.R.* IV 1322, 1323 (= *O.G.I.* 489 = Dessau 8864) and 1325 (Phocaea): *R.A.* XIX (1892), p. 122 = *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 553 (Temnus ?): *I.G.R.* IV 1225 and 1238 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 307f., no. 7 (Thyateira): *C.I.G.* 3953 d, *P.A.S.* II nos. 15 and 17 and *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 338f., nos. 21 and 22 (Heracleia Salbace). For the δημιουργός see Chap. III note 20. For an eponymous *demiourgos* at Samos (probably in the first century) and at Cnidus see *I.G.R.* IV 984 and *S.E.G.* I 393 (women): *C.I.G.* 2654

A.M. VIII (1883), p. 328f., no. 10 (Tralles): *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 424f., no. 54 (Pogla) and no. 61 [58] (Ariassus): *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 234 (Hierapolis): Keil-Premerstein I no. 99 (Apollonis). For naming teachers and physicians (see above note 13) see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 4 and L 9, 1. For the eirenarch (see below note 46) see Aristides *Orat.* L 72 Keil and *Cod. Iust.* X 77. For other measures see *Ins. Magn.* 114 (Ephesus, see above note 16): L.W. 519-20, corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 516f. (Stratoniceia): *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, l. 431f. (χρυσοφοροῦντες at Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 1414, corrected by Wilhelm in *Anz. Wien. Akad.* LXI (1924), p. 115f. (φορτηγοὶ Ἀσκληπιασταί at Smyrna).

34. For the eponymous magistrates see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 271f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 235f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 174. For the ἱππάρχης at Cyzicus (see Chap. III note 20) see *Klio* V (1905), p. 293 = *I.G.R.* IV 149 and *I.G.R.* IV 117 (lists). See also *I.G.R.* IV 153f. and *A.M.* X (1885), p. 202 (a list). For the πρυτάνεις at Cyzicus see Chap. III note 18. For the eponymous *prytanis* at Ephesus see *e.g. C.I.G.* 2955 (= *Ephesos* I p. 70), 2982 (= L.W. 152) and 3003 (= L.W. 166 a): *I.B.M.* 503 = *O.G.I.* 496: *Ins. Magn.* 114: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 85 (woman). For Pergamum see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 445, 461, 499, 513 (woman) and 1687 (women): *Ins. Perg.* II p. 251 (woman): *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 442, no. 25 and p. 450, no. 31 (woman): *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 145, no. 278 (woman). See also Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX (1911), p. 506f. = *Stud. Ellenist.* p. 351f. For Notium see *I.G.R.* IV 1586 = *O.G.I.* 530 (Apollo): *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 160 and p. 166f., no. III 2 (women); p. 166f. and XV (1912), p. 46f. (Apollo). For lists of places having stephanephori see Liebenam, p. 556f. and Stier in *R.E.* III A 2343f. For stephanephori at Miletus see *e.g. C.I.G.* 2881: *Milet* I 6, no. 189 (= *S.E.G.* I 426) and I 7, nos. 259, 263 and 265. For eponymous stephanephori see *Ins. Magn.* 113 (= *Syll.*³ 807), 116 (woman), 117 (woman), 178, 179, 182 (woman), *etc.* (Magnesia ad Maeandrum): *C.I.G.* 3162, *I.G.R.* IV 1393 (woman) and 1464, *A.M.* XII (1887), p. 248, no. 7 and Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 26, 2 (Smyrna): *C.I.G.* 2950 (Nysa): *C.I.G.* 2927 (woman) (Tralles): *Alt. v. Hierap.* 55 b (woman) and perhaps p. 180, no. III 6 (Hierapolis): L.W. 1630 (woman), 1633 b, 1634 (woman), 1637 (woman) and 1639 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 241f., nos. 138 d, 142, 163, 168, 169 (women), 179, 180 and 183 (Aphrodisias): L.W. 517 and 519 and *B.C.H.* XLIV (1920), p. 78f., nos. 10 and 11 (Stratoniceia): Keil-Premerstein I no. 93 and *I.G.R.* IV 1342 ? (Magnesia ad Sipylum): L.W. 670 and *I.G.R.* IV 1374 (Maeonia). In some places the titles of *prytanis* and stephanephorus appear together in lists of offices, but there is nothing to indicate that either was eponymous; see *I.G.R.* IV 1322, 1323 (= *O.G.I.* 489 = Dessau 8864) and 1325 (Phocaea): *R.A.* XIX (1892), p. 122 = *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 553 (Temnus ?): *I.G.R.* IV 1225 and 1238 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 307f., no. 7 (Thyateira): *C.I.G.* 3953 d, *P.A.S.* II nos. 15 and 17 and *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 338f., nos. 21 and 22 (Heracleia Salbace). For the δημιουργός see Chap. III note 20. For an eponymous *demiourgos* at Samos (probably in the first century) and at Cnidus see *I.G.R.* IV 984 and *S.E.G.* I 393 (women): *C.I.G.* 2654

704 (Synnada). On the other hand, there seem to have been only three *strategoi* at Attaleia in Lydia (*I.G.R.* IV 1168 c) and at Julia Gordus (Keil-Premerstein I no. 170), four archons at Bruzus (*I.G.R.* IV 681) and at Apollonia Salbace (*B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 345, no. 28), and three at Trajanopolis (*I.G.R.* IV 625 and 626), at Sebastopolis in Caria (Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 341, no. 2), at Ilias (?) on the Phrygian-Pisidian border (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 332, no. 145) and, in A.D. 12, at Eumeneia (*I.G.R.* IV 723). At Samos the board of *strategoi* was headed by an *ἀρχιπρύτανις* (*I.G.R.* IV 1722 = *S.E.G.* I 403 and *Ἀρχ. Δελτ. l.c.*). At Magnesia ad Sipylum (see above) and at Chios (*C.I.G.* 2221 b) the foreman was called *στρατηγὸς πρῶτος* or *τὸ πρῶτον* and his colleagues *συνάρχοντες*; he is described as *πρῶτος* at Attaleia (see above), at Eresus (*I.G.* XII 2, 544 = *I.G.R.* IV 15), at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 460), at Hierapolis (*I.G.R.* IV 821 and 822), at Chios (*I.G.R.* IV 934), at Sardis (*Ins. Sardis* 47 = *I.G.R.* IV 1523), at Temnus (?) (*R.A.* XIX [1892], p. 122 = *B.C.H.* XIX [1895], p. 553) and at Ephesus (*Ephesos* III nos. 70, 71 and 88); as *στρατηγήσας τὸν πρῶτον τόπον* at Aezani (*I.G.R.* IV 578 and 585); and as *ἄρξας τὴν πρώτην στρατηγίαν* at Philadelpheia (L.W. 656) and similarly at Tabae (Robert *Hellenica* III p. 33). The position of foreman was also expressed by the formula *οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα στρατηγοῦντες* or *στρατηγοί*; see *e.g.* L.W. 494 (Bargylia): *C.I.G.* 3948 (Carura): *S.E.G.* I 396 (Samos): *I.G.R.* IV 315 c and 480 (Pergamum). See also Menadier, p. 66, note 17 and Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 264.

37. See Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 268, who pointed out that *ἄρχων* and *στρατηγός* are used synonymously in *Digesta* XXVII 1, 15, 9 and that this usage appears also in such expressions as *[στρα]τηγούντων τῶν [περὶ] τὸν δεῖνα [ἀρ]χόντων* (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 600, no. 472 = *I.G.R.* IV 686, Sebaste), *στρατηγίας τοῦ δεῖνα α' ἄρχοντος* (*I.G.R.* IV 239, Hadrianeia, not Blaudus), *ἄρξας τὴν πρώτην στρατηγίαν* (L.W. 656, Philadelpheia). The title *πρῶτος ἄρχων* (sometimes *ἄρξας τὴν μεγίστην* or *τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν*) is frequently found in inscriptions and especially on coins, where it was presumably used instead of *πρῶτος στρατηγός*; see Ramsay *C.B.* I pp. 591 and 600 and Head *H.N.*[2] p. lxix. The position is also indicated by the expression *οἱ περὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἄρχοντες*; see *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2760 and 2799 (Aphrodisias); 3667 (Cyzicus): *Ins. Sardis* 60 = *I.G.R.* IV 1512 (Sardis): *I.G.R.* IV 120 (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum); 567 (Aezani); 681 (Bruzus); 702 (Synnada); 1207 (Thyateira); III 84 (Amastris); 91 and 92 (Abonuteichus); 113 and 114 (Sebastopolis, Pontus). It appears also in the formula *[ἐπι]μελ[η]θέντος τοῦ δεῖνα ἄρχοντ[ος καὶ τῶ]ν συναρχόντων α[ὐτοῦ]* (*I.G.R.* IV 1333, Magnesia ad Sipylum). The board is called a *συναρχία* in *I.G.R.* IV 1294 (Judia Gordus), *Coll. Wadd.* 2165 (Antiocheia ad Maeandrum) and *Stud. Pont.* III 141 (Amaseia).

38. *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 121f., no. 5 (Ceramus): *I.G.R.* IV 915 c (Cibyra): *J.H.S.* LVII (1937), p. 1f. (Orcistus, A.D. 237): *I.G.* XII 2, 67 = *I.G.R.* IV 45 (Mitylene): *O.G.I.* 515 (Mylasa). For a *νόμος* of the *strategoi* at Miletus concerning the sale of the priesthood of Asclepius see *Milet* I 7, no. 204. For the examination of a fugitive slave by the magistrates at Nicomedeia see

Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 74, 1. For Antoninus's edict see above note 2. For the archons' responsibility for the erection of a statue of the emperor see *I.G.R.* IV 567 (Aezani). See also Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII pp. 266f. and 279f. For the coins (see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV p. 363f.) see Head *H.N.*[2] pp. lxvii and 628, who pointed out that *ἐπί* with the name of the magistrate indicates that the coin was issued during his term of office and that *διά* and *παρά* show that it was provided at his expense. See also *I.G.R.* IV 769 (*κόψας καὶ νο*[*μ*]-*ίσμα*[*τα*] of a *strategos*), probably from Hyrgaleis (see *Cl. Rev.* XXI [1907], p. 58). For a special commissioner (*κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς χαράξεως τοῦ λεπτοῦ χαλκοῦ*) see *Ins. Magn.* 164.

39. For the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων* at Smyrna see *C.I.G.* 3154 (=*Syll.*[3] 1263), 3162, 3193 and 3201: L.W. 1522 a: *I.G.R.* IV 1413: M.κ.B. V (1884-5), p. 85, no. 274. For the supposed office of *ὁπλοφύλαξ* see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 457f., who showed that it did not exist. A [*στρατηγὸς*] *ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* has been restored in *I.G.R.* IV 1435. Since the restoration is uncertain, the office may be that of the *εἰρηνάρχης* (see below note 46), who is known at Smyrna from *I.G.R.* 1437 and 1438. The *πομπαίος στρατηγός* in *C.I.G.* 3348 (Smyrna), generally accepted (*e.g.* by Lévy in *R.E.G.* VIII [1895], p. 247, by Liebenam, p. 288, by Chapot *Prov. Procons.* pp. 242 and 403 and by Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1086 and 1107) and regarded as connected with religious ceremonies or processions, was shown by E. E. Briess in *R.E.G.* XXVI (1913), p. 47f. to be a man's name. For the *στρατηγὸς διὰ νυκτός* see *I.G.R.* IV 860 (Laodiceia): *C.I.G.* 3948 (Carura): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 346f., no. 30=*P.A.S.* II no. 25=Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 339, no. 1 (Sebastopolis, Caria). For the office of *nyctostrategus* as a *munus* see *Digesta* L 4, 18, 12. For a *νυκτερινὴ στρατηγία* at Tralles and at Tabae see *C.I.G.* 2930 and Robert *ibid.* p. 322. For a *νυκτερινήα* and a *νυκτοφύλαξ* at Ephesus see *J.O.A.I.* XXIV (1929), *Beibl.* 61f. (=*S.E.G.* IV 515) and *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* VII (1921-2), pp. 113 and 258. See also O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 601. For the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας* at Stratoniceia and Alabanda in the Hellenistic period see Chap. V note 47. For two *ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας στρατηγοί* at Aphrodisias during the Roman period see *C.I.G.* 2837: L.W. 1604 and 1611 (=*A.M.* V [1880], p. 340f., no. 12): *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 93f., no. 9: *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 605f., no. 2=*J.H.S.* XX (1900), p. 73, no. 1 (near Plarasa and so in the territory of Aphrodisias). For the office at Tralles see *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 79f., no. 2 (perhaps pre-Roman).

40. See Chap. III note 32. For the *γραμματεύς* in the Roman period see Swoboda *Griech. Volksbeschlüsse*, p. 206f.: Schulthess in *R.E.* VII 1747f.: Lévy in *R.E.G.* VIII (1895), p. 225f. and XII p. 267: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 238f. Lévy pointed out that at least in the more important cities there were separate *grammateis* for the council and the *demos* and that in some places (Hieropolis, Tralles and Tarsus) there were two and even four or five *grammateis*. At Ephesus in the third century there seem to have been six; see *Num. Ztschr.* LVIII (1915), p. 127f. and *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), *Beibl.* 17f.=*S.E.G.* IV 523. For the presentation of resolutions see above note 28.

For statues see L.W. 165 (Ephesus): *Ins. Magn.* 169f. (Magnesia ad Maeandrum): *P.A.S.* I p. 98f., no. 5 (Tralles): *I.G.R.* III 1397 (Nicaea); IV 625 and 626 (Trajanopolis); 786 (Apameia); 900, 901 and 911 (Cibyra). For the *grammateus* at Ephesus see *I.B.M.* IV p. 238f., no. 481*, ll. 222f. and 297f. (see Chap. XXIV note 43): *Ephesos* II no. 19 = *O.G.I.* 493: *Acta Apost.* XIX 35f. For Cibyra see *I.G.R.* IV 915 c, for Orcistus see *J.H.S.* LVII (1937), p. 1f. and for Stratoniceia see L.W. 519. For the coins see Head *H.N.*² p. lxix and Schulthess *ibid.* 1750f. For a list of cities which had *grammateis* during the Roman period see Liebenam, p. 548f.

41. See Chap. III note 33. For the *agoranomos* during the Roman period see R. Häderli in *Jahrbb. f. Cl. Philol. Suppl.* XV (1887), p. 61f. (where, however, too close a parallel is drawn between the *agoranomos* and the Roman aedile): Liebenam, pp. 363f. and 539f. (a list): Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV p. 367: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 248f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 215f. Two *agoranomoi* are known at Ceramus (*J.H.S.* XI [1890], p. 123, no. 6) and at Tralles (*B.C.H.* I [1877], p. 55, no. 2) and perhaps at Smyrna (*B.C.H.* II [1878], p. 30f., no. 11, perhaps pre-Roman) and three at Mobolla in Caria (*A.M.* XI [1886], p. 203 = *B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 488, no. 2). For the construction by *agoranomoi* of market-buildings at Tralles see *B.C.H.* I p. 55, no. 2 (a covered promenade, an *agoranomion* and *ergasteria*) and *C.I.G.* 2930 (marble tables in the ὀψαριοπωλεῖον). For the *agoranomion* see also *I.G.R.* IV 504 (Pergamum, see Chap. XXIV note 49): *I.B.M.* 656 (Ephesus): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 478f., no. 2 (Samos): *I.G.* XII 1, 3 = *Syll.*³ 974 (Rhodes); XII 3, 170 (Astypalaea). For other public works see *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 168, no. 6 (a ἕρκος and pavement at Pergamum): *Ephesos* III no. 13 (pavement at Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 860 (heating of θερμοὶ περίπατοι at Laodiceia): *Ins. Magn.* 179 (heating of a βαίτη): *A.M.* XXI (1896), p. 373 (column at Apameia). See also G. Hirschfeld in *Ztschr. f. Oest. Gymnasialwesen* 1882, p. 502f. and *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1888, p. 870f. and below note 52. For price-fixing at Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 352 = *O.G.I.* 484, l. 16f. (see Chap. XXVI note 51) and Corradi in *Riv. Fil.* XXXIX (1911), p. 538f. = *Studi Ellenist.* p. 410f. See also *I.G.R.* IV 146 = *Syll.*³ 799 I, l. 19f. (Cyzicus, A.D. 38). For prices of bread fixed by an *agoranomos* at Ephesus in the early second and the early third centuries see *Ephesos* III p. 102, no. 10f. and p. 103 and *S.E.G.* IV 518. For supplying the market with merchandise see *Ins. Magn.* 179 (including oil): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 306f., no. 1 (Cys in Caria) and p. 473f., no. 45 (Thyateira, spending much to lower the price of oil); *Klio* X (1910), p. 235, no. 4 (Laodiceia Catacecaumene, grain "at a low price"): *J.H.S.* VI (1885), p. 353, no. 105 (Didyma, grain and oil and other ἐπιτήδεια at a low price). For weights inscribed ἀγορανόμος see *B.C.H.* II (1878), p. 28f. and LVIII (1934), p. 507f. (Smyrna): *C.I.G.* 8544 and 8545 (origin unknown): Ἀρχ. Δελτ. IX (1924-5), Παράρ. 50 (Methymna). For seals (?) see *B.C.H.* XVII (1893), p. 536, nos. 7-8 (Nicomedeia). For an *agoranomos* ἐν σειτοδείᾳ or ἐν δυσχρήστῳ καιρῷ or ἐπείγοντι (-ουσι) καιρῷ (-ροῖς) see *R.E.A.* III (1901), p. 275 = IV (1902), p. 78 (Acmonia): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 74f., no. 5 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* III 60, 69 and 1423 (Prusias ad Hypium); 226 = *O.G.I.* 537

(Pessinus); IV 1631 and 1640 (Philadelpheia): *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 43f., no. 24 (Pessinus). For the expressions *ἐπιφανῶς*, *μεγαλοπρεπῶς*, *πολυδαπάνως*, *πολυτελῶς*, *φιλοτίμως*, *ἐνδόξως*, *φιλοδόξως* and *εὐσταθῶς* see *I.G.R.* III 60, 62, 65-68 and 1422 (Prusias ad Hypium); IV 654 (=*M.A.M.A.* VI 265, Acmonia); 1169 (Attaleia); 1250, 1257 (=*O.G.I.* 524) and 1290 (Thyateira); 1438 (Smyrna): *C.I.G.* 2929 (Tralles): L.W. 1604 (Aphrodisias): *Ins. Sardis* 31: *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 520, no. 17 (Nysa); XI (1887), p. 473f., no. 45 (Thyateira): *M.A.M.A.* IV 15 (Prymnessus ?); VI 372 (Synnada): *Ephesos* III p. 101f., nos. 10-18: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 322 (Tabae, *μετὰ πολλῶν ἀναλωμάτων*). For terms of three or four or six months see *I.G.R.* III 66 and 1423; IV 1169, 1250, 1256 and 1257 (=*O.G.I.* 524): L.W. 1541: *Ins. Magn.* 164 (=*O.G.I.* 485) and 179: Newton *Hist. of Disc.* II p. 797, no. 100, corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 546f. For an *agoranomos* *δι' ὅλου τοῦ ἔτους πρῶτος καὶ μόνος* at Tralles see *C.I.G.* 2929 and L.W. 606=*P.A.S.* I p. 97, no. 3.

42. See Chap. III note 33 and, for the Roman period, Liebenam, p. 368f. (with a list): Lévy *ibid.* p. 365f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 217f. (with list on p. 350, note 15). Both an *agoranomos* and a *σιτώνης* are mentioned in the following inscriptions: *C.I.G.* 2882 (Miletus); 2929 (Tralles); 4415 b= *J.O.A.I.* V (1902), p. 204 (Iotape): *I.G.R.* IV 658 (Acmonia); 740 (Eumeneia, perhaps Tralles); 1167 (Attaleia); 1248 (=*J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII [1922-4], *Beibl.* 254, no. 11=*S.E.G.* II 653=*Ann. Ép.* 1923, 42) and 1290 (Thyateira); 1543 (Erythrae); 1637 (Philadelpheia): *Ins. Magn.* 164=*O.G.I.* 485: *Milet* I 7, nos. 263 and 264: *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 272f., no. 15 (Nysa); XI (1887), p. 100, no. 23 (Thyateira): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 564, no. 462 (Acmonia): *P.A.S.* I p. 98f., nos. 5 and 10 (Tralles): *Klio* X (1910), p. 235, no. 4 (Laodiceia Catacecaumene). For *σειτωνικὰ χρήματα* see L.W. 648 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1632, Philadelpheia); 985 and 992 (=*I.G.R.* IV 580=*O.G.I.* 511, Aezani): *I.G.R.* III 1421 and 1422 (Prusias ad Hypium): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 333, no. 146=*P.A.S.* III no. 612 (Ilyas). See also *Klio* X p. 235, no. 4 (*σειτωνήσας β' δίχα δημοσίων χρημάτων*): *I.G.R.* III 493 (*δημόσιος πυρός* at Oenoanda): *P.A.S.* I p. 49, no. 25 corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 347 (*σειτω[νικὸς] πόρος* at Assus): *Digesta* L 8, 2, 2f. (*frumentaria ratio*). For *sitonai* at Tralles who imported grain from Egypt for the local market, in one case advancing money to pay for it and all necessary expenses, see *C.I.G.* 2927 (see Chap. XXVI note 33) and 2930 and *P.A.S.* I p. 108f., no. 10. For the importation from Egypt by other persons see *Syll.*[3] 839 (Hadrian, see Chap. XXVI note 29) and *Ephesos* III no. 16 (Ephesus): *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. XCV and p. 199, no. 198f. and *Num. Chron.* XX (1900), p. 100f. (Caracalla, Tarsus). For a *sitones* who suffered a loss (*ζημι(ω)θείς*) of 5000 denarii see *Ins. Magn.* 164=*O.G.I.* 485=*R.E.G.* XIII (1900), p. 16f. For other cases of expenditure by *sitonai* see *I.G.R.* IV 1290 (Thyateira) and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 31f., no. 45 and p. 379f., no. 2 and XLIV (1920), p. 93, no. 28 (Stratoniceia). For a *sitones* at Philadelpheia who supplied cooked food see *I.G.R.* IV 1638 (see also 1637 of an *agoranomos*). For a *σειτωνήσας* [*ἀγ*]*νῶς καὶ πολυδαπάνως* see *I.G.R.* IV 1273 (Thyateira). For a *sitones* *ἐν καιρῷ δυσκόλῳ* and *ἐν ἀνανκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς* see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 473f., no. 45 (Thyateira) and *I.G.R.* IV 1572

(Teos). For city grain-markets at Smyrna (built with money given by Hadrian) and Tarsus see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 2 (see Chap. XXVI note 15) and *A.J.A.* XLII (1938), p. 55f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 4 (A.D. 205). In some places grain seems to have been provided by a εὐθηνιάρχης, as frequently in Egypt; see *I.G.R.* III 89 = *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 69f., no. 17 (Amastris): *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 83f., nos. 9-11 and *S.E.G.* IV 307 (Stratoniceia). See also *I.G.R.* IV 1572 (φυλάξας τὴν εὐθηνίαν, of a *sitones* at Teos). It is uncertain whether the τριτευτὴς *i.e.* giver of τριτεῖς, who appears at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 414 [= *A.M.* XXXV [1910], p. 480, no. 69], ἐκ τῶ[ν ἰδίων εἰς τὴ]ν τριτείαν πολλὰ ἀνα[λ]ώσ[ας], and 477 = 1680) and at Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1228, 1244, 1256 and 1290: *B.C.H.* X [1886], p. 410f., no. 14 [= *R.A* XXX [1875], p. 48f.] and XI [1887], p. 457, no. 20), where he is often mentioned together with the *agoranomos* and the *sitones*, was either an official of the city (so Liebenam, p. 363, note 4 and Hepding in *A.M.* XXXV p. 477) or a private donor.

43. For the ἀστυνόμος see Liebenam, p. 405f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 213f. For his duties see *Digesta* XLIII 10. For the office see *C.I.G.* 4019, 4026, 4032 (corrected in *J.H.S.* XLIV [1924], p. 43f., no. 80 = *S.E.G.* VI 62) and 4069 (Ancyra in Galatia): *I.G.R.* IV 239 (Hadrianeia): *I.G.* XII 1, 44 = *I.G.R.* IV 1115 (Rhodes): *C.R.A.I.* 1925, p. 35 (Therma Phazimonitarum, Pontus). For the *astynomoi* at Pergamum see *O.G.I.* 483 (a "royal law," see above p. 40f. and Chap. V note 47). For a special water-commissioner (ἐπιμελητής) see *A.M.* XXXIII (1908), p. 410, no. 43 (Pergamum): *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 539 = *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 239 (Tire, perhaps for Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 242 (Hadriani). For a γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ⟨ἐπὶ⟩ πηγῶν διετίαν see *Ins. Magn.* 164 = *O.G.I.* 485 as read in *R.E.G.* XIII (1900), p. 16f.

44. *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 208, no. 86 and p. 243f., no. 142 (Aphrodisias): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 473f., no. 45 (Thyateira): Paton-Hicks 108 and 113 (Cos): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 63 (Myra). For ἐλαιωνικὰ χρήματα see *C.I.G.* 2742, l. 2 as emended by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 314f. (Aphrodisias) and *I.G.R.* III 60 and 68 (Prusias ad Hypium). See also Liebenam, p. 370 and Robert *ibid.* p. 317.

45. See Chap. III note 34. For the ταμίας and the ἀργυροταμίας in the Roman period see Oehler in *R.E.* II 802: Liebenam, pp. 293f. and 564f. (lists): Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV (1901), p. 356f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 254f.: Schwahn in *R.E.* IV A 2132f. It was supposed by Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 441f.), Oehler, Liebenam and Schwahn that two different officials were designated by these titles. But, while both appear in some cities, namely, Ephesus (*I.B.M.* 506 and 636), Aphrodisias (*e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2782, 2787, 2795 and 2817) and Tralles (*C.I.G.* 2930 and *P.A.S.* I p. 98f., nos. 5 and 10), it is highly probable, as Lévy observed, that the same official is meant; for at Prusias ad Hypium both a ταμίας and an ἀργυροταμίας of the ἐλαιωνικὰ χρήματα are mentioned (*I.G.R.* III 60, 68 and 1423, see above note 44), and it is scarcely likely that there were two separate funds of this name. For boards at Smyrna,

consisting of a foreman and six *συνάρξαντες* see *C.I.G.* 3151 (=*I.G.R.* IV 1435), 3152 and 3162. For *ταμίαι* at Pergamum and Miletus see *I.G.R.* IV 352=*O.G.I.* 484, ll. 45 and 53f. (see Chap. XXVI note 51) and *Milet* I 7, no. 204. For the treasurers of the oil-fund and the grain-fund at Prusias ad Hypium see above and *I.G.R.* III 1421 and 1422. For fines for tomb-violation see *I.B.M.* 636 (Ephesus) and *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 331 (Hierapolis). For the public slaves at Pergamum see *I.G.R.* IV 352=*O.G.I.* 484, l. 45f.; it was expressly stated (l. 53f.) that the insolvent debtor should be tried, not by the *tamiai*, but by selected former *strategoi*. The regulations concerning the sale of the priesthood of Asclepius at Miletus (*Milet* I 7, no. 204) ordered the purchaser to report the name of his nominee to the *tamiai*. For a coin of Smyrna inscribed *ταμίας* see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 253, no. 151 and for dating by a *tamias* at Smyrna see Robert in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 196f. Certain cities had an *οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως*, who also seems to have been in charge of the public funds (see Chap. III note 34); see *I.G.R.* IV 1435 and *C.I.G.* 3162 (Smyrna): *I.G.R.* IV 813 (Hierapolis, two men); 1630 (Philadelpheia): *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), *Beibl.* 72, no. 3 (Dorylaeum): *T.A.M.* II 1151=*B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 225, no. 81 (Olympus): *C.I.G.* 2717 (Stratoniceia) and 2811 (Aphrodisias). He did not take the place of the *tamias*, for the latter also appears in inscriptions from most of the cities in which the *oikonomos* is known. He was perhaps a subaltern official, as suggested by Liebenam (p. 295), for he is often mentioned as having the responsibility for the erection of a statue. On the other hand, the *oikonomos* in *C.I.G.* 3777=*Syl.*[3] 1231 (Nicomedeia) was only a former public slave. The *ἀποδέκτης τῶν πολειτικῶν χρημάτων* at Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1248 [=*S.E.G.* II 653], *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 473f., no. 45 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII [1913], p. 322f., no. 15) and the *γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων* at Laodiceia (*I.G.R.* IV 860 and 862) were presumably also fiscal officials. For a financial official called *ἐκλογιστής*, known at Alabanda, Assus, Eumeneia, Mylasa and Sardis, whose duties are not clear but may have involved the auditing or perhaps the collection of taxes, see Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* XVIII (1914), p. 348.

46. For the *εἰρηνάρχης* (-os) see *Digesta* L 4, 18, 7: *Cod. Iust.* X 77: Cagnat *De municip. et prov. Militiis in Imp. Rom.* (Paris 1880), pp. 25f. and 37 (with list): O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 602f. (with list): Liebenam, p. 358 (with additions to Hirschfeld's list): Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), pp. 282 and 288f.: Chapot, p. 260f.: Schulthess in *R.E. Suppl.* III 419f. (including Egypt): Schwahn in *R.E. Suppl.* VI 1106f., where the eirenarch was identified with the [*στρατηγὸς*] *ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* at Smyrna (*I.G.R.* IV 1435, see above note 39): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 103f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 212f. It was pointed out by Robert in *B.C.H.* LII (1928), p. 408, note 3 that, contrary to the usual opinion, there was an eirenarch at Ephesus also; see L.W. 147 a: *Ephesos* III nos. 70, 71 and 88: *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* IX (1924-25), p. 118f. For the appointment of the eirenarch by the governor see above note 33. For the holding of the office by a *verna Caesaris* see *I.G.R.* III 240=*O.G.I.* 550 (Tyriaeum ?), where, however, as was observed by the editor, followed by Schulthess (*ibid.* 420), his duties may have been limited to an imperial domain. For Antoninus's

edict see above note 2. For the (fictitious) rescue of a young woman from a band of robbers in Cilicia by an eirenarch see Xenophon of Ephesus *Ephesiaca* II 13 (cited by Hirschfeld, p. 604f.). The eirenarch τῶν ἄνω κωμῶν καὶ Δρυμοῦ at Termessus (*B.C.H.* XXIII [1899], p. 291f., no. 4 = *T.A.M.* III 1, 104) was presumably in charge of a mountainous district belonging to the city; see Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX 3 (1929), p. 5, who suggested that the eirenarchs at Termessus (*T.A.M.* III 1, 906-915), unlike those in other cities, were administrative officials in the rural territory. Eirenarchs (and two ἀντειρήναρχοι) appear in a large number of inscriptions on the walls of a grotto in the Hisar Dağ in southern Pisidia; see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-24), p. 530f. = *S.E.G.* VI 686f. The editor's suggestion (p. 538) that they may have been connected with the cult of the Great Mother was rejected by Robert in *B.C.H.* LII p. 408, who observed that the inscriptions merely commemorated visits of the eirenarchs of the neighbouring city (Ariassus, 20 km. distant, see *Ét. Anat.* p. 105). For the διωγμῖται see Hirschfeld, p. 606f.: Chapot, p. 262f.: Fiebiger in *R.E.* V 784: Schulthess *ibid.* 421: von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 84f.: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 103: Jones, p. 212f. The title was restored in two of the inscriptions from the Hisar Dağ (*S.E.G.* VI 688 and 690) by Robert in *B.C.H.* LII p. 409, who pointed out that they were evidently the escorts of the eirenarchs. A body of *diogmitai* was furnished to the emperor (Lucius Verus, see von Premerstein *l.c.*) by a citizen of Aezani (*I.G.R.* IV 580 = *O.G.I.* 511, see Chap. XXVIII note 6). They were used by Marcus Aurelius in his German wars (*Vit. Marci* 21, 7) and in A.D. 368 they suppressed brigands in Isauria (Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII 9, 6). For the arrest of Polycarp and of Nestor see *Acta Sanctorum* (Boll.) Jan. III p. 318 and Feb. III p. 634; for the former see also *Martyrium Polycarp.* 6f. (Lightfoot *Apost. Fathers* II p. 955f.). For the tomb of a *diogmites* at Corycus see *M.A.M.A.* III 305 (Christian).

47. For lists of παραφύλακες see Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 601, note 1: Preger in *A.M.* XIX (1894), p. 307, note 1: Liebenam, p. 357, note 6 and p. xiv: Chapot, p. 260, note 2: Cardinali *R.P.* p. 269f., note 4: Jones *Greek City*, p. 348, note 3. See also Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 99f. For the *paraphylax* at Aphrodisias and at Notium see *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 90f., no. 7 and *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 172, no. 7. Both this office and that of the eirenarch are mentioned in the same inscription at Nysa (*B.C.H.* VII [1883], p. 272f., no. 15), Tralles (*P.A.S.* I p. 108f., no. 10), Aphrodisias (*B.C.H.* IX [1885], p. 76f., no. 6) and Sebastopolis in Caria (*P.A.S.* II no. 25 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 339, no. 1, τιμαῖς εἰρηναρχικαῖς). For a bas-relief found in the valley of the Lydian Caÿster, depicting a mounted *paraphylax* and three attendants on foot see Robert *ibid.* p. 102. For a παραφυλακεῖον at Termessus see Lanckoroński II no. 58 = *T.A.M.* III 1, 14. An ἀρχιπαραφύλαξ at Dorylaeum (*I.G.R.* IV 524 = *O.G.I.* 476) suggests that the city had a board. For the *paraphylakes* at Hierapolis see *O.G.I.* 527 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 117 and Chap. V note 25. As Lévy pointed out (*R.E.G.* XII p. 284, note 5), this decree disproves the suggestion of Preger (*l.c.*) that the *paraphylax* was a tax-official. For the edict from Dionysopolis see *M.A.M.A.* IV 297. In his capacity of police-official,

the *paraphylax*, like the *agoranomos* (see above note 41), seems to have been responsible for the accuracy of weights, for his name and title appear on a weight and a seal, presumably from Asia Minor; see *J.H.S.* XXIX (1909), p. 166 and Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* Italian Edition, p. 491, note 44. The similarity between the words suggests that he may have been in command of the φυλακῖται or παραφυλακῖται, apparently a body of *gendarmes*, known in the Hellenistic period at Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 289 = *O.G.I.* 338, see Chap. VI note 8) and at Eriza in Phrygia (*O.G.I.* 238) and perhaps under the Romans at Alastus in northern Pisidia (*I.G.R.* IV 896). For ὀροφύλακες at Miletus and Heracleia ad Latmum in 173 B.C. see *Syll.*[3] 633, l. 89f. (treaty, see Chap. IV note 79). For those at Apollonia Salbace see *B.C.H.* XXXII (1908), p. 499f. (see XXXIII [1909], p. 547) emended by Robert *ibid.* p. 106f. (where they are described as νεανίσκοι). For those in other places see *P.A.S.* II no. 65 = Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 306, no. 104 (Tefenni); no. 156 (Hadrianopolis in Phrygia Paroreius, see Chap. XXVI note 47, σφαγεὶς ὑπὸ λῃστῶν): *M.A.M.A* I 123 as restored by Wilhelm in *Byzantion* VI (1931), p. 461, no. 4 (Laodiceia Catacecaumene): *I.G.R.* IV 897 (?) (Alastus ?). Ramsay's comparison (*C.B.* I p. 281) of the ὀροφύλακες to the *saltuarii finium custodiendorum causa* (*Digesta* XXXIII 7, 12, 4) led Chapot (p. 377) to the conclusion that they were the guards of the imperial domains; see, however, Chap. XXVIII note 35. Rostovtzeff, writing the word as ὀροφύλαξ (ὀρεοφύλαξ), also regarded it as the equivalent of *saltuarius, i.e.* police used by landlords to protect their estates; see *Philol.* LXIV (1905), p. 302f. The fact, however, that ὀροφύλακες appear in the treaty between Miletus and Heracleia (see above) renders this identification highly improbable; see also Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 607f., note 8. Violence seems to have been suppressed also by *stationarii*, soldiers detached from their units to guard the roads and the rural districts; see *C.I.L.* III 7136: *I.G.R.* III 242 (= 1470), 748 (= *T.A.M.* II 1165) and 812: Keil-Premerstein I no. 101: Robert *ibid.* p. 284f., no. 9: *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 34. See also Hirschfeld, p. 597f.: Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 286: von Domaszewski in *Röm. Mitt.* XVII (1902), p. 330f.: Lammert in *R.E.* III A 2213: Robert in *R. Phil.* LXVIII (1943), p. 113. For brigandage see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* Italian Edition, p. 551, note 17: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 96f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 868.

48. For the δεκάπρωτοι see Waddington in L.W. p. 286: Lévy in *R.E.G.* VIII p. 222f., note 3 and XIV p. 352: Liebenam, p. 490, note 1 and p. 552 (list): O. Seeck in *Klio* I (1901), p. 147f.: Brandis in *R.E.* IV 2417f.: E. Hula in *J.O.A.I.* V (1902), p. 197f.: Chapot, p. 272f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 341f., 594 and 601: E. Stein *Gesch. d. Spätröm. Reiches* I (Vienna 1928), p. 72f.: E. G. Turner in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXII (1936), p. 12f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 139. Εἰκοσάπρωτοι (mentioned also in *Digesta* L 4, 18, 26) are known at Acalissus (with Idebessus), Arneae, Cadyanda, Phaselis and perhaps Myra in Lycia, but elsewhere only at Iasus (*R.E.G.* VI [1893], p. 157f., no. 3 B = *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX 6 [1915], p. 44f.). The increase in the number is mentioned in *T.A.M.* II 765 and 838 *f-g* = *I.G.R.* III 640 (Arneae, probably under Hadrian) and 649 (Acalissus). It was supposed by Ramsay (*C.B.* I pp. 63

and 437) and Seeck, followed, with some reserve, by Turner (p. 18f.), that the *dekaprotoi*, corresponding to the *decemprimi* in the western provinces, were a committee composed of the first ten men on the list of councillors, which served as an intermediary between the Roman governor and the local administration. Waddington also, while denying any identity with the *decemprimi*, believed that they were chosen from members of the council. Brandis and Lévy, on the other hand, followed by Chapot, Hula and Stein, showed that, like other officials, they were chosen from the body of the citizens. The office is regarded as a *munus* (*i.e.* a liturgy) in *Digesta* L 4, 18, 26. For *strategoi* and *dekaprotoi* ἔχοντες τὴν πρυτανικὴν ἐξουσίαν on Amorgos see *I.G.* XII 7, 240 (Minoa) and 397-409 (Aegiale). For tenures of three and ten years see *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 26f., no. 6 (Panamara) and *I.G.R.* IV 1228 and perhaps *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 473f., no. 45 as emended by Seeck, p. 151, note 3 (Thyateira). For a lifelong tenure see *T.A.M.* II 765 = *I.G.R.* III 640 (Arneae, from the holder's eighteenth year until his death at the age of 86): *T.A.M.* II 1202 and 1200 = *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 443f., no. 93 and *I.G.R.* III 764 = *J.H.S.* XXVIII (1908), p. 188f., no. 17 (Phaselis): *I.G.R.* III 1376 (Gerasa in Syria). For the responsibility of the *dekaprotoi* for the *tributum* and for the interest on the endowment for a contest see *Digesta* L 4, 18, 26 and L 12, 10. For many great expenses incurred by an *eikosaprotos* see *T.A.M.* II 838 *f-g* = *I.G.R.* III 649. For the administration at Iasus of an endowment assigned to the gymnasium of the *Neoi* by an ἐπιμελητής chosen ἐκ τῶν δεκαπρώτων ἢ εἰκοσαπρώτων ἢ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων see *R.E.G.* VI p. 157f., no. 3 B, cited above. The collection of a tax seems to be implied also in *C.I.G.* 3491 = *I.G.R.* IV 1290 (Thyateira), in which von Premerstein (*Klio* XII [1912], p. 165) read [δεκ]απρωτεύσαντα τὴν β[αρυτ]έραν πρᾶξιν Βαστερ[νικ]ήν, interpreting (with Hula) πρᾶξιν as the "inner object" of the participle and regarding it as a second and higher levy imposed on the city to meet the expenses occasioned by an attack (possibly on Asia Minor) by the Bastarnae about A.D. 170 (see Chap. XXVIII note 13). The *Lex Portus* of Palmyra (*I.G.R.* III 1056, l. 8f.) ordered the archons and the *dekaprotoi* of the current year to determine, on the basis of existing rates, those customs-duties which were not specified in the previous law and also to prevent any overcharges on the part of the contractor for the customs.

49. For the local courts see Liebenam, p. 485f. For δικασταί see Chap. IV note 81. For those sent in the Roman period see Robert in *B.C.H.* LII (1928), p. 417, where the following are enumerated: by Carystus and Chalcis on Euboea to Alabanda (*I.G.* XII 9, 4 and 905); by Samos and "Asia" to Sparta and by Sparta to Alabanda (*B.S.A.* XXVI [1923-25], p. 163f., nos. A 10 and A 12); by Xanthus, Aphrodisias, Side, Erythrae, Lampsacus, Tlos, Termessus, Attaleia, Myra and Patara to Mylasa (L.W. 350, 351 [= *S.E.G.* II 556], 353, 354-357 [= *S.E.G.* II 557-562] and 358 and *B.C.H.* XIV [1890], p. 621, nos. 19 and 20, all revised in *J.O.A.I.* XXVII [1932], *Beibl.* 237f.). See also *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 200f., no. 142 = XXVIII (1904), p. 39, no. 23 A (Stratoniceia). For the ἔκδικος (see Chap. X note 64) and the σύνδικος see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 275f.: Liebenam, p. 303f.: Chapot, p. 270f.: Brandis in *R.E.* V 2160f.:

Kahrstedt in *R.E.* IV A 1332: Jones *Greek City*, p. 244. The view of Menadier (*Qua Condicione Ephesii usi sint, etc.* p. 97) that the two offices were identical is inadmissible, for, as Lévy observed, both appear in L.W. 1176 = *I.G.R.* III 64 (Prusias ad Hypium). The *syndikos* is described in *Digesta* L 4, 18, 13 as chosen *ad certam causam agendam vel defendendam*; see also Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 25, 19 and *C.I.G.* 2768 (συνδικίαι δημοσίων πραγμάτων, Aphrodisias). For the *ekdikos* as *defensor civitatis* see *Novellae* XV. For the view of Waddington that he was the governor's representative see L.W. p. 286. There is also no good ground either for supposing, with Lévy (p. 276), that the *ekdikos* did not leave his city, for in 51 B.C. Cicero hoped that Mylasa and Alabanda would send *ekdikoi* to Rome (see Chap. X note 64), or for distinguishing, with Brandis, between two types of *ekdikoi*, those appointed for special cases and those who were regular officials and representatives of the governor. For the election of an *ekdikos* by the *demos* see L.W. 499 = *S.E.G.* IV 202 (Caryanda in Caria). For Aphrodisias, Attaleia, Amisus and Cibyra see L.W. 1602 a (ἔκδικος δημοσίων πραγμάτων): *I.G.R.* IV 1169 (ἐκδικήσας τὰ ἀχθέντα ὑπὲρ [Ἀτταλ]εατῶν πράγματα δαπάν[αις ἰ]δίαις): Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 110 (see Chap. XXV note 22): *I.G.R.* IV 914 as explained by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 375f. For Thyateira see *I.G.R.* IV 1237. For Ephesus see *I.B.M.* IV 481*, l. 315f. (gift of Vibius Salutaris, see Chap. XXIV note 43) and *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 57f. (ἔκδικος βουλῆς). For Alabanda see *J.O.A.I.* XIII (1910), p. 200f. The appointment of an *ekdikos* at Mylasa to recover some sacred land for the *demos* (L.W. 419 = *S.E.G.* IV 230) and to inquire into a charge of corrupting imported judges (*B.C.H.* V [1881], p. 101f., no. 6) should perhaps be dated in the earlier period. For *ekdikoi* of the *Koinon* of Asia in the time of Augustus see Chap. XVIII note 60.

50. For women as office-holders in Asia Minor see P. Paris *Quatenus Feminae Res Publicas in Asia Min. Romanis imp. attigerint* (Paris 1891), p. 68f.: Chapot, p. 161f.: O. Braunstein *Die polit. Wirksamkeit d. Griech. Frau* (Leipzig 1911), p. 47f. For women as stephanephori at Sardis, Priene and Miletus (in A.D. 31/2) see *Ins. Sardis* 106 a, 110 and 111: *Ins. Priene* 208: *Milet* I 3, no. 128, l. 17. The mention of a δαμιοργίσωσα at Aspendus (*S.G.D.I.* 1260 and 1261) is perhaps to be dated as early as the second century before Christ. The lists of Braunstein (who added to those of Paris and Chapot) show that during the Roman period women held office as follows: as hipparch at Cyzicus; as stephanephorus at Aphrodisias, Ceramus, Heracleia Salbace, Hierapolis, Iasus, Lagina (Stratoniceia), Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Miletus, Mylasa, Phocaea, Smyrna, Thyateira and Tralles; as prytanis at Apateira (probably Ephesus, see Keil-Premerstein III p. 88), Ephesus, Heracleia Salbace, Mitylene, Notium, Pergamum, Phocaea and Thyateira; as *demiourgos* at Cnidus (?), Mallus (or Magarsus), Pogla, Samos and Sillyum; see also above note 34. To these may be added: as stephanephorus, Attuda (Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, p. 87, no. 2), Samos (*I.G.R.* IV 1726) and Selindus [κατ]οικία (perhaps of Trocetta, *I.G.R.* IV 1497); as *demiourgos*, Perge (*I.G.R.* III 794). In most cases the woman seems actually to have been an official. In others she seems to have had the title merely be-

cause it was borne by her husband; see *e.g.* L.W. 1592, 1602 and 1612 (Aphrodisias, stephanephorus): *I.G.R.* IV 1325 (Phocaea, prytanis and stephanephorus); 1232 (Thyateira, prytanis); 1238 (Thyateira, prytanis and stephanephorus): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 338f., no. 21 (Heracleia Salbace, prytanis and stephanephorus): *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 126, no. 9 (Ceramus, stephanephorus). For women as *dekaprotos* and *grammateus* (?) see *I.G.R.* III 801 and 802 and *P.A.S.* II no. 390 (γραμματεύσασ[α]).

51. For office-holding by minors see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 257. The usual expression to denote titular tenure is ὑπέρ (ἐπί in *I.G.R.* IV 1680). For offices, including that of ἀργυροταμείας τοῦ δήμου, held πρὸ ἡλικίας see *C.I.G.* 2787 and 2788 (Aphrodisias). For an *agoranomos* and *eikosaprotos* ἀπὸ νέας ἡλικίας see *T.A.M.* II 838 *a* = *I.G.R.* III 648 (Idebessus), and for a *dekaprotos* ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ιη′ see *T.A.M.* II 765 = *I.G.R.* III 640 (Arneae). For the *agoranomia* see also *I.G.R.* III 61 and 66 (Prusias ad Hypium); IV 477 = 1680 (Pergamum, also τριτεντής): *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 322f., no. 15 (Thyateira, also σιτώνης). For ἀρχαί and λειτουργίαι see *I.G.R.* IV 1632 (Philadelpheia): *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 76f., no. 6 (Aphrodisias): Robert *Hellenica* III p. 33 (Tabae): *A.E.M.* XVIII (1895), p. 228f. (Pericharaxis): *T.A.M.* II 838 *f* = *I.G.R.* III 649 (ἀρχαί at Acalissus). See also below note 54 (liturgies). For office-holding by the dead see Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 384f.: Lévy *ibid.* p. 258: Keil-Premerstein I p. 4, who showed that the word ἥρως applied to the holder of an office indicated that it was held after his death. For a ἥρως as hipparch at Cyzicus see *I.G.R.* IV 153-155 and *A.M.* VI (1881), p. 121, no. 3 = *B.C.H.* XIII (1889), p. 518f.; as stephanephorus at Aphrodisias see *C.I.G.* 2827 ([ἥ]-ρω[ος]), 2842, 2850 c (= *R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 284, no. 180), L.W. 1639, *R.E.G.* XIX p. 241f., no. 138 d and p. 272f., no. 168, and *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 607, no. 3; at Iasus see L.W. 300; at Magnesia ad Sipylum see Keil-Premerstein I nos. 5 (?), 8 and 93; at Magnesia ad Maeandrum see *Ins. Magn.* 178, 179 and 182; at Hierapolis see *Alt. v. Hierap.* no. 55 b; as prytanis (woman) at Thyateira see *I.G.R.* IV 1232.

52. For payment in return for (ἀντί or ὑπέρ) public office see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 258f.: Liebenam, p. 54f.: Chapot, p. 264: Wilhelm in *S.B. Wien. Akad.* CLXXIX 6 (1915), p. 49: Robert in *B.C.H.* LX (1936), p. 196: Jones *Greek City*, p. 247. Wilhelm pointed out that τὸ τῶν πρυτανειῶν τίμη[μ]α at Apollonis, used [ϵ]ἰς [ἔ]ργων κατασκευάς (Keil-Premerstein I no. 99), denoted the estimated amount of expenditure, based on the *census* of the holder. For payments for the stephanephorate see *C.I.G.* 2771 (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων at Aphrodisias), L.W. 300 (two exedrae and the roof of a stoa at Iasus) and *I.G.R.* IV 941 (10,000 drachmae for the purchase of grain at Chios). For holding the *prytaneia, strategia, agoranomia* and other offices ἐξ οἰκείων δαπανημάτων at Attaleia in Lydia see *I.G.R.* IV 1167. For the *prytaneia* at Pergamum see *A.M.* XXVII (1902), p. 93, no. 83 (money spent on διάστυλα); at Apollonis see above. For the office of *demiourgos* see *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 424f., no. 54 (Pogla, 4500 denarii): *M.A.M.A.* III 103 (Olba, 1000 denarii): *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 55 (Anazarbus, also for priesthoods, a ναός). For the *agora-*

nomia see above note 41. See also *I.G.R.* III 66 (Prusias ad Hypium, repair of a bath); IV 1294 (Julia Gordus, columns); 1637 (Philadelphia, 10,000 denarii). For the *strategia* see *Ephesos* III no. 71 (5000 denarii for lowering the price of oil): *C.I.G.* 3948 (Carura, golden objects): *J.H.S.* LVI (1936), p. 237 (Hierapolis, bronze *Erotes*): *I.G.R.* IV 862 = *M.A.M.A.* VI 3 (Laodiceia, cost of embassies, and for the office *ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*, a statue and altar). For the payments of P. Statius Hermas at Sebastopolis see *P.A.S.* II no. 25 = Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 339, no. 1. For the *στεφανηφορία ἀθάνατος* of Alcibiades see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 124f., B, l. 45f. = Laum *Stiftungen* II no. 131 = *S.E.G.* IV 418. The usual expression applied to the founder of the endowment (perhaps also to a contributor or to a subsequent holder of the office) as well as to the office thus endowed was *αἰώνιος* or *δι' αἰῶνος*; see Liermann in *Diss. philol. Halenses* X (1889), p. 59: Wilhelm in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLIV 6 (1896), p. 153: Keil-Premerstein I p. 3: Braunstein *ibid.* p. 33f.: Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 46f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 175. For a different view (that the expression was equivalent to *διὰ βίου*) see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 263, note 4. For examples in Asia Minor of a "perpetual" stephanephorus (or stephanephorate), *prytanis* and *δημιουργίς* see Laum *ibid.* I pp. 48 and 97. For payments for priesthoods of the emperors see *C.I.G.* 2987 b (Ephesus): *I.G.R.* III 66 (50,000 den., Prusias ad Hypium); IV 1637 (50,000 den., Philadelphia). For payments at Tire (Apateira), which probably belonged to Ephesus (see Keil-Premerstein III p. 88). For the *λογιστεία* (see Chap. XXV note 13) and the *κωμαρχία* see *I.G.R.* IV 1664 (= 1763 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 150, 250 den.) and 1665: M.K.B. VI (1886), p. 88, no. *φοθ'*: *B.C.H.* XVIII (1894), p. 539f. = *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 504: Keil-Premerstein III no. 109 (500 den.).

53. *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 164f. (127,816 denarii at Ephesus returned by the sophist Damianus, see below notes 58 and 62): *I.G.R.* IV 120 (Apollonia). For the cumulation and iteration of offices see Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII p. 262f. For frequent repetitions of the *strategia* see also *I.G.R.* IV 577 (Aezani, five times) and 739 (Eumeneia, six times). For difficulty in finding men to take office see Jones *Greek City*, pp. 138, 146 and 182f. For offices held *αὐθαιρέτως* or as *ἑκούσιος* see *Ins. Sardis* 41 = *I.G.R.* IV 1525 (Philadelphia) and *Ins. Magn.* 163 (offices and liturgies): *Milet* I 3, no. 176 (stephanephorate by a woman): L.W. 152, *I.B.M.* 579 b and *S.E.G.* IV 535 (Ephesus, *neopoios*).

54. See Lévy in *R.E.G.* XII (1899), p. 255f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 231f.: Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, pp. 79f. and 84f.: Broughton, p. 802f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 175 and note 38. For liturgies in the imperial period see also Chapot, p. 265f. and Oehler in *R.E.* XII 1875f. (with a list of the cities in which they are known to have been assumed). For Hadrian's ruling see *Digesta* XXVII 1, 6, 8 (see also L 4, 18, 5). For the *quaestura* see *Digesta* L 4, 18, 2. For the stephanephorate of Alcibiades see above note 52. For the *strategia* of Rufinus at Smyrna see *I.G.R.* IV 1402 = *Syll.*[3] 876 (a letter of Severus and Caracalla); see also *B.C.H.* VII (1883), p. 272f. (Nysa, several offices referred to as liturgies). For a distinction between *honor* and *munus* see *Digesta* L 4, 4. For grounds for exclusion from office see *Digesta* L 1, 17,

12 and 21, 5; 4, 6, 1 and 7, 1. For exemption from liturgies granted to favoured individuals and to certain professions see Chap. X note 10 and Chap. XXIV note 15; for the payment of a sum of money *ὑπὲρ ἀλιτουργησίας* see *T.A.M.* II 832 (Acalissus); and for exemptions in general see Jones, pp. 184f. and 189f. For M. Sempronius Pal. Clemens see *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 82f., nos. 8-11 and LI (1927), p. 107, no. 81 (=*S.E.G.* IV 307) and, for his probable date in the late second century, LXI (1937), p. 287, no. 131. For the grant of heritable exemption see *Digesta* L 6, 1, 2 and 5: *Philol.* XLIX (1890), p. 724f. (Hiera, Lesbos, an *ἀρχιατρός*). For liturgies performed by minors (see above note 51) see *I.G.R.* IV 1543 (Erythrae): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 31f., no. 45 (Stratoniceia, also three priesthoods by the age of twenty): *T.A.M.* II 496= *I.G.R.* III 605 (Xanthus). See also *C.I.G.* 2881 and 2885 (=L.W. 223) and *R. Phil.* XXI (1897), p. 42f., no. 17 (Miletus and Didyma): *Ins. Magn.* 163: *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 76f., no. 6 (Aphrodisias): L.W. 525 (Stratoniceia, a gymnasiarch of the *Neoi ἐν παιδί*) and 1601 A (Aphrodisias, a gymnasiarch *ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας*).

55. For the gymnasium and the gymnasiarch see Chap. III note 36 and, for the Roman period, Liebenam, pp. 373f. and 545f. (lists): Lévy in *R.E.G.* XIV p. 368f.: Chapot, p. 277f.: Broughton, p. 806. For the gymnasia at Pergamum see Chap. XXIV note 49. For those at Miletus, Iasus, Tralles and Thyateira see *C.I.G.* 2881: *B.S.A.* XXVIII (1926-27), p. 120=*Ann. Ép.* 1930, 4: *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 161f.: *P.A.S.* I p. 96, no. 2: *I.G.R.* IV 1217, 1246, 1264 and 1266-69. For three at Corydalla and at Attaleia see *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 55 and 63 and *I.G.R.* III 783 and *S.E.G.* II 696=*Ann. Ép.* 1922, 2. For the *γυμνασίαρχος τῶν γυναι[κ]ῶν* (a woman) at Dorylaeum see *I.G.R.* IV 522=*O.G.I.* 479. For appropriations by the city see *I.G.R.* IV 788 and 789 (= *M.A.M.A.* VI 180) and 790 (Apameia, where the city's appropriation *δι' ἀγοραίας*, *i.e.* the governor's appearance for the hearing of cases [see above p. 171] was 15,000 denarii for six months, but the gymnasiarch himself gave 19,000 for the second half-year): *Ins. Magn.* 116: *T.A.M.* II 905= *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 55 (Corydalla). For the appropriation to the gymnasium of the *Νέοι* of a gift to the city of Iasus see *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 157f., no. 3 B, in which it was estimated that the income, consisting of 450 denarii (see p. 164), would suffice for one month's supply of oil. For gymnasiarchs *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων* (*χρημάτων*) see *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2771 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* IV 522 (Dorylaeum, see above); 708 (Synnada); 788-790 (Apameia, see above); 1676 (Apollonia ad Rhyndacum): *T.A.M.* II 766 and 905=*I.G.R.* III 642 (Arneae, *δωρεάν*) and 739, c. 30 (Corydalla, *δωρεᾷ*): *Ins. Sardis* 27: Paton-Hicks 392: *Ins. Magn.* 164=*O.G.I.* 485: *P.A.S.* I p. 96, no. 2 (Tralles, see above): *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 319f., no. 1 (Cius): *Ann. Ép.* 1941, 165 (*γυμνασία[ρχος] πρῶτος τῆς διηνεκ[οῦς] γυμνασιαρχίας*). For the construction of a gymnasium and an endowment (*δι' αἰῶνος*, see below) by a man and his wife at Termessus see *T.A.M.* III 1, 21, 57, 58 and 121-123. For gifts of money to gymnasia see *T.A.M.* II 15=*I.G.R.* III 539 (Telmessus): *I.G.R.* III 833=*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 176, no. 121 (Iotape): *P.A.S.* III no. 426 (Adada). For gifts of oil (see below note 58) by gymnasiarchs see *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2719 and

L.W. 517 (Stratoniceia): L.W. 496 (Bargylia) and 1602 a (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* IV 216 (Ilium); 555 (Ancyra, Phrygia); 1110 (Nisyros); 1269 (Thyateira); III 801 and 802 (Sillyum); 804 (Aspendus): *Ins. Magn.* 163: *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 175f., nos. 9 and 12 (Iasus) and XIV (1901), p. 297 (Erythrae): *M.A.M.A.* VI 105 (Heracleia Salbace): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 343f., no. 4 (Sebastopolis, Caria): Paton-Hicks 107, 108, 110 and 111 (Cos). See also Wilhelm in *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1933, p. 848f. and, for Lagina and Panamara, Chap. XXIV note 56. For a gymnasiarch *δι' αἰῶνος, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* or *αἰώνιος* (see above note 52) see Laum *Stiftungen* I pp. 47 and 97, where the following cities are listed: Aphrodisias, Blaundus, Cibyra, Iotape, Magnesia, Mitylene, Pergamum, Termessus. To these may be added *B.C.H.* LVII (1933), p. 500f., no. 3 (Larisa-on-Hermus (?), an endowment in land). The existence of an endowed gymnasiarchate, however, did not necessarily prevent the assumption of the post by a man at his own expense; see *I.G.R.* IV 915 b. For women as gymnasiarchs see Paris *ibid.* pp. 59f. and 75f. and Braunstein *ibid.* p. 28f., whose list contains the following cities: Dorylaeum (of women, see above), Erythrae, Heracleia Salbace, Lagina, Magnesia ad Maeandrum, Mitylene, Mylasa, Nacrasa (?), Sidyma, Sillyum, Stratoniceia, Sirt Dağ (southeastern Pisidia), Termessus. To these may be added: Arneae (*T.A.M.* II 766=*I.G.R.* III 642): Attaleia in Pamphylia (*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] [1914], p. 23, no. 9 and *S.E.G.* II 696): Cius (*A.M.* XXIV [1899], p. 415f., no. 14): Miletus (*Milet* I 7, no. 265): Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 1687): Perge (*I.G.R.* III 794).

56. For a *γυμνασίαρχος πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων* see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 446 (Pergamum) and 1269 (Thyateira): *Ephesos* III nos. 58 and 71: L.W. 223 and *I.B.M.* 922 (Miletus). For the *Neoi* and the *gerousia* see Chap. III notes 37 and 38. For the separate mention of the *boule* and the *gerousia* in gifts see *C.I.G.* 2782 and *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 610f., no. 6 (Aphrodisias): *C.I.G.* 3417 and *I.G.R.* IV 1629 and 1632 (Philadelpheia): *I.G.R.* III 800-802 (Sillyum): *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 222f., 290f. and 454f. and *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 281f. (Ephesus). For the *gerousia* at Sidyma see above note 15.

57. For the *πανηγυριάρχης* see Menadier *Qua Condicione Ephesii usi sint, etc.* p. 95, who pointed out that the fact that both a panegyriarch and an agonothete appear in inscriptions from Mitylene (*I.G.* XII 2, 241-252) and Ephesus (*I.B.M.* 618)—to which may be added *I.G.R.* IV 584 (Aezani) and 993 (Samos)—shows that the offices were different. On the other hand, in *I.B.M.* 482 c=*Syll.*[3] 867 c (Ephesus) the same man seems to have acted in both capacities. For the appropriation of 1000 denarii for the panegyriarch at Aphrodisias see *C.I.G.* 2758 A and Liermann in *Diss. philol. Halenses* X (1889), p. 178. The panegyriarch is found also at Pergamum, Ancyra in Phrygia, Thyateira, Erythrae, Philadelpheia (*I.G.R.* IV 493, 555, 1248, 1541, 1637 and 1640), Mopsuestia (*I.G.R.* III 916), Didyma (*C.I.G.* 2885 c), Cnidus (*C.I.G.* 2653=*S.G.D.I.* 3509, a woman) and Nysa (*P.A.S.* II no. 396, a statue *ἀντὶ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ τῆς πανηγυριαρχικῆς τιμῆς*). For the *ἀγωνοθέτης* see Reisch in *R.E.* I 870f.: Liebenam, pp. 373f. and 542f. (a list): Chapot, p. 276: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 234. For the *agonothesia* as a liturgy see *R.*

Phil. XXI (1897), p. 42f., no. 17 (Didyma) and *Milet* I 7, no. 265. For an appropriation by the city (a surplus) see *I.G.R.* IV 317 (Pergamum). For contributions by *agonothetai* to the cost of festivals and prizes and for the holding of the office ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων see *e.g.* L.W. 252, 253 and 255 (Iasus, Hellenistic): *I.G.R.* IV 316 (=473) and 465 (Pergamum); 582 and 584 (Aezani); 1270 and 1273 (Thyateira); 1568 (Teos); III 209 (=*S.E.G.* VI 59, Ancyra); 409, corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 340, note 8 (Pogla): *I.B.M.* 482 c (=*Syll.*[3] 867 c) and 618 (Ephesus): *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 85f., nos. 10 and 11 (Stratoniceia): *P.A.S.* III no. 472 (Conana, Pisidia). For a gift of money ἀγωνοθεσίας ἕνεκεν to serve as an endowment for the κατασκευή of silver and gold votive offerings see *R. Phil.* LXIII (1937), p. 334f., no. 9 (Chios). For gifts of oil see *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 520, no. 19 (Nysa) and for contributions by successive *agonothetai* see *I.G.R.* IV 210 (Ilium). For the combination of the *agonothesia* and the local priesthood of the emperors see *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2766=Liermann *ibid.* no. 4 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.* XII 2, 242, 243 and 246-252 (Mitylene): *I.G.R.* III 382 (Selge); 408 (Pogla); 487 (Oenoanda); 780 and 781 (Attaleia); 796 (Perge); 804 (Aspendus); IV 586 (Aezani); 821 and 822 (Hierapolis); 1241, 1244 and 1245 (Thyateira); 1639 (Philadelpheia). See also Liermann, p. 20. For women as *agonothetai* see Braunstein, p. 35f., where the following cities are listed: Acmonia, Attuda, Cremna, Heracleia Salbace, Pergamum, Phocaea, Smyrna, Thyateira. To these may be added Apollonis and Erythrae (*I.G.R.* IV 1183 and 1542); Didyma (*Milet* I 7, no. 265); Selge (*I.G.R.* III 383). For repetitions see *e.g.* *I.G.R.* IV 579 (Aezani, τρίς); 1543 (Erythrae, τετράκις): *T.A.M.* II 905=*I.G.R.* III 739, c. 30 (Rhodiapolis, πεντάκις); Paton-Hicks 131 (Cos, ι΄ ?). For *agonothetai* διὰ βίου see *I.G.R.* III p. 660-61 and IV p. 726 (*Indices*): *C.I.G.* 2801 (Aphrodisias): *Ephesos* II nos. 61 II and 63 (Ephesus): *M.A.M.A.* VI 79 (Attuda): L.W. 1652 c, *P.A.S.* I p. 100f. and *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 298f., no. 7 (Tralles): *B.C.H.* XI p. 353f., no. 11 (Colossae): *S.E.G.* IV 307 (Panamara): *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 288f., nos. 13-23 (Antioch-near-Pisidia): *P.A.S.* III no. 472 (Conana): Lanckoroński II nos. 193 and 202 (Sagalassus): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 334f., nos. 153 and 155 (Binda, northern Pisidia): *C.I.G.* 4352-4355 (Side) and 4380 e-4380 h (Balbura). For an agonothete δι' αἰῶνος (*agonotheta perpetuus*) at Antiocheia-on-Cragus, Antioch-near-Pisidia, Aphrodisias, Ephesus and Heracleia Salbace see Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 47. For an endowment (in land) for an *agonothesia* at Aezani see *I.G.R.* IV 582. See also *Digesta* L 12, 10, a case in which a woman endowed a quadrennial contest but kept the principal in her own hands, promising to pay the interest on condition that her husband and after his death her sons should serve as agonothetes.

58. Plutarch *Praec. ger. Rei Publ.* 5, p. 802 D. For a similar criticism see Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* LXVI 8f. For a ἑστίασις as a liturgy see Aristotle *Pol.* VII 7, p. 1321 A. For public banquets see *e.g.* *C.I.G.* 2719 (Stratoniceia); 2766, 2778, 2789 and L.W. 1602 and 1602 a (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* IV 555 (Ancyra, Phrygia); 1270 (Thyateira); 1666 (Tire, Lydia, bequest for endowment): L.W. 1661=*A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 217f., no. 45 (probably Pergamum, see above note 30): Paton-Hicks 131 (Cos): *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 318,

no. 34 (Didyma): *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 57 (Ephesus): *C.I.G.* 3749 (Nicaea): *T.A.M.* II 197 (=*I.G.R.* III 596) and 201 (Sidyma); 581 (=*I.G.R.* III 565, Tlos): *I.G.R.* III 157=1459 (=*O.G.I.* 533, δημοθοινία, Ancyra in Galatia); 407 (Pogla); 796 (Perge). For banquets and gifts of money at Lagina and Panamara see Chap. XXIV note 56. For distributions of money (ἐπιδόσεις, διαδόσεις and διανομαί) see Wilhelm *Beiträge*, p. 189f. See also *C.I.G.* 2782 and L.W. 1601 A, 1602 a, 1604 and 1611=*A.M.* V (1880), p. 340f., no. 12 (Aphrodisias): *C.I.G.* 2881 (Miletus): *R.E.G.* XIV (1901), p. 304, nos. 2-3, corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 413f. (Tralles, endowment): *I.G.R.* IV 860 (Laodiceia) and 1270 (Thyateira): *Ephesos* III no. 71: *C.I.G.* 3749 (Nicaea): L.W. 1111 (Prusa): *I.G.R.* III 60, 67 (=1418) and 69 (=1419) (Prusias ad Hypium); 173 (=*O.G.I.* 544), 194 (=*O.G.I.* 542=*S.E.G.* VI 54) and 199 (cf. *S.E.G.* VI 61) (Ancyra in Galatia); 382 (Selge); 409 (Pogla): *T.A.M.* II 1200 (=*I.G.R.* III 764) (Phaselis, a bequest); III 1, 4, 108 and 109 (=*I.G.R.* III 439) (Termessus): *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 23 (Seleuceia-on-Calycadnus): *I.G.R.* III 800-802 (Sillyum); 833 (Iotape, for the *bouleutai*): Lanckoroński II no. 248 (Selge): *B.C.H.* XVI (1892), p. 424f., no. 54 (Pogla). For Lycia see Chap. XXII note 56 and *T.A.M.* II 201, 284 (=*I.G.R.* III 621), 578 (=*I.G.R.* III 679, endowment for those on the grain-list), 838 *f* and *I.G.R.* III 473, 493 and 495. For gifts of grain, often ἐν σιτοδείᾳ, see Liebenam, p. 112, note 2 and Robert in *R.A.* III (1934), p. 48f. and *Hellenica* VII (1949), p. 74f. (τροφεύς). See also *C.I.G.* 2804 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 142f., no. 75 (Aphrodisias): *Ins. Sardis* 47: *Ephesos* III no. 80 (200,106 medimni by Damianus, the sophist, see Chap. XXVIII note 6): *I.G.R.* III 89 (=*J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 69f., no. 17) and 90 (=*O.G.I.* 531) (Amastris); 157 (=*O.G.I.* 533, l. 29, Ancyra in Galatia); 493 and 495 (Oenoanda); 516 (=*T.A.M.* II 661, Cadyanda); 796 (Perge): L.W. 1228 (Balbura): *I.G.R.* IV 791 Apameia); 870 (corrected by Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 547, Colossae); 1630 (Philadelpheia); 1680 (Pergamum): *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 379f., no. 2 (Stratoniceia, on τιμιώρα see Keil-Premerstein II p. 38 and W. Göz in *Klio* XIX [1925], p. 110f.): *T.A.M.* III 1, 4 (Termessus): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 343f., no. 4 (Sebastopolis in Caria, reduction in price): *I.G.* XII 1, 832 (Lindus, "abundance for the market"). For gifts or bequests for a *sitonicum* see *I.G.R.* IV 580=*O.G.I.* 511 (Aezani): *J.H.S.* LVII (1937), p. 1f. (Orcistus): *C.I.L.* III 6998=13652=Dessau 7196=*M.A.M.A.* V 202 (Nacoleia). For gifts of oil (see also above note 55), sometimes given in δρακτά drawn ἐκ λουτήρων (see Hatzfeld in *B.C.H.* LI [1927], p. 65), see Liermann *ibid.* pp. 80f. and 102f. and Liebenam, p. 116, note 3. See also *I.G.R.* IV 818 (Hierapolis) and 860 (Laodiceia); III 173 (=*O.G.I.* 544, Ancyra); 484 (Oenoanda, where the ἐλαιοθεσία is described as an ἀρχή): *T.A.M.* II 201 (Sidyma) and 671 (Cadyanda, reduction in price): *Ephesos* III nos. 14-18 and *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 281f. (Ephesus): *Ins. Magn.* 163, 179 (=*S.E.G.* IV 419) and 193: *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 318, no. 34 (Didyma): *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 176f., no. 10 (Iasus, for dead son) and no. 12 (an endowment). For a πρεσβεία as a liturgy see *I.G.R.* III 1421 (Prusias ad Hypium). For embassies to emperors δωρεάν or προῖκα see *C.I.G.* 2721 (Stratoniceia) and 2786 (Aphrodisias): *I.G.R.* III 796 (Perge) and 804 (Aspendus); IV 862 (=*M.A.M.A.* VI 3, Laodiceia); 914 (Cibyra); 1244 and 1247

(Thyateira): *R.E.G.* VI (1893), p. 176f., nos. 10 and 14 (Iasus): *B.C.H.* XXIII (1899), p. 291f., no. 4 = *T.A.M.* III 1, 104 (Termessus): Ἀρχ. Ἐφημ. 1936, *Suppl.* p. 21f., no. 2 (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπανημάτων, Eresus): *R.A.* III (1916), p. 339 = *Ann. Ép.* 1916, 120 (*sine viatico*, Sinope). See also *I.G.R.* IV 1156 *a* = *Syll.*[3] 837 (Stratoniceia-Hadrianopolis). For those who represented the Lycian Federation see Chap. XXII note 65.

59. For contests see E. Reisch in *R.E.* I 838f. and, for the Roman period, 860f.: Liermann, p. 111f.: J. Frei *De Certaminibus thymelicis* (Basle 1900), p. 16f.: Chapot, p. 490f.: Th. Klee *Zur Gesch. d. gymnischen Agone an Griech. Festen* (Leipzig 1918), p. 20f.: W. Aly in *R.E.* VI A 704f.: Broughton, p. 804f.: Jones *Greek City*, p. 279f. For the Balbilleia see Chap. XXIII note 5. For the Lysimacheia see *C.I.G.* 2741 = *O.G.I.* 509, a letter of the curator, Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles, informing the city authorities that the bequest amounted to 120,000 denarii and that the income for a four-year period was 31,893 denarii, a sum which, as Professor W. K. Prentice has pointed out to me, is equal to (simple) annual interest at a rate of 6.663 + per cent. For the prizes see *C.I.G.* 2759 = L.W. 1620 d and Liermann, p. 122f. Another inscription (*C.I.G.* 2785) records the erection of a statue of Flavius Antonius Lysimachus (evidently a relative of the founder), ἀγωνοθέτης δι' αἰῶνος Λυσιμαχήων ἀγώνων, during the *agonothesia* of Q. Antonius Epinicus. The endowment seems to have been subsequently increased, for there is mention of a sculpture-contest called Λυσιμάχηα Ταυιάνηα in *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 251f., no. 147. For other endowed contests at Aphrodisias see *C.I.G.* 2758 = Liermann, no. 37 (prizes by an unknown donor): L.W. 1620 c = Liermann, no. 21 (*agones* of Callicrates, Claudius Adrastus and Hosidius Julianus): *C.I.G.* 2811 and 2812, L.W. 596, *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 71f., nos. 2 and 3 and *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 250, no. 146 and Liermann, p. 140f. (Philemonieia): *C.I.G.* 2801 and *I.G.* II[2] 3169 and Liermann, p. 154f. (Attaleia Gordiana Capitolia, hardly, however, as Liermann suggested, named for Attalus of Pergamum, since not only are the inscriptions from the third century after Christ but Attalus never ruled over Caria, but possibly founded by the benefactor Attalus Adrastus, see Chap. XXIV note 54). For Termessus see Heberdey in *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 198f. and *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX (1929), 3, p. 42f., where it was observed that none of these contests can be placed earlier than the middle of the second century but all except four antedate A.D. 212. For other cities see Laum *Stiftungen* I p. 92f., and for Lycia see Chap. XXII note 57. The Charmideia (Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 190, no. 73) placed by Laum in Heracleia Salbace should be assigned to Antiocheia ad Maeandrum (see *P.A.S.* II no. 5 and Robert in *R. Phil.* LV [1929], p. 134) and the following contests may be added: Olympia Heracleia Adrasteia at Attuda (*M.A.M.A.* VI 81), perhaps named for the agonothete [Ad]rastus (*M.A.M.A.* VI 79), but possibly for the Meter Adrastos (*M.A.M.A.* VI 74 and 75); ἀγὼν Μαξιμιάνειος at Antioch-near-Pisidia (*J.R.S.* III [1913], p. 288f., nos. 14-23), hardly named, as the editor believed (p. 299f.), for the Emperor Galerius Maximianus; Klareia, Rhodoneia and Vareia at Sagalassus (*I.G.R.* III 360 and 361: Lanckoroński II nos. 193, 201 and 202); [Οὐά]ρειοι ἀγῶνες at Perge

(*I.G.R.* III 798); Νικηράτεια τὰ ἐν Τρά[λλεσι ?] (L.W. 1620 c). For θέμιδες, *i.e.* individual gifts of money for prizes, see Laum I p. 94f. and, for Lycia, Chap. XXII note 63. To Laum's list may be added: Barla, Pisidia (*S.E.G.* II 745); Andeda or Verbe (?) (*B.S.A.* XVI [1909-10], p. 117f., nos. 10 and 15 and XVII [1910-11], p. 209f., no. 6 and perhaps p. 208f., no. 5 = *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII [1923-24], p. 447, no. 163); Attaleia (*Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII p. 419, no. 117, corrected by Robert in *R. Phil.* LV [1929], p. 122f., no. 7 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 28). For what was perhaps a subsidy ἐκ τῶν Κλαυδιανοῦ Δαμᾶ πόρων for the festival of the Olympia at Tralles see L.W. 1652 c: *P.A.S.* I p. 100, no. 6 and p. 102: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 298f., no. 7.

60. For this whole subject see Robert *Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris 1940), with a catalogue (p. 75f. and supplements in *Hellenica* III p. 112f. and V p. 77f.) of inscriptions and sculpture showing the presence of gladiators in the cities of Greece and the eastern provinces, a work which has superseded all that had been written previously on this subject. For Lucullus see Plutarch *Luc.* 23, 1, and for the occasion see above p. 253. For Laodiceia and Mylasa see Cicero *Epist. ad Att.* VI 3, 9 (50 B.C.) and *Phil.* VI 13. For Ancyra see *I.G.R.* III 157 = 1459 = *O.G.I.* 533 and Chap. XIX note 27. For the amphitheatres see *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 178, no. 5 and XV (1925), p. 254 (Antioch): *I.G.R.* IV 845 and 861 and Chap. XXIV note 17 (Laodiceia, στάδιον ἀνφιθέατρον): *A.M.* XXXV (1910), p. 386 (Pergamum): Hasluck *Cyzicus*, p. 15. For a λουσώριον (amphitheatre) at Termessus Minor in the third century see *I.G.R.* III 481 = Dessau 8870. For the various types of gladiators and the kinds of wild beasts see Robert *Gladiateurs*, pp. 64f. and 313f. For combats at Antioch see above (where the editor read [x]XXVI); for Miletus, Magnesia and Ephesus see *C.I.G.* 2880 (= *R. Phil.* XXIII [1899], p. 314, no. 31 bis), *Ins. Magn.* 163 and *Ephesos* II no. 61 and III nos. 70 and 71; for Sagalassus see *I.G.R.* III 360; for Ancyra see *O.G.I.* 533, l. 5. For hunts see *C.I.G.* 3212 = *J.H.S.* XLI (1921), p. 257, fig. 9 (Smyrna): *I.G.R.* IV 460 (Pergamum) and 225 (Ilium): *Ins. Sardis* 82: M.K.B. I (1873-75), p. 73, no. 30 and *R.A.* XVII (1891), p. 48 (picture) (Smyrna): *S.E.G.* IV 520 (Ephesus) and VI 10 (Ancyra). For Lycia see Chap. XXII note 64. For ζῶα Λιβυκά (*S.E.G.* IV 520) see Friedländer *Sittengesch. Roms*[9-10] IV p. 269. For the suggestion that gladiatorial combats and hunts were connected with the imperial cult see Robert *Gladiateurs*, p. 270f., where it was pointed out that the φαμιλίαι μονομάχων (see Chap. XVIII note 61) mentioned in inscriptions frequently belonged to Asiarchs and that the donors of spectacles were chiefly the *archiereis* of the provinces or of the cities. For priests as *agonothetai* see above note 57. For the presentation of hunts and gladiatorial spectacles by a duumvir of Antioch see *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 296f., no. 26. For other instances of donors where there is no mention of a priesthood see *I.G.R.* IV 555 (Ancyra, Phrygia): *Ins. Magn.* 163: *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 252, no. 70 (Panamara): *S.E.G.* VI 10 (Ancyra, Galatia).

61. *C.I.L.* II 6278 = Dessau 5163 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 110 (from Italica in Spain). For a fragment of a version of the *oratio* of M. Aurelius

on this occasion see *Ins. Sardis* 16. See also Piganiol in *R.E.A.* XXII (1920), p. 283f.

62. *Digesta* L 10, 6 and 7. For later modifications of these orders see *Digesta* L 8, 7, 1 and 10, 3. For a recommendation to curb expenditures in buildings and festivals see Cassius Dio LII 30, 3 (reflecting conditions in the early third century). See also Jones *Greek City*, p. 135f. For buildings and other gifts under the Flavians and Trajan see above p. 582f. For buildings erected under Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 11f. (Asclepieium at Pergamum) and, for Rufinus, *I.G.R.* IV 424-426 and 493 and Hepding in *Philol.* LXXXVIII (1933), pp. 90f. and 241f.: *S.E.G.* IV 533 and Keil *Ephesos, ein Führer*^{2}, pp. 41f. and 91f. (Vedius Antoninus, see above note 9): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 23, 2, Suidas *s.v.* Δαμιανός, *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 164f. (an οἶκος ἐν τῷ Οὐαρίου βαλανείῳ) and *Führer*^{2}, p. 101 (Damianus): *C.I.G.* 2881, *Milet* I 9, p. 50f. and *S. B. Berl. Akad.* 1928, p. 251f. (Miletus): *C.I.G.* 2782 (Aphrodisias, see Chap. XXIV note 54): *I.G.R.* III 287 (Isaura) and 348 (Sagalassus). For Opramoas see Chap. XXII note 71. For Alcibiades and Antoninus Pythodorus see *B.C.H.* IX (1885), p. 124f. and *S.E.G.* IV 402-408 and *I.G.* IV^2 454, 514, 684 and 715-16. For the wealth of the cities under Antoninus see also Aristides *Orat.* XXVI 94f. Keil (A.D. 144). For the later period see *I.G.R.* IV 362 (temple rededicated to Caracalla, which gave Pergamum a right to a third neocory, see Chap. XXVIII note 41): *Ephesos* II nos. 40, 41 and 42 and III nos. 9, 13, 71 and 86 and p. 218f. (Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 1637 and Keil-Premerstein I no. 52 (Philadelpheia): *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX (1893), p. 100f., no. 1 and perhaps *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 98f., no. 13 (Aphrodisias): L.W. 520 and Laumonier in *R.E.A.* XXXVI (1934), p. 85f. and *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 83f., nos. 9-11 (Stratoniceia): *I.G.R.* III 60 (Prusias ad Hypium) and 90 (= *O.G.I.* 531, Amastris, A.D. 215): *I.G.R.* III 351 and Lanckoroński II no. 201 (Sagalassus): Lanckoroński II p. 41f., *T.A.M.* III 1, 17, 19, 57, 58, 108, 109, 121-123 and 187 and *R.E.* V A 744f. (Termessus). See also Broughton, pp. 748f. and 794f. The prosperity of the region near the northeast corner of Lake Eğridir appears in the subscription-lists of the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* (from about A.D. 238 to 265); see Chap. XXIX note 40.

63. *I.G.R.* III 800-802 (Sillyum); IV 1127 (Rhodes): *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 220f. and 485f. (Ephesus): Newton *Hist. Disc.* II p. 799, no. 101 (Lagina): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 343f., no. 4 (Sebastopolis, Caria).

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. *Vit. Pii* 5, 4f.: Pausanias VIII 43, 3f.: Aristides *Orat.* XXVI 70 Keil: Malalas XI p. 280 Bonn (murder of Dinarchus in Egypt): *C.I.L.* III 1416 (*Victoria Aug(usti)* in Dacia) and 5211-5215 (Mauri); VI 1208 (Germani and Mauri): Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 40, no. 113 and p. 119, no. 719 (*Imperator II Britan.*). See also Lacour-Gayet *Ant. le Pieux*, p. 138f. and Hüttl *Ant. Pius* I p. 254f., who pointed out that the *Germani* were presumably the Quadi (on the middle Danube), to whom Antoninus "gave" a king (Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 110, no. 620 and p. 155, no. 1059), and that the "rebellions" (*Vit. Pii l.c.*) in Achaea and Egypt were evidently only local disturbances.

2. For this entire episode see Hüttl I p. 232f. For the invasion of the Alans see Chap. XXVI note 43. For Pharasmanes II and the envoys sent by Vologases see Cassius Dio LXIX 15, 2 and LXX 2, 1 (=LXIX 15, 3) and *Vit. Pii* 9, 6. It was supposed by von Gutschmid (*Gesch. Irans*, p. 147), followed in *P.I.R.* III p. 477, no. 633, by Boissevain in *Herm.* XXV (1890), p. 336f. and by Hüttl (p. 232, note 19), that this Vologases (as well as the man of this name who, according to Dio LXIX 15, 1, bought off the Alans) was Vologases, son of Sanatruces, who received a part of Armenia in 117 (see Chap. XXV note 40), and that he was also the (unnamed) king of Armenia recognized by Hadrian (*Vit. Hadr.* 21, 11). In view of our ignorance of the name of the latter, however, it is more natural to regard Vologases as the Parthian monarch, Vologases II, who, as a rival of Osroes, issued coins from 112/13 (perhaps from 105/6) onward and about 128/9 (when the coinage of Osroes ceases) established himself as sole ruler; see McDowell *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 81 and 193f. and Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 242f. For the throne see *Vit. Pii* 9, 7 (see above p. 621). For Vologases's projected invasion of Armenia, averted by the *litterae* of Antoninus, see *Vit. Pii* 9, 6 and *Vit. Marci* 8, 6. For the despatching of *vexillationes* to Syria *ob bellum* [*Par*]*thicum* see *C.I.L.* IX 2457=Dessau 1076, dated in 139 or soon afterward by Schehl in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 185f., followed by Groag in *R.E.* XVI 2551f. For the clothing from Egypt see *B.G.U.* VII 1564= *Econ. Surv.* II p. 627, no. 374 (9 Sept. 138), connected with this threat of war by Schehl, p. 177f. and Hüttl I p. 233. The statement in *Vit. Pii* 9, 6 that Antoninus *Abgarum regem* (of Osroene ?) *ex Orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit* suggests that this ruler may have been encouraged to invade Parthian territory but was recalled; see Lacour-Gayet, p. 151. For a coin of Antoninus as Consul III (*i.e.* 140-144) inscribed *Rex Armeniis Datus* see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 110, no. 619. This king was scarcely the Aurelius Pacorus (evidently of Parthian origin), Βασιλεὺς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, who appears in an inscription in Rome (*I.G.* XIV 1472=*I.G.R.* I 222=*O.G.I.* 382), as was suggested by Hüttl (I p. 237), for the latter's *gentilicium* seems to date him under Marcus Aurelius or later. He may possibly have been the Pacorus who was made king of Armenia by Vologases III in 161 but was soon dethroned (see below note 4), after which he may have been compelled

to live in Rome. Antoninus's appointment of a king of Armenia, to judge from the date of the coin, was more probably the result of a compromise than a cause of the threatened war. His policy of maintaining Rome's suzerainty over the regions on the eastern frontier of the Empire appears also in his appointment of a king of the Lazi (*Vit. Pii* 9, 6). The statement in Malalas XI p. 280f. Bonn that he came to Antioch in person was shown by Schehl (p. 193f.), accepted by Hüttl (I p. 236, note 24), to refer to Caracalla.

3. This change appears for the first time in inscriptions from Isaura honouring C. Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus, described as imperial legate of Antoninus Pius *ἐπαρχειῶν* Κιλικίας, Ἰσαυρίας, Λυκαονίας and Consul; see *P.A.S.* III nos. 189 and 190 (=*I.G.R.* III 290=*O.G.I.* 576=Dessau 8827). The decrease in the size of the Galatian province may perhaps appear in an inscription of an unknown governor, described as imperial legate of *ἐπαρχείας* Γαλατίας, Πισιδίας, Παφλαγονίας (*I.G.R.* III 316=*O.G.I.* 535); but since this combination was also used in connexion with a legate who is thought to have held office under Trajan (*C.I.L.* III 6813=Dessau 1038, see Chap. XXV note 24) the inscription cannot be definitely dated. As von Premerstein observed (*Klio* XIII p. 84, note 1), the new arrangement appears to have been temporarily discontinued at the end of the second century, when, under the proconsul Carminius Athenagoras, Isauria was attached to Lycia-Pamphylia; see *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 348f., no. 5=*M.A.M.A.* VI 74 and *P.I.R.*^{2} II p. 102, no. 429. It was in force, however, under Severus and Alexander, when Tarsus was called *μητρόπολις τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν* Κιλικίας, Ἰσαυρίας, Λυκαονίας; see *A.J.A.* XLII (1938), p. 55f.=*Ann. Ép.* 1938, 4 (A.D. 205): *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 193, nos. 175 and 176 (coins of Severus): *I.G.R.* III 879 and 880=*O.G.I.* 578=*Byz. Ztschr.* XIV (1905), p. 65, no. 107 (under Alexander).

4. For this war see Cassius Dio LXXI 2-3: Fronto *Princ. Hist.* p. 208f. Naber and *Epist. ad Verum* II 1, p. 121 Naber (capture of Dausara, Nicephorium and Artaxata): Orosius VII 15, 2f.: Eutropius VIII 10, 2: *Vit. Marc.* 8, 6f.: *Vit. Veri* 6, 7f.: *Vit. Avid. Cass.* 6: Lucian *Quomodo Hist. Conscr.* 15 and 30f.: E. Napp *De Rebus Imp. M. Aur. Ant.* in *Oriente gestis* (Bonn 1879), p. 12f.: Mommsen *R.G.* v^2 p. 405f.=*Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 79f.: von Gutschmid *Gesch. Irans,* p. 149f.: Stein in *R.E.* III 1840f.: Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LIX (1904), p. 186f.: C. H. Dodd in *Num. Chron.* XI (1911), p. 209f. (chronology): A. von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 87f.: A. Günther *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kriege zw. Römern u. Parthern* (1922), p. 114f.: J. Schwendemann *Der hist. Wert d. Vita Marci bei d. S.H.A.* (Heidelberg 1923), pp. 138f. and 146f.: Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 345f.: W. Görlitz *Marc Aurel* (Leipzig 1936), p. 70f.: Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia,* p. 246f. For Elegeia see Chap. XXV note 33. M. Sedatius Severianus (for his full name see Dessau 9487) appears as legatus pro praetore in *I.G.R.* III 113 (Sebastopolis) and *Stud. Pont.* III 271 (Zela). See also Lucian *ibid.* 21 and 25f. His province was evidently Cappadocia, for the part of Pontus containing the two places in which he appears was attached to this province under Trajan

(see Chap. XXV note 24). For Pacorus see Fronto p. 127 Naber. For Cornelianus see G. A. Harrer *Stud. in the Hist. of the Rom. Prov. of Syria*, p. 30f. He was Consul designatus in 150/1 (*S.E.G.* VII 866). The suggestion of Ritterling (p. 188f., see also von Premerstein, p. 79, note 1 and Hüttl II p. 159) that A. Larcius Priscus, described in *C.I.L.* VIII 17891 = Dessau 1055 and *Ann. Ép.* 1908, 237 as *quaestor provinciae Asiae, leg. Aug. Leg. IIII Scythicae, pro leg. consulare provinciae Syriae*, was sent to Syria in the emergency caused by the absence in the field of Cornelianus and the legates of the other legions was rejected by Harrer (p. 20) and by Fluss in *R.E.* XII 804, who pointed out that he probably lived under Trajan; this was confirmed by the *Fasti Ostienses*, which show that a man of this name was Consul suffectus in 110; see Syme in *J.R.S.* XXV (1935), p. 103 and Harrer and Suskin in *A.J.A.* XLIII (1939), p. 279. A re-examination of a miliarium of 162 (*C.I.L.* III 6715 = 14177) on which *A.* [*L*]*arci*[*o*...] was originally read (see *R.E.* III 1842) shows that *Geminium Marcia*[*num*] (legate of Arabia in 161-63) is actually on the stone. Verus's departure from Rome in 162 is shown by his coins inscribed *Profectio Aug. Tr. P. II Cos. II*; see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 252, no. 477f., confirming the date recorded in Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 170f. Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 204 Helm. His voyage to Antioch seems to be mentioned in Pausanias VIII 29, 3. His visits to Chios (in 162) and Patara are attested by *I.G.R.* IV 934 (statue) and *T.A.M.* II 413 = *I.G.R.* III 666 (altar). His arrival in Syria before the end of the year is shown by a dedication to him as *Trib. Pt. I*[*I*] *Cos. II* found near Damascus (*C.I.L.* III 129 = 6658). The legions summoned from Europe were I Minervia from Germania Inferior, II Adiutrix from Pannonia Inferior and V Macedonica from Moesia Inferior; see Ritterling, p. 191f. and Debevoise, p. 247. The participation of Legio I Minervia in the war in Armenia is shown also by the inscription of a soldier of this legion which records that he had been *ad Alutum flumen secus Mont(em) Caucasi, i.e.* the Alontas, which, according to Ptolemy v 8, 6, flows into the Caspian north of the Caucasus, perhaps the modern Terek; see *C.I.L.* XIII 8213, connected with this campaign by von Premerstein in *Klio* XI (1911), p. 357f. For the capture of Artaxata by Statius Priscus see *Vit. Marc.* 9, 1; he is mentioned (together with Julius Severus and M[artius Verus]) as a leader in the *ex*[*pedi*]*tio orientalis* in *C.I.L.* III 7505 = Dessau 2311, and his name has been restored as *leg. Augustorum pr. pr. Prov. Cappadociae* (together with previous posts) in *C.I.L.* VI 1523 = Dessau 1092. See also Lucian *ibid.* 20. For his governorship of Moesia Superior in 161 see S. E. Stout *Governors of Moesia*, p. 27. The appointment of a king of Armenia appears on coins of Verus inscribed *Rex Armeniis Datus Tr. P. IIII Cos. II* (A.D. 164); see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 255, no. 511f. His name is given as Sohaemus in Fronto p. 127 Naber (as replacing Pacorus), Cassius Dio LXXI 3 (from Suidas) and Iamblicus *Dram.* 10 (Hirschig *Erotici Scriptores*, p. 518). His "restoration" by Martius Verus, mentioned in the fragment of Dio, was dated by von Premerstein (*Klio* XIII p. 88f.) in 172; see below note 14. For the cognomen Armeniacus borne by Lucius Verus from the autumn of 163 onward and by Marcus Aurelius from 164 (see *Vit. Marc.* 9, 1) see Mattingly-

Sydenham III p. 254f., no. 498f. and p. 219f., no. 78f. For the garrison established by Statius Priscus at Caenopolis, near Etchmiadzin, see Dio LXXI 3. In 175 (or earlier, since Marcus is not called Sarmaticus), when C. Arrius Antoninus was governor of Cappadocia (see *I.G.R.* III 100 [=*Stud. Pont.* III 97] and 129 and *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 213), this garrison consisted of *vexillationes* of Legio XII Fulminata (from Melitene) and Legio XV Apollinaris (from Satala); see *Nouv. Arch. d. Miss. Scient.* XIX (1911), p. 66, no. 3=*Ann. Ép.* 1910, 161=Dessau 9117. In 184 or 185 a *vexillatio* of XV Apollinaris was still quartered there (*C.I.L.* III 6052=Dessau 394).

5. For the career of Avidius Cassius see Harrer *ibid.* p. 33f. and *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 282, no. 1402. For his command in this war see Cassius Dio LXXI 2, 2, and for his disciplinary measures see the evidently exaggerated account in *Vit. Avid. Cass.* 4-6; they are perhaps referred to in Fronto's letter (p. 178 Naber) to him. For the demoralization of the Syrian legions and the discipline administered by M. Pontius Laelianus, a *comes* of Verus rewarded by the Emperors for his achievements in this war (*C.I.L.* VI 1497=Dessau 1094), see Fronto p. 128 Naber. The measures taken by Avidius Cassius were connected by von Premerstein (*Klio* XIII p. 86f.) with the period 169-175, but it seems more probable that they were used in 163 after many years of peace rather than only a short time after the Parthian campaign. For the pontoon bridge (presumably to be connected with this campaign) see Dio LXXI 3. The crossing may have taken place at Sura (on the right bank of the Euphrates below Thapsacus), where a battle was fought; see Lucian *Quomodo Hist. Conscr.* 29. For the occupation of Osroene and Anthemusia by M. Claudius Fronto, *leg. Augg. Legioni primae Minerviae in expeditionem Parthicam deducendae* see *C.I.L.* VI 1377=Dessau 1098. This force was presumably responsible for the capture of Edessa (mentioned in Lucian *ibid.* 22) and, if the place of this name near Edessa (Stephanus Byzantius *s.v.* Δαύσαρα) is meant, of Dausara (Fronto p. 121, see above note 4), as well as for the siege and capture of Nisibis (Lucian *ibid.* 15). For the capture of Nicephorium see Fronto *l.c.*, and for Europus, presumably Dura-Europus (see Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* [Paris 1926], p. lii and p. 410, no. 53=*S.E.G.* II 817, in honour of Verus) see Lucian *ibid.* 20, 24 and 28. For a list of *alae* and *cohortes* serving in Mesopotamia, which have been supposed to have formed part of Trajan's army but may have been in that of Verus, see Chap. XXV note 30. For Seleuceia see Cassius Dio LXXI 2, 3: Orosius VII 15, 3 and Eutropius VIII 10, 2 (400,000 captured): Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 204 Helm (300,000 captured): *Vit. Veri* 8, 2f.: Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 6, 24. The capture was dated by Hieronymus in 164. The sack of the city may, however, have been later, for several hoards of coins, of which the latest regularly bear the date Dec. 165, suggest that it did not take place until after this date; see McDowell *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 85f. and 234, where it is also reported that the amount of destruction revealed by excavation indicates that the damage was not as great as the literary sources suggest. For Ctesiphon see Dio *l.c.* For coins of Marcus and Verus as Parthicus Maximus see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 224f. (Dec. 165-summer 166) and

p. 257f. (Aug.–Dec. 165); for Medicus see p. 288, no. 940 and p. 328, no. 1455 (summer–Dec. 166). For Avidius Cassius as legatus of Syria in 165 see Harrer, p. 33f.

6. For Verus at Ephesus see *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 157 and *Ephesos* I p. 94 (monument): *Ephesos* III no. 72 (reception by the *grammateus*): *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 164f. (Damianus, see Chap. XXVII note 58). The statement in *I.G.R.* IV 580 = *O.G.I.* 511 that an official of Aezani furnished *diogmitae* (see Chap. XXVII note 46) to the "Lord Caesar" suggests, if the proconsulship of Quintilius Maximus, under whom the action was taken, is to be dated, as ordinarily believed (see *e.g.* von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII p. 85, note 1), in 165/6, that Verus returned overland through Asia Minor. These gendarmes probably served as an escort, for the date is too late to make it possible to suppose, with Vulic (*Riv. Stor. Ant.* IX [1904-05], p. 634f.) and von Premerstein (*l.c.*), that they were enrolled for service in the Parthian war, and, as Vulic pointed out, the enrollment of *diogmitae* by Marcus during the war against the Marcommani (*Vit. Marc.* 21, 7) did not take place until after 169. The statue of Verus as Armeniacus and [Νέος Διόνυ]σος (*I.G.R.* IV 1374) at Maeonia in Lydia may have been erected at the time of this return-journey. For a dedication for him in Pisidia see *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VI-VII (1923-4), p. 446, no. 158 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 30. For the triumph see *Vit. Veri* 7, 9, where it is said that on this occasion the Senate confirmed all cognomina previously bestowed by the army. It was observed by Stein (*R.E.* III 1849) and Dodd (*ibid.* p. 250f.) that it evidently took place before 23 Aug. 166, the date of an inscription (*C.I.L.* III 360 = Dessau 366) in which the three cognomina appear. Schwendemann (p. 163f.), followed by Weber (*C.A.H.* XI p. 349), dated it on 12 Oct., but only because on this day the Emperors seem to have received the title of *Pater Patriae* and Commodus was given the name Caesar (*Vit. Comm.* 11, 13). The year 165 in Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 205 Helm is evidently too early. For coins issued in Edessa in Osroene by Waël (one with the bust of Vologases III) with inscriptions in Estranghelo and for those subsequently issued with the heads of Marcus, Faustina and Lucilla and inscribed Βασιλεὺς Μάννος Φιλορώμαιος see Hill *B.M. Cat. Arabia, etc.* pp. xcv f. and 91f. and Head *H.N.*² p. 814. For a coin of Carrhae with the head of Marcus and inscribed Καρηνῶν Φιλορωμαίω[ν] see Hill, p. 82, no. 1. Hill observed (p. xc) that the frequently repeated statement that Carrhae was made a colony at this time is questionable, since the coins on which it was based have not been verified. Its colonial coinage seems to have begun under Severus (see below note 26). The view (repeated by Stein *ibid.* 1847) that a province of Mesopotamia was formed at this time, based only on Festus *Brev.* 14, *quater amissa, quater recepta Mesopotamia est*, was shown by Napp (*ibid.* p. 36) to be untenable.

7. Cassius Dio LXIX 14, 4 (Boissevain III p. 234), a passage dealing with Hadrian's appointment, about 134, of Julius Severus as *Corrector* of Bithynia (see Chap. XXVI note 54), where it is stated in the *Excerpta Valesiana* (but not in Xiphilinus) that Pamphylia was given to the Senate in lieu of Bithynia.

It has, therefore, been supposed that Bithynia became an imperial province at this time, although only temporarily; see Boissevain *l.c.*: von Premerstein in *R.E.* IV 1648 and *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 83: G. Barbieri in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 367f.: Robert in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 321, note 2. Brandis observed (*Herm.* XXXI [1896], p. 163f. and *R.E.* III 529), however, that during the principate of Antoninus and the early years of Marcus four senatorial proconsuls of Bithynia-Pontus are known (to whom should be added M. Roscius Murena, see *I.G.R.* I 969 = Dessau 8834 a and perhaps *Riv. d. R. Ist. d'Arch. e Stor. d. Arte* II [1930], p. 76 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 198 and Groag in *R.E.* I A 1126, no. 19). The earliest known imperial legate of the province, on the other hand, was L. Lollianus Avitus, who held office in 165/6 (*I.G.R.* III 84). Brandis suggested, therefore, that the statement in the *Excerpta* has been misplaced and that it should be incorporated in the text of Dio under Marcus, and this suggestion seems probable. It may be supposed, therefore, that Severus was sent to Bithynia merely in the capacity of *Corrector* and that the province was not actually transferred to the Senate until about 165. This date was accepted as that of the final transfer both by von Premerstein (*Klio* XIII p. 80f.) and by Barbieri. It has received additional support from an inscription mentioning a *[q](uaestor) pr(o) pr(aetore)* of Bithynia in the later years of Antoninus; see *B.C.H.* LXII (1938), p. 421f., no. 8. With regard to Lycia-Pamphylia, the fact that under Antoninus at least eight governors are known (see Hüttl II p. 107f.), of whom four are specifically called *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, indicates that during his principate the province was imperial. As von Premerstein observed (*Klio* XIII p. 83), it was evidently not given to the Senate when Bithynia was transferred to the emperor, for a military diploma of 178 (*C.I.L.* XVI 128) mentions Licinius Priscus as legate of Lycia (see also Miltner in *R.E.* XIII 456f.), and the explanation offered by Hüttl (p. 115) that he was an extraordinary commissioner is not convincing. The earliest known proconsul of the province, moreover, was Cassius Apronianus (the father of Cassius Dio), who seems to have held office about 180; see *T.A.M.* II 856 = *I.G.R.* III 654 and *P.I.R.*² II p. 113, no. 485. It would seem therefore that the terms of the "exchange" reported in the fragment of Dio were not carried out at once, and that the Senate did not receive Lycia-Pamphylia until the last years of Marcus.

8. Cassius Dio LXXI 2, 4 (λιμὸς καὶ νόσος in Mesopotamia). For the plague see also Orosius VII 15, 5f.: Eutropius VIII 12, 2: Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 6, 24: *Vit. Marc.* 13, 3f.; 17, 2; 21, 6: *Vit. Veri* 8, 1f.: Lucian *Alex.* 36: Aristides *Orat.* XXXIII 6; XLVIII 38f.; LI 25 Keil (see Boulanger *Aelius Aristide*, p. 146): Galen Vols. IV p. 788, V p. 115, X p. 360f., XVII 1, p. 885 and XIX pp. 15 and 524 Kühn (see Ilberg in *Neue Jahrbb.* XV [1905], p. 295f.): Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 206 Helm: Buresch *Klaros* (Leipzig 1889), p. 67f. On account of the symptoms reported by Galen—discharge from the eyes, an intestinal disorder, a cough with heavy expectoration, and pustules all over the body—it has been thought that the disease was smallpox; see H. Haeser *Lehrbuch d. Gesch. d. Medicin u. d. epidem. Krankheiten*³ (Jena 1875-82) III p. 25f. For the out-

break under Commodus see Cassius Dio LXXII 14, 3: Herodian I 12, 1f.: *C.I.L.* III 5567 (A.D. 182, found near Salzburg).

9. See Keil-Premerstein I p. 10f., where it is observed that an oracle given by Apollo Clarius to the people of Trocetta (*I.G.R.* IV 1498), as well as an oracle given to Pergamum (*I.G.R.* IV 360), perhaps also by Apollo Clarius (so Picard in *B.C.H.* XLVI [1922], p. 190f.), both of which have generally been connected with the pestilence, perhaps refers to local famines, which caused illness and death among men and beasts. Keil and von Premerstein also pointed out that under Marcus there was a general famine in Italy (*Vit. Marc.* 8, 4; 11, 3; 12, 14, see also *C.I.L.* V 1874 [=Dessau 1118] and, probably, XI 377) and that the *νοῦσος* mentioned in an epigram found in southeastern Mysia (M.K.B. II^{2-3} [1876-8], p. 9, no. ρϘϵ′=Buresch *Aus. Lydien*, p. 140) may have been due to a similar famine in Asia. See also Rostovtzeff *S.E.H. R.E.* p. 528f., who cited the case of a landowner of Apollonia in Pisidia, who, to escape a famine, took his cattle to a temporary refuge in Galatia (L.W. 1192=Kaibel 793). For the rise in prices see Broughton in *Econ. Survey* IV p. 879f., where it is shown that whereas in 92/3 the normal price of a *modius* of grain was half a denarius (see Chap. XXIV note 38), in the late second century at Sebastopolis in Caria a "benefactor" sold a corresponding amount for one denarius when the market price was two denarii (Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 343f., no. 4, see Chap. XXVII note 58), and that at Ephesus a loaf of fine bread cost two obols at the beginning of the second century and four at the beginning of the third (*S.E.G.* IV 518 and *Ephesos* III nos. 10-12). For a sudden rise in the price of grain in Egypt under Commodus see Heichelheim in *Klio* XXVI (1933), p. 102f. For the depreciation of the denarius during the second century see Hammer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 97f.: Heichelheim, p. 97: F. Oertel in *C.A.H.* XII p. 725: L. C. West *Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Rom. Emp.=Numism. Notes and Mon.* XCIV (1941), p. 24f. The proportion of base metal to silver rose from about 16 per cent under Trajan to 29 per cent under Commodus and about 43 per cent under Severus. During Marcus's rule there was a depreciation of about 6 per cent (West, p. 105). *Adulterini in istis recentibus nummis* are mentioned in Fronto p. 161 Naber.

10. *Ephesos* II no. 23 (frg. *a*=*O.G.I.* 508); see also Chap. XXV note 13 and Chap. XXVI note 7. Since Verus has the title of Armeniacus and Marcus has not, the letter is presumably to be dated in the latter half of 163 (see above note 4). The inference that the *gerousia* was "concerned with the imperial cult," which was drawn by J. H. Oliver in *The Sacred Gerusia* (*Hesperia, Suppl.* VI), p. 23 from the curator's question concerning the melting down of the statues of former emperors, is hardly justified; for the Association's ownership of these statues was in no way connected with this cult. As the Emperors replied, only they could give permission for such an action. As early as A.D. 15 the substitution of a head of Tiberius for one of Augustus on a statue of the latter served as a ground for a charge of *laesa maiestas* (Tacitus *Ann.* I 74, 4).

11. For Marcus and Verus together see *I.G.R.* III 84 (Amastris, A.D. 165/6); 106 (=1440, Comana in Cappadocia); 332 (Sagalassus, as Armeniacus, *i.e.* A.D. 164-166); 847 (Diocaesareia in Cilicia, as Armeniacus); IV 564 (Aezani) and 625 (Trajanopolis, A.D. 166/7): *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 119f., nos. 13 and 14 (Andeda or Verbe (?) in Pisidia, as Armeniacus): *T.A.M.* II 419, E-G (Patara, with Faustina); 786 and 787 (Arycanda). For Marcus alone see *I.G.R.* III 114 (Sebastopolis in Pontus, A.D. 164); 287 and 288 (=*Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* nos. 147 and 148, Isaura, A.D. 166-172 and after 175); 387 (Milyas ?); 747 (=*T.A.M.* II 943, Olympus, A.D. 172-175); IV 261 (Antandrus); 547 (Orcistus, after A.D. 172); 685 (Sebaste in Phrygia); 1035 (Astypalaea, as Armeniacus): *Ins. Magn.* 186 and 187 (A.D. 162). For Marcus and Commodus together see *I.G.R.* III 100 (=*Stud. Pont.* III no. 97, Amaseia); 155 and *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 30f., no. 37 (Ancyra); IV 1294 (Julia Gordus). In *I.G.R.* IV 1532=*A.M.* XXXVIII (1913), p. 2 (Erythrae) either Verus or Commodus may be supplied. For monuments of Faustina see *I.G.R.* III 602 (=*T.A.M.* II 494, Letoüm near Xanthus); IV 1507 (=*Ins. Sardis* 59, Θεά). For a cult at Iotape see *I.G.R.* III 833=*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 176, no. 121.

12. For this war see F. R. Conrad *Mark Aurels Markomanenkrieg* (Neu-Ruppin 1889), p. 10f.: von Domaszewski in *Neue Heidelb. Jahrbb.* V (1895), p. 107f.: Mommsen in *Ges. Schr.* IV p. 487f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* I 2295f.: C. H. Dodd in *Num. Chron.* XIII (1913), pp. 162f. and 276f.: Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 349f.: Görlitz *ibid.* p. 95f. The events from A.D. 171 to 175 appear on the Column of Marcus in Rome; see E. Petersen *et al. Die Marcus-säule* (Munich 1896). For the additional soldiers and the sale see *Vit. Marc.* 17, 4f. and 21, 6f.: Zonaras XII 1=Cassius Dio *Exc. Salm.* no. 117 (III p. 280 Boiss.): Eutropius VIII 13, 2. For the moving of troops from the East to the northern frontier see von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 70f. For σύμμαχοι sent to Marcus by Termessus see *T.A.M.* III 1, 106=*I.G.R.* III 449. For Marcus's cognomen Germanicus see *C.I.L.* III 1450 (=Dessau 370) and 6121 (=7409=*I.G.R.* I 712), both of A.D. 172, and Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 235, no. 284 and p. 297f., no. 1058f. (A.D. 173).

13. For the raid of the Costoboci, mentioned in Pausanias X 34, 5 (attack on Elateia in Phocis), *Vit. Marc.* 22, 1 and *C.I.L.* VI 31856=Dessau 1327 (inscription of L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus), see von Premerstein in *Klio* XII (1912), p. 145f., who, pointing out that the damage at Eleusis, lamented in Aristides *Orat.* XXII 13 Keil, was evidently done on this occasion, connected this raid with the attacks by sea of the "Scythians" reported by Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 5, 15 (*ibid.* p. 142f.) and with a presumably punitive expedition of Julianus (see above) as *praef(ectus) Classis Po[nti-c]a[e]*. For the β[αρυτ]έρα πρᾶξις Βαστερ[νικ]ή collected by the *dekaprotos* (see Chap. XXVII note 48) at Thyateira see *I.G.R.* IV 1290 as restored by von Premerstein (p. 165, accepted by E. Gren *Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan*, p. 145, note 233), who observed that the name of the Laevianus honoured in this inscription appears on a coin of Thyateira of 177-80 (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxiii, note 4 and Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 153, no. 18).

14. See von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 88f. (followed by Kroll in *R.E.* XIV 2025 and Stein in *R.E.* III A 798 and VI A 627), who pointed out that the statement in Cassius Dio LXXI 3 (from Suidas, Boissevain III p. 247f.) that Martius Verus sent Thucydides to *restore* (*καταγαγεῖν*) Sohaemus refers, not to the latter's original installation, but to a subsequent reinstatement, when Martius is described as *νεωτερίζειν πειρωμένους λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ σωφρονίσας*. Observing further that this action implies that Martius had at the time an independent command, von Premerstein showed that this was evidently the governorship of Cappadocia, held by Martius at some time subsequent to his consulship in 166, and connected the episode with the revolt of the "satrap" Tiridates recorded in Dio LXXI 14, 2 (Boissevain III p. 259, where *Οὐῆρος* evidently refers to Martius Verus), probably to be dated about 172. This dating, although not wholly assured, is supported by the statement of Dio (LXXI 23, 3) that Martius was governor of Cappadocia when, in 175, he informed Marcus of the revolt of Avidius Cassius (see below note 15); it is therefore preferable to 168, suggested by Dodd in *Num. Chron.* XI (1911), p. 261 solely on the basis of a medallion of Verus inscribed *Tr. Pot. VIII Imp. IIII Cos. III Armenia.*

15. For this command, probably conferred in 169, see Cassius Dio LXXI 3, 1[2] (Boissevain III p. 250): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 1, 32: Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 853: von Rohden in *R.E.* II 2381: von Premerstein in *Klio* XIII p. 80: Harrer *ibid.* p. 35. For Cassius's revolt in 175 see Cassius Dio LXXI 22, 2f.: *Vit. Marc.* 24, 6f.: *Vit. Avid. Cass.* 7, 1f.: Ammianus Marcellinus XXI 16, 11: E. Napp *ibid.* p. 42f.: Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LIX (1904), p. 196f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* II 2381f.: Kenyon in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* VI (1920), p. 213f.: Harrer, pp. 35f. and 94. The statement of the literary sources that Cassius was recognized as emperor in Egypt is confirmed by a papyrus (*Bull. Inst. Egypt.* VII [1896], p. 123) dated 3 May and by an ostrakon (Kenyon *l.c.*) dated 19 June, both in the first year of Avidius Cassius. Harrer pointed out that, since Marcus appears as emperor in a papyrus fragment dated 25 July (*S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1883, p. 918, no. 17), the period when Cassius was in power was between early March and early June. Marcus's departure from Italy for the East, however, can scarcely be dated before August, 175, for on 7 July he gave the *toga virilis* to Commodus, whom he seems to have summoned to the front for this purpose; see *Vit. Comm.* 2, 2 (*eo tempore quo Cassius . . . descivit*) and 12, 2f. and Cassius Dio LXXI 22, 2.

16. *Vit. Marc.* 26, 6 and 9: Cassius Dio LXXI 29, 1. Faustinopolis appears in Hierocles (700, 3), the *Notitiae Episcopatuum* and the Itineraries (K. Miller *Itin. Rom.* 664) and as Faustiniana Col(onia) on a milestone (*C.I.L.* III 12213, see Chap. XI note 36). For a possible site either at Paşmakci, south of Tyana, or east of Ulukışla see R. Kiepert *F.O.A.* VIII *Text*, p. 18 A, Ruge in *R.E.* VII 2228 and Robert in *R. Phil.* LXV (1939), p. 212f. For a statue of Faustina erected by the *demos* of Tarsus, presumably on the occasion of this journey, see *I.G.R.* III 878.

17. For Ephesus see L.W. 154 = Wood *Disc. at Ephesus, Appendix Inscrs. from the Site of the Temple of Diana*, p. 18, no. 16 = *Ephesos* I p. 215f. For Smyrna see *I.G.R.* IV 1399 (= *Syll.*[3] 851, A.D. 147) and 1400 (A.D. 161-166), letters of Marcus and Marcus and Verus to the σύνοδος τῶν περὶ τὸν Βρεισέα Διόννσον (μυστῶν): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 9, 2f. For these μύσται see Poland *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesens*, pp. 199 and 592: W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alex. Aetate in Asia Min. culto* = *Diss. philol. Halenses* XXI 2 (1913), pp. 147f. and 243f. For Marcus's interview with Aristides in the autumn of 176, alluded to in Aristides *Orat.* XLII 14 Keil, see Boulanger *Aelius Aristide*, p. 150f. and R. Pack in *C.P.* XLII (1947), p. 17f. For the earthquake in 178 see Cassius Dio LXXI 32, 3 and Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 208 Helm (A.D. 179), where the remission of the *tributum* is mentioned. For Aristides's lament on the earthquake and his letter to Marcus see *Orat.* XVIII and XIX Keil (alluded to in XX 1 and XXI 2) and Boulanger, pp. 153, 325f. and 387f. See also Cadoux *Ancient Smyrna*, p. 279f. For the *agora*, perhaps built at this time, see *A.J.A.* LI (1947), pp. 197 and 444f. For mention of a [σε]ισμός, apparently at Poemanenum in Mysia, about this time see *J.H.S.* XXVI (1906), p. 28 (an altar to Poseidon).

18. *C.I.L.* VI 1014 = Dessau 374 (A.D. 176). For the arch see O. Richter *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*[2], p. 384 and Plattner-Ashby *Topograph. Dict. of Anc. Rome*, p. 35. For Marcus's triumph see *Vit. Marc.* 27, 4; it was commemorated by the issue of coins inscribed *De Germ(anis)* and *De Sarm(atis)*; see Mattingly-Sydenham III p. 239f., no. 337f. (A.D. 176). Von Rohden observed (*R.E.* I 2302) that the date was evidently 27 Nov. 176, when Marcus gave Commodus the title of *Imperator* (*Vit. Comm.* 2, 4 and 12, 4) and thus appointed him co-ruler (see Mommsen *R.St.R.* II[3] p. 1154, note 4).

19. For the rule of Commodus see Cassius Dio LXXII: Herodian I 5f.: *Vit. Comm.*: von Rohden in *R.E.* II 2469f.: J. M. Heer *Der hist. Wert d. Vita Comm.* in *Philol. Suppl.* IX (1904), p. 36f.: Weber in *C.A.H.* XI p. 376f., who, however, seems to have over-emphasized Commodus's "position as devout mediator between the world of men and the world of gods." For his carelessness in administration and the corruption in regard to appointments see Cassius Dio LXXII 10, 2 and 12, 3: *Vit. Comm.* 3, 8; 5, 1; 6, 9; 13, 7; 14, 6: Herodian I 8, 2. For Fabius Cilo see *C.I.L.* VI 1408 and 1409 = Dessau 1141 and 1142 (Rome) and *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 184f., no. 7 = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 79 (Antioch-near-Pisidia). On account of the order of his titles in the inscriptions from Rome, Ritterling in *A.E.M.* XX (1897), p. 34f. and Groag in *R.E.* VI 1764f. and *P.I.R.*[2] III p. 97f., no. 27 dated his governorship of Galatia about 190-92 and that of Bithynia in 193/4 or 194/5. In the inscription from Antioch, however, his governorship of Bithynia is listed as prior to that of Galatia, and this order was adopted by Ramsay (*J.R.S.* XIV p. 186f.). For his participation in the war against Niger see below note 20. For his governorship of Pannonia Superior (in 197-201) see *C.I.L.* III 4617 (= 11323), 4622, 4638, 4640 and 4642. For his prefecture of Rome and his second consulship (in 204) see *C.I.L.* VI 1409: *I.G.* XIV 1078 = *I.G.R.* I 138: *I.G.R.* IV 1674. For

his enrichment by Severus see *Epit. de Caess.* 20, 6. For the earthquakes see Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 16, 12 and Malalas p. 289 Bonn. For the Ἀρτεμείσια Κο[μμό]δεια and the Ἀδριάνεια Κομόδεια at Ephesus see *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), p. 10f., no. 15 and *B.C.H.* XXVIII (1904), p. 84f., no. 7. For Nicomedeia see Cassius Dio LXXII 12, 2 and (for its coins, showing that new buildings were constructed) Bosch *Kl. M.* I 1, p. 211. For its second neocory, apparently revoked after the *damnatio memoriae* of Commodus but restored by Severus, see Chap. XXVII note 21. For a contest at Tarsus called Ἰσολύμπιος Οἰκουμενικὸς Κομμόδειος see *I.G.R.* III 1012 and *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 192, no. 169 (showing a temple-front). For Tarsus as Κομοδιανή and δὶς νεωκόρος on coins see *J.H.S.* XVIII (1898), p. 179f., no. 54 and *B.M. Cat. ibid.* no. 168 and perhaps *Coll. Wadd.* 4636. For the contests in the other cities see *I.G.R.* IV 1432 and *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1, 89 and 551 (Pergamum, Ὀλύμπια Ἀσκλήπεια Κομμόδεια, see Robert in *Herm.* LXV [1930], p. 106f.): Robert in *R. Phil.* LVI (1930), p. 40, note 3 (Miletus, Διδύμεια Κομμόδεια): *B.C.H. l.c.* and *Coll. Wadd.* 6295 (Laodiceia, Δεῖα Κομόδεια). For statues and dedications see *J.O.A.I.* XXIII (1926), *Beibl.* 265 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 96 (as Νέος Διόνυσος, Ephesus): *I.G.R.* III 350 and 351 (Sagalassus); 380 (Selge); 388 (Milyas ?); 431 (= *T.A.M.* III 1, 42, Termessus); 656 (= *T.A.M.* II 879, Acalissus); 1446 (Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia); IV 550 (= *M.A.M.A.* I 416, Orcistus, as Θεός); 565 (Aezani); 1201 (Thyateira); 1295 (Julia Gordus): *C.I.L.* III 349 = *M.A.M.A.* V 197 (Nacoleia): *M.A.M.A.* VI 157 (Apollonia Salbace). From some of these Commodus's name has been erased. For εὐτυχέστατοι καιροί at Sidyma see *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582 (see Chap. XXVII note 15).

20. For the revolt of Niger see Cassius Dio LXXIV 6f.: Herodian II 7, 3f. and 14, 6f.: *Vit. Sev.* 8, 6f.: *Vit. Pesc. Nig.* 5, 3f.: A. de Ceuleneer *La Vie et le Règne de Sept. Sév.* (Brussels 1880), p. 68f.: C. Fuchs *Gesch. d. Kaisers L. Sept. Sev.* (Vienna 1884), p. 40f.: G. A. Harrer *Stud. Hist. Rom. Prov. Syria*, p. 78f. and in *J.R.S.* X (1920), p. 155f.: M. Platnauer *Life and Reign of the Emp. L. Sept. Sev.* (Oxford 1918), p. 78f. and in *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), p. 146f.: J. Hasebroek *Unters. z. Gesch. des Kaisers Sept. Sev.* (Heidelberg 1921), p. 50f. and in *Phil. Woch.* XLIII (1923), 397f.: M. Besnier *L'Emp. Rom. de l'Avènement d. Sév. au Conc. de Nicée* (Paris 1937), p. 17f.: G. J. Murphy *The Reign of the Emp. L. Sept. Sev. from the Evidence of Inscrs.* (Philadelphia 1945), p. 2f.: Fluss in *R.E.* II A 1955f.: W. Reusch in *R.E.* XIX 1092f.: R. Castagna *L'Imp. Sett. Sev.* (Naples 1937), p. 31f.: S. N. Miller in *C.A.H.* XII p. 6f. For a criticism of Herodian's account see G. M. Bersanetti in *Riv. Fil.* LXVI (1938), p. 357f. For the recognition of Niger in Egypt before 14 June, 193 see *Pap. Oxy.* IV 719 and Hasebroek *Unters.* p. 52. For an ostrakon dated in July of his first year (*i.e.* 193) see Preisigke *Sammelbuch* I 3572. He appears for the last time on 5 Dec. 193; see *Pap. Grenfell* II 60 = *Pap. Brit. Mus.* III 704. For his coins in Egypt in 193/4 see Vogt *Alexandrin. Münzen* II p. 112f. The first mention of Severus in Egypt is on 21 Feb. 194; see *B.G.U.* I 326 II (see also *I.G.R.* I 1062, of 21 Apr. 194). Hasebroek pointed out (*Unters.* p. 59) that the date of his recognition was perhaps 13 Feb., described

as ἱερὰ οὗ[σ]η ὑπὲρ κρατήσεως Θεοῦ Σεουήρου in *B.G.U.* II 362 IV = Wilcken *Chrestomathie* no. 96 IV. For Aemilianus, governor of Syria about 186-190, see Harrer *Syria*, p. 41f. and *P.I.R.*² I p. 241f., no. 1211. For coins of Caesareia Germanice and Nicomedeia see *Receuil* I p. 281f., no. 5f. and p. 538, no. 168. For a coin of Smyrna issued under Niger see *Rev. Num.* 1868, p. 434. For coins of Niger apparently issued at Antioch see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 19f. For Fabius Cilo, *praepositus vexillationib(us) Illyricianis Perinthi tendentibus* (*J.R.S.* XIV p. 184f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 79), see above note 19. For Claudius Candidus, *dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica* (see Cassius Dio LXXIV 6, 5f. and LXXV 2, 3), and Marius Maximus, *dux exerciti* (sic) *Mysiaci aput Byzantium*, see *C.I.L.* II 4114 and VI 1450 = Dessau 1140 and 2935. For the siege of Byzantium see Cassius Dio LXXIV 11f., and for its fall, late in 195, see below note 23. For the surrender of Nicomedeia to Severus after the victory of his troops at Cyzicus see Herodian III 2, 9. The chronology of the war has been much disputed. It is, however, generally agreed that Severus's second, third and fourth acclamations as *Imperator* represent the victories won, respectively, at Cyzicus, Nicaea and Issus. Since the third was prior to 31 Jan. 194 (*C.I.L.* XVI 134 = *Ann. Ép.* 1908, 146), the battles of Cyzicus and Nicaea may be dated in the autumn and early winter of 193. On account of the description of two citizens of Prusias ad Hypium as παραπέμψας Severus and Caracalla and their armies (*I.G.R.* III 60 and 62), Hasebroek supposed (*Unters.* p. 59), followed by E. Gren (*Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan, etc.* p. 122f.), that Severus's army marched eastward by way of Prusias. The connexion with this campaign, however, is based only on the supposition that in the Parthian war of 197-199 (see below note 25) the army was taken to the East by sea, and it is highly improbable that, when Severus's generals were presumably hurrying to overtake Niger, they would have used a route which led so far to the north, rather than one of the more direct roads leading from Nicaea through Dorylaeum and Pessinus (so Platnauer, p. 87) or through Juliopolis and Ancyra (see Chap. II note 21, Chap. XIII note 14 and Chap. XIX note 9). Moreover, since Severus himself is not mentioned in any of the sources as participating in this campaign, there is no reason to suppose that he was with his army at this time or that he went to Syria before the battle at Issus. It seems more probable, therefore, that this παράπεμψις occurred during his return-march or in the campaign of 197 (see note 25). Hasebroek's further suggestion that the army marched by way of Tavium, founded on a coin of the city inscribed Σε(ουηριανή) and dated ἔ(τους) σηί, which he regarded as reckoned according to the era of the province of Galatia and dated in 193/4, is unfounded, for this era was more probably a local one; see Chap. XIX note 5. This route, moreover, would have been far too circuitous. For the barricade in the Taurus see Herodian III 2, 10f. The description of the place as between a high mountain and a deep ravine does not fit the Cilician Gates (see Chap. XI note 36), but it may be inaccurate. Harrer, whose dating was followed by Miller and Murphy, pointed out (*J.R.S.* X p. 165f.) that the heavy fall of rain mingled with snow which, according to Herodian, destroyed the barricade, suggests a spring storm. Accordingly, he placed the descent into Cilicia and the

battle of Issus in March or April, 194, showing that the arguments advanced for dating the battle in the autumn of 194 are not conclusive. Since, however, the Taurus passes were usually blocked by snow until April (see Chap. XI note 36), the battle can hardly have taken place before May. The location of the battle given by Dio (LXXIV 7, 1) as *αἱ Κιλίκειοι πύλαι* led Platnauer (*Sept. Sev.* p. 88f., note 2) to suppose that the outflanking attack by Valerianus (Dio §4f.) occurred on the Taurus. Dio's description of the scene of the battle, however, as between mountains and the sea exactly suits the terrain at Issus, and the *πύλαι* were evidently the "Cilician-Syrian Gates" south of the plain of Issus (see Chap. XI note 36). The statement, found in Eutropius VIII 18, 4, Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 20, 8, *Vit. Sev.* 9, 1 and *Vit. Pesc. Nig.* 5, 8, that Niger was killed at Cyzicus is obviously an error.

21. For coins of Severus at Mazaca-Caesareia inscribed *ἔτ(ους) β'* (A.D. 194) see *Coll. Wadd.* 6779 and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 73f., nos. 219 and 235f. For statues of Severus without the cognomina Pius, Arabicus and Adiabenicus and hence perhaps not later than 195 (see below note 22 and Hasebroek *Unters.* p. 92) see *I.G.R.* III 239 (Pisa in Phrygia Paroreius); 325 (Conana, Pisidia); 352 (Sagalassus); 384 (*demos* of the Mulasseis); 389 (Milyas ?); IV 91 (Mitylene); 693 (Otroea, Phrygia); 1321 (Phocaea); 1493 (Trocetta ?); 1536 (Erythrae): L.W. 212 (Miletus, A.D. 195 with cognomina Pius, Arabicus and Adiabenicus): *Anz. Wien. Akad.* XXX p. 93, no. 6 (Orthosia, Caria). The name *Σεουηριανή* was assumed by Adana (*B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 18, no. 17); Aegaeae (*Coll. Wadd.* 4073); Tarsus (*I.G.R.* III 879, 880, 882, *Coll. Wadd.* 4638 and *B. M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 192, no. 172f.); Nicomedeia (*I.G.R.* III 6); Amaseia (*Receuil* I² p. 40, no. 40f.); Tavium (above note 20). Festivals called *Σεουήρεια* were celebrated at Nicaea (*I.G.R.* IV 1761 and *Receuil* I p. 442, no. 346f., also *Σεουήρεια Φιλαδέλφεια*, no. 355f.); Nicomedeia (*I.G.* II² 3169, *I.G.R.* IV 1645 and *Receuil* I p. 540, no. 190); Tarsus (*Coll. Wadd.* 4672, *Σεουήρεια*, *I.G.R.* III 881, *Σεουηρειος Ἀντωνειναὸς* [. . . . *Οἰ*]*κουμενικὸς ἀγών*, and Mionnet III p. 629f., no. 449 and *Suppl.* VII p. 264f., no. 428, *Σενήρια Ὀλύμπια Ἐπινείκια ἐν Κοδρείγαις ὄροις Κιλίκων*, see Hasebroek, p. 61f.); Olbasa (*I.G.R.* III 411 and 414, *ἀγὼν Σεουήρειος Αὐγούστειος Καπετώλιος*): Oenoanda (*I.G.R.* III 499, *Σενήρια Ἀντων*[*εί*]*νια*). To these should probably be added Sardis and Mazaca-Caesareia (*Κοινὸς Σεουήριος Φιλαδέλφιος*); see Eckhel *D.N.* III pp. 117 and 191. For the coins of Cius and Nicomedeia inscribed *Σεουήρου βασιλεύοντος ὁ κόσμος εὐτυχεῖ* see *Receuil* I p. 321, no. 56 and p. 540, no. 191. The same formula occurs on coins of Commodus at Mazaca-Caesareia (*Coll. Wadd.* 6775f.). For this formula see Pick in *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* I (1898), p. 460f. For Aezani and Severus see below note 23.

22. For this expedition see Cassius Dio LXXV 1f. It is mentioned briefly in *Vit. Sev.* 9, 9f. and 18, 1, Eutropius VIII 18, 4 and Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 20, 14f. It was omitted by Herodian, unless it may be supposed that he combined it (in III 9, 2f.) with Severus's second expedition in 197 (see below note 25). For attempts to reconstruct the campaign of 195 see Platnauer

Severus, p. 93f.: Hasebroek *Unters.* p. 73f.: Günther *Gesch. d. Kriege zw. Römern u. Parthern*, p. 121f.: Fluss in *R.E.* II A 1960f. As Fluss observed, coins of Severus inscribed *Imp. IIII* (referring to Issus, see above note 20) and *Tr. P. III* (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 97, no. 51f.) show that the campaign did not begin until 195. It seems to have been finished, however, before the end of the year, for the tombstone at Ancyra of a soldier of Legio X Gemina who had died "returning from Parthia" is dated 3 Sept. 195; see *Türk Tarih* IV (1940), p. 65, no. 1 = *Ann. Ép.* 1941, 166. For the siege of Nisibis see J. Sturm in *R.E.* XVII 735f., who pointed out that the fragmentary account in Dio can be best interpreted by supposing that the Osroeni and Adiabeni as partisans of Niger had laid siege to the city as friendly to Severus, but after their contingents, together with the rest of Niger's forces, had suffered defeat, fearing punishment from Severus, they sent envoys to him. For the subsequent annexation of part of Osroene as a province see below note 26. For Severus's generals, Claudius Candidus (*dux expeditione Parthica*, see above note 20), T. Sextius Lateranus, Laetus, P. Cornelius Anullinus and Probus see Cassius Dio LXXV 2, 3 and 3, 2. See also Murphy *ibid.* p. 7f. The name of the place Αρχη, which was attacked by the last three generals is evidently corrupt, but none of the emendations which have been suggested is wholly satisfactory. Another general in this war was T. Statilius Barbarus; see *C.I.L.* VI 1522 = Dessau 1144 and Fluss in *R.E.* III A 2188. For Severus's fifth, sixth and seventh acclamations as *Imperator* in his third tribunicial year, *i.e.* 195, and his cognomina Arabicus and Adiabenicus (sometimes with Parthicus) see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 60 and p. 98f., no. 58f. and Dessau 417 and 438. The cognomina appear in a papyrus dated 20 Thoth in Severus's third year (*B.G.U.* I 199), *i.e.* 17 Sept. 195, since the third year is evidently reckoned from his recognition in Egypt in 194; see Platnauer in *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), p. 148 and Harrer in *J.R.S.* X (1920), p. 158f. The fact that they appear on two coins with *Imp. IIII* (Mattingly-Sydenham, nos. 41 and 55) can be explained by supposing that they were conferred before the announcement in Rome of his fifth acclamation. The statement in *Vit. Sev.* 9, 11 that at this time Severus declined the cognomen Parthicus seems to mean that he refused to bear it alone but only in conjunction with the others as signifying his victories over Parthian vassals.

23. Herodian III 6, 8f. Hasebroek pointed out (p. 79f.) that, since Severus's march from Byzantium onward was described by Herodian (§ 10) as *ὑπὸ νιφετοῖς καὶ χιόσιν*, he must have left Mesopotamia in the autumn of 195, and that, since he heard of the fall of Byzantium before his departure (Cassius Dio LXXIV 14, 2), the city, in spite of Dio's statement that the siege lasted for three years (LXXIV 12, 1), must have surrendered not later than December, 195. The proclamation of Caracalla as Caesar took place, according to *Vit. Sev.* 10, 3, at Viminacium in Moesia Superior, and on the basis of this statement it is usually dated in the spring of 196; see Hasebroek, p. 87, Fluss *ibid.* 1962 and Murphy *ibid.* p. 104. He appears, however, together with Severus in a rescript of 1 Jan. 196 (*Cod. Iust.* IX 41, 1) and, as Platnauer observed (p. 103f., note 3), it is possible to accept this date if the statement

in *Vit. Sev.* 10, 3 be disregarded. Evidence may also be found in a letter of Severus to Aezani, thanking the city for its congratulations and for the sacrifices offered on the occasion of the Emperor's *κατωρθωμένα* and Caracalla's *ἐπιβαίνειν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλπίδων* which evidently refers to his proclamation as Severus's successor; see L.W. 874 = *I.G.R.* IV 566 = Dessau 8805. This letter is dated *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ΄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ η΄*, but Waddington, accepting the statement of the *Vita* that the proclamation took place at Viminacium and supposing that Severus did not leave for the war against Albinus until the end of 196, regarded the tribunicial date as an error for *τὸ δ΄*; so also Murphy (*ibid.* p. 4), who connected the congratulations with the capture of Byzantium. The evidence of the inscription, however, especially when combined with the rescript, seems preferable to that obtained from the *Vita*, and the designation of Caracalla, not yet ten years old, as Severus's successor is probably to be placed at the close of 195, possibly at the time when Albinus was declared a public enemy (see below note 24).

24. See *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 281f., no. 360f. (Smyrna): *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 259, no. 146 and Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*, p. 140, no. 15 (Sardis): Imhoof-Blumer *ibid.* p. 129, no. 7 (Saittae): Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 442, no. 2 (Elaeussa-Sebaste): *Ars Classica, Sales Cat.* XVII (Geneva 1934), p. 102, no. 1542 (Side). For Albinus's coinage as Caesar in 193/4 and as Augustus in 195/6 (at Lugdunum) see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 44f. It was pointed out by C. E. Van Sickle in *C.P.* XXIII (1928), p. 123f. that neither the proconsular *imperium* nor the tribunician power was ever conferred on him. For the declaration of Albinus as a public enemy see Herodian III 6, 8 and *Vit. Sev.* 10, 2.

25. For this war see Cassius Dio LXXV 9f.: Herodian III 9: *Vit. Sev.* 15f.: Platnauer *Severus*, p. 115f.: Hasebroek, p. 110f.: Günther *Gesch. d. Kriege zw. Römern u. Parthern*, p. 122f.: Fluss in *R.E.* II A 1968f.: Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 259f.: Murphy *ibid.* p. 21f.: Castagna *ibid.* p. 43f.: Besnier *L'Emp. Rom.* p. 24f.: S. N. Miller in *C.A.H.* XII p. 16f. For the possible passage of the army through Prusias see above note 20, and for the road from Crateia to Ancyra see Chap. XIX note 9. The submission of the King of Armenia and of Septimus Abgarus VIII, King of Osroene (see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 2, no. 8), is known only from Herodian, and it may possibly have occurred during Severus's first Mesopotamian campaign, of which Herodian makes no mention. This appearance and not, as has been generally supposed, a journey to Rome was perhaps the occasion, alluded to in Cassius Dio LXXIX 16, 2, when Abgarus came to Severus with an extraordinarily large retinue. Herodian's narrative contains mention of only one attack on Hatra, and this is related before the capture of Ctesiphon, whereas in Dio's order of events both attacks on Hatra are placed after Ctesiphon. Herodian's arrangement, moreover, seems inconsistent with his statement that, after withdrawing from Hatra, Severus and his army sailed down the "river" (the Euphrates, according to Dio), for Hatra is not far from the Tigris. While

the chronology of the war is uncertain, the capture of Ctesiphon may be dated at the end of 197 (see Hasebroek, p. 114 and Murphy, p. 24f.), for the statement in *Vit. Sev.* 16, 1f. that it took place *hiemali prope tempore* and that at this time Severus took the cognomen Parthicus Maximus and Caracalla was made *particeps imperii* is borne out by coins and inscriptions of 198, on which Severus appears as *Imp. X* (after the defeat of Albinus) with *Vict(oriae) Parthicae* and as *Imp. XI* (after the capture of Ctesiphon) and *Part(hicus) Max(imus)* (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 105f., no. 121f. and p. 193, no. 750 and Dessau 443, 5934 and 8915), as well as by the tribunicial years of Caracalla, which began with A.D. 197/8. Caracalla appears as Augustus in inscriptions of 198; see *C.I.L.* III 218 and VIII 2465 (3 May) = Dessau 422 and 2485. For Trajan's failure to capture Hatra see Chap. XXV note 38. The fragments of Dio-Xiphilinus yield no information as to the interval of time between Severus's two attacks on the city except that the second attack was made after supplies of food and many siege-engines had been prepared. The view that Severus spent the winter of 198/9 in Singara or Nisibis and returned to Hatra in the following spring (Hasebroek, p. 114) is merely a conjecture. But, as Hasebroek observed, the inscriptions commemorating the *Reditus* and *Victoria* of Severus, dated, respectively, 1 Jan. 200 and 1 Apr. 200 (*Ann. Ép.* 1916, 46 and *C.I.L.* VI 225 = Dessau 2186) indicate that the campaign was finished in 199, and this is confirmed by a dedication to Severus in Egypt, whither he went from Syria (Cassius Dio LXXV 13, 1 and *Vit. Sev.* 17, 2f.), dated in his seventh tribunicial year, *i.e.* 199; see *C.I.L.* III 6581 = Dessau 2543 (Alexandria) and Hasebroek, p. 118f. The "victory" on the occasion of which Ephesus, soon after 200, sent a congratulatory *psephisma* to Caracalla was probably that won in this campaign; see *Ephesos* II no. 26 (a letter of Caracalla to Ephesus).

26. The formation of the province of Osroene is shown by an inscription of C. Julius Pacatianus, *proc(urator) prov. O[sr]hoenae, pr[o]c(urator) Alpium Co[t]tiarum, adlectus inter comit[es A]uggg. nnn.*; see *C.I.L.* XII 1856 = Dessau 1353 and Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 376, who cited other instances of a procurator of this province, but of unknown date. Pacatianus is mentioned also in *C.I.L.* III 865 of A.D. 191 or 192, which, with his title of *comes Auggg. nnn.* in *C.I.L.* XII 1856, places his procuratorship of Osroene under Severus. On the theory that the mention of a single *Legio Parthica* shows that he held office before the formation of the second and third Legiones Parthicae, Hasebroek (p. 76, note 1), followed by Fluss (*ibid.* 1960), dated the annexation of Osroene as a province in 195, during Severus's first Mesopotamian expedition. This theory, however, was shown to be without foundation by Ritterling, who pointed out (*R.E.* XII 1308 and 1435) that all three Legiones Parthicae were formed at the same time in 197 or later and (*ibid.* 1539) that the legion in question was perhaps III Parthica. It is also open to the objection that in order to explain the subsequent friendly relations of the King of Osroene, Septimius Abgarus VIII, and the succession of his son, Severus Abgarus IX, afterward deposed by Caracalla (see below note 43), Hasebroek was forced to suppose that Abgarus was subsequently restored

to his throne. In this case, the restoration must have taken place before 197, when, if the narrative of Herodian is correct, Septimius Abgarus appeared before Severus (see above note 25). It is easier to suppose that the province of Osroene was formed during Severus's second Mesopotamian campaign and that Abgarus was allowed to retain a part of his kingdom (including, presumably, Edessa, the capital), which was afterward inherited by his son. For the province of Mesopotamia see von Domaszewski in *Wien. Stud.* IX (1887), p. 297f.: Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 375f.: Schachermeyr in *R.E.* XV 1158f., who dated its formation in 195. Its existence in the time of Severus is attested by an inscription of Sex. Cornelius Honoratus *proc(urator) sexagenarius prov. Mesopotamiae*; see *C.I.L.* VIII 9760 = Dessau 1388 and *P.I.R.*^{2} II p. 328, no. 1372. For its *praefectus* of Equestrian rank see *C.I.L.* VI 1638 = Dessau 1331 and *I.G.R.* III 1201 and 1202 = Dessau 8847 (C. Julius Priscus, see *R.E.* X 781f. and Chap. XXIX note 15) and *C.I.L.* VI 1642. A *provincia Mesopotamia* is mentioned also in *C.I.L.* XIII 7323 = Dessau 9148. It is presumably alluded to in the statement in Cassius Dio LXXV 3, 2 that Severus ἀξίωμα τῇ Νισίβει (the status of a colony, see below) δούς, ἱππεῖ (an Equestrian governor) ταύτην ἐπέτρεψεν. In addition to Nisibis, the province also included Singara, where Legio I Parthica seems to have been stationed; see Dessau 9477 and Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1435. It lay to the east of the province of Osroene. The cities to which Severus gave the rank of colony were as follows: Carrhae (in Osroene), which received it at this time rather than under Marcus Aurelius (see above note 6), since its colonial coinage seems to begin under Severus (*B. M. Cat. Arabia, etc.* p. 83, no. 5) and its coinage with legends in Latin under Caracalla (*ibid.* no. 16f.); Septimia Nisibis (Cassius Dio XXXVI 6, 2 and *B. M. Cat. Arabia*, p. 119f., no. 1f., from Macrinus onward); Aurelia Septimia Singara and Septimia Rhesaena, whose names indicate that they were founded by Severus, although in the case of the former (perhaps originally founded under Marcus Aurelius) the definitely established colonial coinage was issued only under Gordian, and in the case of the latter, while its coinage begins under Caracalla, a colonial coinage is not definitely known until Decius (Hill in *B. M. Cat. Arabia*, p. cx f. and K. O. Castelin *The Coinage of Rhesaena = Num. Notes and Mon.* CVIII [1946], pp. 14f. and 45f.). Edessa (Marcia Aurelia Antoniniana Edessa) became a colony probably under Caracalla in 213/4; see Hill, p. civ and Bellinger in *Yale Class. Stud.* V (1935), p. 142f. Zaytha, included among the colonies in Mesopotamia by Kornemann (*R.E.* IV 554) and Schachermeyr (*ibid.* 1161), should be removed from the list, for Hill pointed out (p. cxiii) that the coins formerly attributed to it belong to other places. On the question whether Dura on the Euphrates was a colony (founded by Caracalla) see Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris 1926), p. 404f.: H. T. Rowell in *C.R.A.I.* 1930, p. 265f.: Bellinger in *Excavations in Dura-Europos* III (1932), p. 161f. It was believed by Kornemann (*R.E.* IV 566) that all colonies founded after Hadrian's time had merely the name and rank of colony, but there seems to be good reason for supposing, with Rostovtzeff (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 601, note 17 and p. 609f., note 52) and A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 63f.), that veterans were actually settled in these places. For Roman fortified posts

in central Mesopotamia see Sir A. Stein in *Geogr. Journ.* XCII (1938), p. 63 and XCV (1940), p. 428f.

27. For the *prosecutio* of the *annona militaris*, furnished to the soldiers to compensate for the decreased purchasing power of their pay, see Oehler in *R.E.* I 2320f.: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VII 170f. and *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 363, 374f. and note 45 and p. 625, note 45: E. Stein *Gesch. d. Spätröm. Reiches* I p. 88f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 143: D. van Berchem in *Mém. Soc. Nat. d. Antiq. de France* LXXX (1937), p. 117f.: H. I. Bell in *J.R.S.* XXXVII (1947), p. 20: E. Gren *Kleinasien u. d. Ostbalkan, etc.* p. 141f. For an *ἀννωναρ-χήσα[ς] λεγιῶσι α΄ καὶ β΄* (probably I and II Adiutrix, see Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1321) *διόδοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας* in Bithynia see *I.G.R.* III 1412 = Dessau 8879. For the furnishing of supplies by citizens at Pogla in Pisidia see *I.G.R.* III 407 (*παραπέμψ[αντα] τὸ δ΄ ἱερὰν ἀννῶναν*) and at Prusias ad Hypium see *I.G.R.* III 60 (see above note 20), 62, 66, 68 and 1421. It was evidently regarded as a liturgy; see *Digesta* L 4, 18, 3 (*personale munus*).

28. For statues and dedications to Severus (sometimes with his sons) by cities and communities after 195 (see above note 21) see *I.G.R.* III 91 (Abonuteichus, A.D. 210); 149 (Caesareia-Hadrianopolis); 289 (= *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* p. 74, Isaura); 352 (Sagalassus); 419 (*demos* of Osieni, Pisidia); 468 (Balbura); 838 (*οἱ κατοικοῦντες* at Charadrus, Cilicia); 848 (Olba); IV 611 (Docimeium); 664 (Diocleia, A.D. 196/7); 681 (Bruzus); 770 (Lunda); 1337 (Magnesia ad Sipylum): *C.I.L.* III 7105 = 12247 = *Ins. Sardis* 71: *Ephesos* IV 1, no. 9 (Ephesus): Keil-Premerstein III no. 162 (Metropolis, Ionia): *M.A.M.A.* IV 56 and VI 370 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 203 (Synnada): *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 142, no. 106 (Syedra, Cilicia). For Nicaea as *Αὐρελιανὴ Ἀντωνινιανή* (in honour of Caracalla) see *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 295. For the *castra* [*praesidio(?)*]*rum* at Eumeneia see *M.A.M.A.* IV 328. For Severus as [*κτ*]*ίστης* (and Britannicus Maximus, not before 209) at Ephesus see Wood *Disc. at Ephesus, Appendix, Inscrs. from City and Suburbs*, p. 36, no. 15. For his letters see *I.G.R.* IV 566 = Dessau 8805 (Aezani, see above note 23): *I.G.R.* IV 672 (Prymnessus): *Ephesos* II no. 25 (Ephesus): *I.G.R.* IV 1402 = *Syll.*[3] 876 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 127 (Smyrna). For Rufinus see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 25, 1.

29. For the road from Mazaca-Caesareia *via* Comana to Miletene see Chap. XXI note 3. For the roads from the Halys to Neoclaudiopolis (Chap. VIII note 33) and from Amaseia to Tavium (Chap. XIX note 9) see *C.I.L.* III 14184[84] and 14184[41]. For a milestone of 203 at Comana Pontica see *R.E.G.* XV (1902), p. 312, no. 1. For the road east of Prusa see *Échos d'Orient* XXX (1931), p. 147f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1931, 66 (no. IV), and for the Euxine coast route (Chap. XIII note 25) see *I.G.R.* III 82 = 1429 and Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 295f., no. 4 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 158. For the road through Lycaonia see Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 172f., nos. 56 and 58 = *Ann. Ép.* 1906, 21 and 1907, 58 and *M.A.M.A.* I p. 193. For the road through Pisidia (Chap. XIX note 19) see *C.I.L.* 14201 (A.D. 198): *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 105 (six miles west of Apol-

lonia, no. text): *M.A.M.A.* IV 148 (where perhaps [*t*]*rib.* [*p*]*ot. VI* should be read): *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 51, no. 39 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 5 (in which Groag in *P.I.R.*² I p. 269, no. 1331 read *trib. pot. VIII, i.e.* A.D. 200): *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 76, no. 110 = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 75. For the road from Corycus to Olba (Chap. XI note 25) see *C.I.L.* III 12120 and 12123. For a milestone dedicated to Severus at Hamaxia on the coast of Cilicia Tracheia see *I.G.R.* III 826. For the bridge over the Chabina (Bölam Su, a tributary of the Kahta Çay) see *C.I.L.* III 6709 (= Dessau 5899) and 6710 = Jalabert-Mouterde *Inscrs. Gr. et Lat. de la Syrie* I 39 and 40 and, for the probable date, Harrer *Syria*, p. 43 (questioned in *P.I.R.*² I p. 88f., no. 521). For the road from Ancyra *via* Parnassus to Archelais (Chap. XIX note 9) see *C.I.L.* III 14184[50] and *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 77, no. 111 (A.D. 208 or later). For the province of Asia see *C.I.L.* III 13689 = 14202[8] = *Ins. Magn.* 256 (between Ephesus and Magnesia, see Chap. II note 18): *I.G.R.* IV 1482 and 1483 (Smyrna-Sardis, see Chap. II note 17): *C.I.L.* III 12271 and 12272 (Stratoniceia-Lagina see Chap. II note 19): *I.G.R.* IV 132 (Cyzicus-Pergamum, see Chap. II note 20). A milestone erected apparently by the city of Acrasus (*C.I.L.* III 7190 = *I.G.R.* IV 1163) has no date. For Phrygia see *C.I.L.* III 7168 (Dorylaeum-Cotiaeium, see Chap. II note 21); 7171 and 14200 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 9 (Synnada-Prymnessus, see Chap. II note 18); 14199[9] (Dorylaeum-Amorium (?), see Chap. II note 21): *I.G.R.* IV 599 (Appia-Acmonia, see Chap. II note 21): *M.A.M.A.* V 198 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 146 (Nacoleia, *pro salute et victoria Impp. etc.*). For the road from Laodiceia to Cibyra (Chap. XI note 15) see *I.G.R.* IV 924-926, and for the roads through Lycia (Chap. XXII note 12) see *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* XLV (1897), I, p. 41 (between Balbura and Oenoanda, no text), *T.A.M.* II 718 and 719 (west of Elmalı) and *I.G.R.* III 730 (near Limyra). A milestone at Üzümlü (*T.A.M.* II 655 = *I.G.R.* III 509) is perhaps from a road running westward from the upper valley of the Xanthus (see Chap. XXII note 13).

30. See A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 140f. For Amyzon see *J.O.A.I.* XIII (1910), *Beibl.* 76f., no. 1 (found near Magnesia), where the Τράχων mentioned in the inscription was regarded as the part of the Southern Highway between Ephesus and Magnesia; in view of the distance from Amyzon, however, it seems more probable that the word refers to the rugged country northeast of Mt. Latmus in which Amyzon was situated and that, consequently, the road was a local one. For Smyrna see *I.G.R.* IV 1482 and 1483 (above note 29). For other cities see *I.G.R.* IV 695 (Hieropolis, Phrygia); 1163 (= *C.I.L.* III 7190, Acrasus); 1165, 1166, 1206 (= *C.I.L.* III 7195), 1208, 1305 and 1315 (Thyateira); 1364 (Daldis); 1380 (Silandus); 1751 (Sardis). Jones (p. 327f., note 88) quoted passages from the *Digesta* to show that both the supervision of road-building and the actual construction were *munera*, but it is a question whether the *viae publicae* in these passages were not the streets of a city rather than the highways.

31. For the power of Plautianus see Cassius Dio LXXV 14f.: Stein in *R.E.* VII 271f.: Castagna, p. 47f.: Besnier *ibid.* p. 28f. He is called *comes per ex-*

peditiones omnes of Severus and Caracalla in *C.I.L.* VI 1074 = Dessau 456. For his title of *necessarius* or *adfinis Aug(ustorum)* see *C.I.L.* III 6075 = Dessau 1366 (Ephesus); V 2821; VI 227 = Dessau 427; XI 1337 = Dessau 1328: Dessau 1328 a, 9003 and 9004: *Ann. Ép.* 1914, 177 and 178: *J.O.A.I.* VI (1903), *Beibl.* 14f., no. 17: *I.G.* II² 4216. For his alleged conspiracy and his death (in 205) see Cassius Dio LXXVI 3f. and Herodian III 11, 4f. For a *proc(urator) ad bona Plautiani* (presumably after confiscation) see *C.I.L.* III 1464 = Dessau 1370.

32. Cassius Dio LXXVI 8, 1, where he is called Apronianus. Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 247f.), followed by von Rohden in *P.I.R.* III p. 21, no. 159, pointed out that he is evidently to be identified with Pedo Apronianus, Consul in 191, whose name appears as Opilius (probably [P]opilius) Pedo in Dessau 9131 = *Ann. Ép.* 1910, 2. Waddington dated his proconsulship in 204/5 or 205/6 on the ground that, according to Cassius Dio, it followed the murder of Quintillus Plautianus (Plautius Quintillus) about 204. The condemnation of Apronianus seems to be alluded to in *Vit. Sev.* 15, 5, where it is said that Severus killed *multos* on the ground that they had consulted soothsayers as to the probable length of his life.

33. See Hasebroek, p. 102: Platnauer, pp. 181f. and 204f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* pp. 356 and 362f.: Miller in *C.A.H.* XII p. 21f.

34. See Keil-Premerstein III nos. 9 (near Adala), 28 (Mendechora, near Philadelpheia) and 55 (Ağabey Köy, an imperial estate north of the valley of the upper Cogamis), and pp. 26 and 42f., where the inscriptions, on the basis of the lettering, characteristic of the early third century, and because nos. 28 and 55 were addressed to joint rulers, were dated either under Severus and Caracalla or under Elagabalus and Alexander. See also Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, nos. 142-144. For the outrages perpetrated see also Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 364 and Robert in *R. Phil.* LXIX (1943), p. 115f. The petitions mention *frumentarii* or secret police (see O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 588: Fiebiger in *R.E.* VII 123: P. K. B. Reynolds in *J.R.S.* XIII [1923], p. 183f.) and κολλητίωνες (see Keil-Premerstein, p. 43f.), mentioned also in *Pap. Oxy.* 1100 (A.D. 206) and apparently in a papyrus at Brussels (see Robert *ibid.* p. 111f.), and (in no. 9) probably *stationarii* (see Chap. XXVII note 47). Keil and von Premerstein pointed out (p. 28) that extortion on the part of the *frumentarii* (and perhaps of the other two bodies of agents also) is mentioned in a fragmentary edict found at Demirci in northeastern Lydia (Keil-Premerstein II no. 222 = *I.G.R.* IV 1368). On the other hand, a *centurio frumentarius* was praised at Aphrodisias as ἁγνῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀναστραφεὶς ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνει (Dessau 9474). For a protest against extortion by police officials in Phrygia in A.D. 245-247 see below note 35. For a similar petition protesting against the violence of soldiers and others, which was sent to the Emperor in A.D. 238 by the Scaptopareni, the inhabitants of a village in Thrace, see *I.G.R.* I 674 = *Syll.*³ 888 and Chap. XXIX note 17.

35. On the question of imperial estates in the Galatian province see Chap. XIX note 44. For the procurator of Asia under Augustus see Chap. XX note 62. For the procurator of Phrygia and the procurator of the *regio* of Philadelpheia, probably an estate, see Chap. XXIV note 6. For imperial estates in the province of Asia see Schulten in *Röm. Mitt.* XIII (1898), p. 221f.: O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* p. 563f.: Kornemann in *R.E. Suppl.* IV 247: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 656f. For the Lydian estate at Ağabey Köy see above note 34. The evidence advanced by Rostovtzeff in *Kolonat*, p. 287f. for the existence of a large estate in the plain between the middle Hermus and the Phrygius (Hyllus) is hardly convincing. Equally questionable is his inference from the fact that men called Marcus Antonius appear in an inscription from this region (Buresch *Aus Lydien*, no. 23), probably to be dated in the late first century before Christ (to which may be added *I.G.R.* IV 1357=1494 from this region and 1227 from Thyateira, both dated, on the basis of the lettering, at the beginning of the Christian Era), and in one from Philadelpheia of A.D. 40 (Keil-Premerstein I no. 43=*I.G.R.* IV 1615) that Mark Antony acquired extensive properties in the plain of the Hermus, which, after his fall from power, passed to Augustus and became imperial domain. For an imperial estate at Kümbet in Phrygia see *I.G.R.* IV 592 and *M.A.M.A.* V p. xxviii (*μισ[θ]ωτὴ[ς χωρίου τ]οῦ Καίσαρος*), and for the Aragueni (see also Chap. XXIX note 17) see *C.I.L.* III 14191=*I.G.R.* IV 598 =*O.G.I.* 519=Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 622f. and Schulten, p. 231f. and Broughton, p. 659f. The appearance of a *dispensator Augusti* in an inscription of the upper Tembris valley (*C.I.L.* III 354=7002) can hardly be regarded as affording definite proof of the existence of an imperial estate, as was supposed by Ramsay and Anderson (*Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 188f.) and by Hirschfeld (p. 564). For, while this *dispensator Augusti* may have been attached to an estate, he may also have been connected with the general administration of the emperor's property, and the various inscriptions in the Asianic provinces in which a *dispensator* is mentioned have no necessary connexion with an imperial estate; see *C.I.L.* III 6575=7127=Dessau 1421 (Ephesus, *Aug. n. verna dispensator rationis extraord. provinc. Asiae*); 7130 (Ephesus, *[qui dis]pensavi[t in provin]cia Asia*); 7102=*I.G.R.* IV 1296 (Julia Gordus, *Augg. verna disp.*): Keil-Premerstein II no. 278=*I.G.R.* IV 1699 (Blaundus, *Κέσαρος δοῦλος οἰκονόμος*): *C.I.L.* III 333=13649 a=*I.G.R.* III 25 (Cius in Bithynia, bilingual, *Καίσαρος δοῦλος οἰκο[νό]μος* [=*dispensator*] *ἐπὶ τοῦ σείτου*); 6082=12143 (Lake Beyşehir, Pisidia, *Aug. disp.*, but *Aug. lib.* in *J.R.S.* XIV [1924], p. 199, no. 38); 12135 (Mazaca-Caesareia, *Augg. nn. dispensator*). For an imperial *dispensator* of the province of Cilicia see *C.I.L.* VI 6639 and 8577. There seems also to be no good reason for inferring the existence of an imperial estate from the mention of a *ταβλάριος* in an inscription of the *demos* of Eulandra, found east of Prymnessus (*I.G.R.* IV 679), as Calder suggested (*J.R.S.* II [1912], p. 244f.), or of a *βέρνα ταβελλάριος Καίσαρος* at Thyateira (*I.G.R.* IV 1221). Nor is there any ground for the assumption of Ramsay (*C.B.* I p. 615) that an imperial estate is indicated by the mention of a *saltuarius*; for, as was pointed out in Keil-Premerstein III p. 13, the *saltuarii* were guards on private domains. For the

status of the tenants, *ὑμέτεροι γεωργοί* (Ağabey Köy) or *πάροικοι καὶ γεωργοὶ οἱ ὑμέτεροι* (Aragueni) see Rostovtzeff *Kolonat*, p. 310f. (written before the publication of the Ağabey Köy petition), who regarded them as differing from the free inhabitants of the province in that at any time their dependence on the emperor could, by transfer of the estate, be changed into a position of dependence on some private person, and especially Keil-Premerstein III p. 39f. (a commentary on the Ağabey Köy inscription). For the estates in Africa see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 129f. The character of the *ψῆφοι* which the Ağabey Köy tenants were bound to render to the emperor is unknown; they may have been special liturgies (Keil-Premerstein) or labour (Broughton, p. 658). The ground for the extortion of money *ἐπὶ προφάσει ἀρχῶν ἢ λειτουργιῶν* is also obscure; but, since the tenants could scarcely have had *ἀρχαί* of their own, this expression seems to show that they might be made liable for the performance of civic duties in a city. This liability, however, was apparently forbidden under Severus; see Callistratus in *Digesta* L 6, 6, 11, *coloni quoque Caesaris a muneribus liberantur ut idoniores praediis fiscalibus habeantur*. The organization to which the [*κοι*]*νόν* of the Aragueni belonged was called (in Rostovtzeff's restoration of the text) [*τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀππια*]*νῇ δήμου κοινο*(*ῦ* T)*οττεανῶν Σοηνῶν τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν τόπων*. According to this restoration, the estate was in the territory of the city of Appia (see Chap. II note 21). The Totteani are known from a boundary stone (*ὅροι Τοττοηνῶν*, *J.H.S.* VIII [1887], p. 513, no. 93). For the Soeni see *I.G.R.* IV 603 (=*J.R.S.* XVIII [1928], p. 27, no. 241) and 605 (by the *βουλή* and *δῆμος*). For the *Caesariani* as minor officials who took over property acquired by the emperor see Seeck in *R.E.* III 1295f., where, however, only those known in the Byzantine period are considered; the functions of those mentioned in the petition of the Aragueni are unknown. This petition, according to Rostovtzeff's restoration (see p. 623), was taken to the emperor by a *mil(es) cen(tenarius) frum(entarius)* (see above note 34). The functions of the procurators described in the Ağabey Köy petition as *οἱ κράτιστοι ἐπίτροποι* and *ὁ τῆς τάξεως ἐπίτροπος* are not clear. Keil and von Premerstein suggested that the former may have been the procurators of the *regio* in which the estate was situated, who were subject to the procurator of the province, in this case Aelius Aglaus, acting proconsul (*διέπων τὰ τῆς ἀνθυπατείας μέρη*), and that the latter (Aurelius Marcianus) was an otherwise unknown *procurator officii* (or *ab officio*), probably stationed in Rome, who was in general command of all the police agents. He may have been identical with Aurelius Marcianus *ὁ κρ*(*άτιστος*), *i.e.* procurator, known from an inscription in Thrace (*I.G.R.* I 780) or with L. Aurelius Marcianus, *ὁ διασημότατος δουκ*(*ηνάριος*), honoured at Termessus (*T.A.M.* III 1, 88= *I.G.R.* III 436).

36. For the *patrimonium* and the *res* (or *ratio*) *privata* and the officials in charge of each see Hirschfeld *V.B.* pp. 18f. (expressing a view different from that held by many previous writers) and 40f.: Rostovtzeff in *R.E.* VI 2394 and *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 362: Liebenam in *R.E.* I A 631f.: Fluss *ibid.* 1987f.: W. Ennslin in *C.A.H.* XII p. 381: J. H. Oliver in *A.J.P.* LXVII (1946), p. 311f. For the

possibility that in the senatorial provinces the *ager publicus* was transferred to the *patrimonium* see Hirschfeld, pp. 142 and 480f. For a *proc(urator) tam patrimoni quam rat(ionis) privatae* in Bithynia-Pontus see *C.I.L.* XIII 1807 = Dessau 1330 (Furius Timesitheus, see Chap. XXIX note 14).

37. See Imhoof-Blumer *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, p. 16f. and Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, pp. 64, 83, 163f., no. 527f. (Severus) and p. 268, no. 356f. (Caracalla). One of the coins of Severus is dated *Tr. P. VI, i.e.* A.D. 198, and one of Caracalla *Cos. II, i.e.* (if applied to him and not, as Mattingly and Sydenham suggested, to Severus) not before A.D. 205. For the cistophori of Hadrian see Chap. XXVI note 50.

38. *O.G.I.* 515 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 133. See also Th. Reinach *L'Hist. par les Monnaies*, p. 199f. and in *Nouv. Rev. hist. de Droit Franç. et Étr.* XXII (1898), p. 5f. (especially p. 23f.), Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 420 and Broughton, p. 895f., who pointed out that whereas in the early second century the value of the denarius had been fixed at eighteen assaria (*O.G.I.* 484, see Chap. XXVI note 51), the depreciated coin was worth not more than ten or even eight. For the increase in the issues of coins in the Asianic cities in the early third century as contrasted with the second see Bosch in *Arch. Jahrb.* XLVI (1931), *Arch. Anz.* p. 433f., who illustrated it by a diagram (p. 431) showing the comparative issues in Ephesus, Smyrna, Nicaea, Ancyra, Perge and Tarsus. The comparison of the numbers of coining cities—270 in the second century and 295 in the third—given by Bosch, however, is somewhat misleading, for the latter number presumably includes seventeen cities of Lycia which had no issues of their own until the time of Gordian (see Chap. XXVII note 25). An examination of available lists (see Chap. XX note 16) shows that (exclusive of Lycia and including the colonies) during the period of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus coins were issued in 243 cities (140 in Asia, 12 in Bithynia, 2 in Cappadocia, 4 in Galatia, 10 in Lycaonia, 24 in Pisidia, 6 in Pamphylia, 12 in Paphlagonia-Pontus, 33 in Cilicia), whereas in the period of Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, Elagabalus and Alexander they were issued in 248 cities (148 in Asia, 13 in Bithynia, 2 in Cappadocia, 3 in Galatia, 1 in Lycaonia, 28 in Pisidia, 6 in Pamphylia, 14 in Paphlagonia-Pontus, 33 in Cilicia). Of these, 56 coined during Macrinus's fourteen months' rule. On the other hand, the lists show a total number of 188 (including 20 in Lycia) under Gordian and Philip (A.D. 238-249) and only 122 (none in Lycia) under Valerian and Gallienus (A.D. 253-268).

39. See Hasebroek, p. 126f., where it is pointed out that the episodes in which Plautianus played a part at Tyana and at Nicaea (Cassius Dio LXXV 15, 3f.) presumably occurred in the course of this journey. A visit to Thrace is shown by a statue of Severus erected by the Council and People of Perinthus (*I.G.R.* I 786) and the founding of the *emporium* of Pizus in 202 *κατὰ δωρεὰν τῶν κυρίων* (*I.G.R.* I 766 = *Syll.*³ 880, see Chap. XXIX note 8). For his visit to the camps in Moesia and Pannonia see Herodian III 10, 1 and

C.I.L. III 14509 = Dessau 9105 (reconstruction of the cannabae of Legio VII Claudia at Viminacium).

40. For the rule of Caracalla see von Rohden in *R.E.* II 2444f.: Ph. O. Th. Schultz *Der Röm. Kaiser Caracalla, Genie, Wahnsinn oder Verbrechen?* (Leipzig 1909), p. 37f. (fanciful): W. Reusch *Der hist. Wert d. Caracallavita* = *Klio Beih.* XXIV (1931), p. 13f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 365f.: Besnier *ibid.* p. 57f.: Miller in *C.A.H.* XII p. 44f. For Caracalla's campaign in Rhaetia and Germania Superior see Reusch, p. 26f. The *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* of 11 Aug. 213 record a sacrifice because he *per limitem Raetiae ad hostes extirpandos (terram ?) barbarorum introiturus est*, and those of 6 Oct. commemorate his *victoria Germanica* and give him the cognomen Germanicus Max(imus); see *C.I.L.* VI 2086 = Henzen *Act. Fr. Arv.* p. CXCVII = Dessau 451. The cognomen appears also in *C.I.L.* III 5745 (a milestone of A.D. 213) and on coins (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 241, nos. 206 and 208).

41. For Caracalla's eastern expedition see Cassius Dio LXXVII 16, 7f.: Herodian IV 8f.: *Vit. Carac.* 5, 8f. See also, in addition to the references cited in note 40, F. W. Drexler *Caracallas Zug nach d. Orient u. d. letzte Partherkrieg* (Halle 1880), p. 26f.: Günther *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Kriege zw. Römern u. Parthern*, p. 127f.: Debevoise *Polit. Hist. of Parthia*, p. 263f. The statement in *Vit. Carac.* 5, 8 that during Caracalla's voyage from Thrace to Asia his vessel suffered damage and that it was necessary to rescue him seems to be confirmed by the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* for A.D. 214, [*ex naufragii periculo*] *salvus servatus est* (*C.I.L.* VI 2103 a = Henzen *Act. Fr. Arv.* p. CC). His visit to Ilium is mentioned in Cassius Dio LXXVII 16, 7 in connexion with his crossing of the Hellespont, but in Herodian IV 8, 3 after his visit to Pergamum. As Boissevain pointed out (III p. 395), however, the natural order would be Ilium-Pergamum, and Herodian's order is probably incorrect. From Ilium, as Reusch observed (p. 36), Caracalla evidently went by way of Alexandria Troas and the coast road (see Chap. II note 19) to Pergamum. For the temple at Pergamum, dating from the royal period and rebuilt for the worship of Caracalla, see *I.G.R.* IV 362: *Alt. v. Perg.* I 2, pp. 229 and 284f.: von Fritze in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* I p. 51: Pick in *Festschr. W. Judeich* (Weimar 1929), p. 34f., who showed that it had formerly been a temple of Asclepius (but not the temple built under Antoninus, see Chap. XXVII note 62). The third neocory of Pergamum appears also in *I.G.R.* IV 451 = *O.G.I.* 513 and on coins from Caracalla onward; see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 153f., no. 317f.: von Fritze *ibid.* pp. 74f. and 82. The statement in Herodian IV 8, 3 that Caracalla sought a cure in the Temple of Asclepius seems to be borne out by a coin which represents him as sacrificing in front of a six-column (*i.e.* the new) temple of the God; see Pick *ibid.* p. 36f. For a poem expressing his gratitude to Asclepius for deliverance from shipwreck see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 53f., no. 6 and Wilhelm in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1933, p. 836f. For a dedication to him in 213 see *Abh. Berl. Akad. ibid.* p. 52, no. 5 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 280. For privileges received by Pergamum from Caracalla (but revoked by Macrinus) see Cassius Dio LXXVIII 20, 4. For a fragmentary letter of Caracalla to Per-

gamum mentioning *πρεσβευταί* and for a dedication to his [*τύ*]*χη ἐπήκοος* see *I.G.R.* IV 365 and 363. For his visit to Thyateira (together with Elagabalus) see *I.G.R.* IV 1247 = *O.G.I.* 516. For his grant of an *ἀγορὰ τῶν δικῶν*, *i.e.* a judiciary *conventus* (see Chap. VII notes 41 and 42), see *I.G.R.* IV 1287 = *O.G.I.* 517. This visit was commemorated by an issue of coins; see Imhoof-Blumer *Lyd. Stadtmünzen* p. 157, no. 24f. and *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 309, no. 94. For Caracalla's titles at Thyateira see *I.G.R.* IV 1204, but for Hyrcanis see Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 17. For the neocory of Philadelpheia see *I.G.R.* IV 1619 = *Syll.*[3] 883 = Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, no. 134, a letter from Caracalla to Aurelius Julianus, *δι' ὃν καὶ τὴν νεωκορίαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Φιλαδελφεῦσ*[*ιν δέ*]*δωκα*, dated *ἔτους σμέ μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ε'*, *i.e.* Nov. 214; the inscription is within a frame representing a temple-front above which appears *Ἀντωνεινὸς σ' ἔκτιζε*, perhaps referring to a temple built at this time. For the title on coins of Caracalla see Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 387, no. 22, *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. lxxxv and p. 202, no. 86f. and Buresch in *A.M.* XIX (1894), p. 114f. See also *A.M.* XX (1895), p. 243f.

42. Cassius Dio LXXVII 18 (who was present, see LXXVIII 8, 4) and *C.I.L.* VI 2103 b = Henzen *Act. Fr. Arv.* p. CC (A.D. 214), *felicissime ad* [*h*]*iberna Nicomediae ing*[*ressus est*]. For the Thermae Antoninianae at Nicomedeia (rebuilt by Diocletian and by Justinian) see *C.I.L.* III 324 = Dessau 613: Procopius *de Aedif.* V 3, 7: Malalas XI p. 281 Bonn. It was attributed by Malalas to Antoninus Pius. but F. Schehl in *Herm.* LXV (1930), p. 195 showed that it was built by Caracalla. For the ruins of a large bath in Nicomedeia see *Arch. Jahrb.* LIV (1939), *Arch. Anz.* 163. Caracalla remained in Nicomedeia until after his birthday on 4 April (Cassius Dio LXXVII 19, 3). The third neocory of Smyrna appears on coins from Caracalla onward; see *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 288f., no. 403f. and Pick in *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), p. 22f., where it was pointed out that the cult of Caracalla was probably added to that of Roma. For a dedication at Smyrna for Caracalla's *διαμονή* by Papinius *ὁ φιλόσοφος* in 211 see *I.G.R.* IV 1403. For the neocory of Tralles see Chap. XXVII note 21. The neocories of the following cities seem to appear for the first time on coins of the time of Caracalla and were presumably also granted by him: Laodiceia (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 313f., nos. 213f. and 225f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 272f., no. 46f., see also *I.G.* XIV 1063 = *I.G.R.* I 130); Hierapolis (*B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 251, no. 139f. and Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 241, no. 32); Juliopolis (*Receuil* I p. 388, no. 25). The coin of Attaleia in Lydia (Mionnet IV p. 14, no. 72) "lacks verification" (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. xxxvii). For statues of Caracalla and dedications for him see *I.G.R.* III 92 (= *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII [1933], *Beibl.* 56f., no. 2, Abonuteichus); 314 (= *M.A.M.A.* IV 147, Apollonia); 353 (Sagalassus); 397 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 34, Kestel); 404 (Pogla); 433 (= *T.A.M.* III 1, 44, Termessus); 510 (= *T.A.M.* II 657, Cadyanda); 645 (= *T.A.M.* II 828, Idebessus); 805 and 806 (with Julia Domna, Side); IV 567 (Aezani); 686 (Sebaste); 988 (Samos); 1055 (Cos): *T.A.M.* II 764 (Arneae); 738 (Neisa): *C.I.L.* III 244 (Ancyra) and 6870 (= 12146, Conana, Pisidia): *Ins. Magn.* 197 and 198: *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 66f., no. 14 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 124 (A.D. 213, Amastris): *B.C.H.* VIII (1884), p. 458

(with Divus Severus, Iasus). A fragmentary letter of Caracalla, addressed to the Council and People of Apollonia Salbace and dated [πρὸ . .] καλανδῶν Ἰανουαρίων ἀ[πὸ . . .]ς (perhaps from Antioch in Dec. 215) seems to have dealt with a complaint from the people of the neighbouring Heracleia Salbace that they had been robbed by marauding soldiers; see *Festschr. Th. Gomperz* (Vienna 1902), p. 434f., as somewhat hazardously restored by von Domaszewski in *S.B. Heidelb. Akad.* IX (1918), 13, p. 141f. (Reusch *ibid.* p. 41).

43. It was supposed by von Domaszewski in *S.B. Heidelb. Akad.* IX (1918), 13, p. 141f. and by Reusch *ibid.* p. 39f. that Caracalla's route to the East lay through Lydia, Caria and Pisidia to Side in Pamphylia. This was based on his visit to Thyateira, his grant of a neocory to Philadelpheia, Hierapolis and Tralles, his letter to Heracleia Salbace and the statues erected in Pogla, Kestel ("Comana" *sic*), Termessus and Side (see above note 42). It is not necessary, however, to assume that the neocories were granted in person or that the erection of a statue indicates a visit, and it is difficult to suppose that he chose so circuitous a route. On the other hand, the description of a citizen of Prusias ad Hypium as παραπέμψας the armies both of Severus and of Caracalla seems to show that, like his father, he marched eastward through Bithynia and thence presumably through Galatia and Cappadocia; see *I.G.R.* III 60 and 62 and above notes 20 and 25. For a festival named for him at Prusias see *I.G.R.* III 1422, and for a milestone of A.D. 213 at Ancyra (*Ann. Ép.* 1932, 49) see Chap. XIX note 9. The statement of Cassius Dio (LXXVII 18, 4) that he built a ἡρῷον for Apollonius of Tyana suggests, as Reusch observed (p. 42), that he visited this city, which was on the route from Galatia to the Cilician Gates (see Chap. XIX note 9). For Tarsus as Ἀντωνειναὶ Σευη(ριανή) and for coins of Caracalla with the legend σεῖτος see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 195f. and p. 199, no. 198f. (Chap. XXVII note 42). For Caracalla's stay in Antioch see Cassius Dio LXXVII 20, 1 and Herodian IV 8, 6. For his arrest of the two kings see Dio LXXVII 12, 1f. For Severus Abgarus IX, the son of Septimius Abgarus VIII (see above note 26, see Stein in *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 2, no. 9, who identified him with the Abgarus ὁ πρὶν βασιλεύς mentioned in *I.G.* XIV 1315=*I.G.R.* I 179 (an inscription of the ex-monarch's son). If this identification is correct, Abgarus was evidently set at liberty but forced to live in Rome. For Edessa as a Roman colony see above note 26. On the ground that Tiridates, to whom, according to Dio LXXVIII 27, 4, Macrinus gave the Armenian crown, at the same time releasing his mother from eleven months of imprisonment by Caracalla, was a son of this King of Armenia (see Geyer in *R.E.* VI A 1444), von Rohden (*R.E.* II 2449) dated the arrest in the spring of 216. The chronology, however, is very uncertain. For the defeat of Theocritus, described as a Καισάρειος and στρατιάρχης καὶ ἔπαρχος (apparently τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, *i.e. praefectus copiarum*, see von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII [1903], p. 224f. and *S.B. Heidelb. Akad.* XI [1920], 6, p. 11 and Stein in *R.E.* V A 2027f.), see Dio LXXVII 21 and *Vit. Carac.* 6, 1. In the epitome of Xiphilinus this episode immediately precedes Caracalla's visit to Alexandria (see below note 44) and it was accordingly dated

in 215 by von Rohden (*ibid.* 2449). It seems more natural, however, to connect Theocritus's attack on Armenia with the statement in Dio LXXVII 12, 2 that after their king's arrest the Armenians ἐς ὅπλα ἐχώρησαν. Both this connexion, however, and the time of the attack must be regarded as uncertain. There is probably an allusion to this attack in Dio LXXVII 18, 1 (πρός τε τὸν Ἀρμενικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον). The death of some soldiers from the "Land of Pelops," whose grave-epigram has been found at Mazaca-Caesareia, was connected with this campaign by Grégoire in *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 63, no. 44.

44. For Caracalla's demand for the return of Antiochus, a self-styled cynic philosopher, and Tiridates, perhaps son of the King of Armenia (see above note 43), and their surrender by the Parthian King see Cassius Dio LXXVII 19, 1f. and 21, 1. For his visit to Egypt and the massacre at Alexandria see Dio LXXVII 22f.: Herodian IV 8, 6f.: *Vit. Carac.* 6, 2f. His edict ordering all Αἰγύπτιοι (*i.e.* those who were not citizens of a *polis*) except certain specified categories to leave Alexandria (*Pap. Giessen* 1 2, no. 40, col. 2) was evidently issued during this visit. Reusch pointed out (p. 44, note 4) that *B.G.U.* 1 266 = Wilcken *Chrestomathie* no. 245 shows that the visit took place after 29 Aug. 215; it was perhaps commemorated on a coin issued in Rome in 215 (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 249, no. 257). For Artabanus's refusal of his daughter see Dio LXXVIII 1, 1 and Herodian IV 10, 1f. (whose statement, however, that Artabanus afterward consented and that during the betrothal-festivities the Romans treacherously killed a large number of Parthians is probably fictitious, see Mommsen *R.G.* v² p. 418, note 1 = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 94, note 1 and Reusch p. 47, note 9).

45. For this campaign see Cassius Dio LXXVIII 1f.: Herodian IV 11, 8f.: *Vit. Carac.* 6, 4f. The statement of Cassius Dio (see also LXXVIII 3, 1) that Caracalla ravaged much of the country περὶ τὴν Μηδίαν must refer to Adiabene (of which Arbela, containing the royal tombs, was evidently the principal city), for it seems highly improbable that he crossed the mountains into Media Atropatene, leaving his rear unprotected. Still more inaccurate is the statement in the *Vita, per Cadusios et Babylonios ingressus*, for the Cadusii lived at the southwestern corner of the Caspian Sea, and it is also unlikely that he went as far south as Babylonia; see Reusch, p. 48f. For the coins, issued in 217, inscribed *Vic(toria) Part(hica)* see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 257. For Caracalla's winter at Edessa and his death on 8 April, 217, while on a journey to the Temple of Selene near Carrhae, see Dio LXXVIII 5f.: Herodian IV 13, 3f.: *Vit. Carac.* 6, 6f.: Eutropius VIII 20, 2: Orosius VII 18, 2: *Epit. de Caess.* 21, 6.

46. Cassius Dio LXXVIII 26, 2f. (fragmentary): Herodian IV 14, 3f.: *Vit. Macr.* 8. See also H. J. Bassett *Macrinus and Diadumenianus* (Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920), p. 33f. and von Petrikovits in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 103f. and *R.E.* XVIII 545f. (based on Herodian). For coins, issued in 218, inscribed *Vict(oria) Part(hica)* see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 2, p. 9, no. 49f.

47. For the reduction in weight of the *aureus* under Caracalla (after A.D. 215) and for the *Antoninianus* see (most recently) Oertel in *C.A.H.* XII pp. 262 and 725 and L. C. West *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, pp. 18 and 121f. For the Antoninianus (first coined in 214) see also Oman in *Num. Chron.* XVI (1916), p. 37f.: Sydenham in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1919), p. 131f.: Mattingly-Sydenham IV 1, p. 85. It was abandoned by Elagabalus and not issued again until the time of Maximus and Balbinus; see West, pp. 129 and 135. For the *aurum coronarium* (see Chap. XXVI note 4) and the taxes (see Chap. XXIV note 4 for those on inheritances and manumissions) see Cassius Dio LXXVII 9, 2f. The two increased taxes were reduced to their former rates by Macrinus (Dio LXXVIII 12, 2).

48. For the *Constitutio Antoniniana* see Cassius Dio LXXVII 9, 5 (with a probable allusion in LII 19, 5f.): *Digesta* I 5, 17: *Novellae* LXXVIII 5 (where it is attributed to Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ τῆς Εὐσεβείας ἐπώνυμος): Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 16, 12: Augustinus *de Civ. Dei* V 17. A version exists in a much mutilated papyrus; see *Pap. Giessen* I 2, no. 40, col. I and I 3, p. 164f. (= P. M. Meyer *Jurist Pap.* 1) and E. Bickermann *Das Edikt d. Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40* (Berlin 1926). For discussions and comments on the papyrus see, in addition to the works cited by A. H. M. Jones in *J.R.S.* XXVI (1936), p. 224f. and S. N. Miller in *C.A.H.* XII p. 734, Abbott and Johnson *Municipal Administration*, pp. 191f. and 547f.: A. Segrè in *Riv. Fil.* LIV (1926), p. 471f., in *Rend. Pontific. Accad. Rom. d. Arch.* XVI (1940), p. 181f. and in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXX (1944), p. 69f.: De Sanctis in *Riv. Fil.* LIV p. 488f.: Kübler in *R.E.* XIX 641f.: Schönbauer in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* XIII (1939), p. 177f.: A. N. Sherwin-White *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1939), p. 220f.: Heichelheim in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXVI (1940), p. 10f.: W. Schubart in *Aegyptus* XX (1940), p. 31f.: H. I. Bell in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXVIII (1942), p. 39f. and XXX (1944), p. 72f. Bickermann's view that the papyrus contains, not the *Constitutio* itself, but a supplementary edict issued in 213, by which Roman citizenship was granted to those barbarian immigrants who were not *dediticii*, has been widely rejected; see *e.g.* A. Segrè in *Riv. Fil.* LIV p. 482f.: Vogt in *Gnomon* III (1927), p. 330: Schönbauer in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* LI (1931), p. 296f.: Besnier *ibid.* p. 69: Jones *ibid.* p. 225. For recent restorations of the papyrus see Schönbauer, p. 319f.: Stroux in *Philol.* LXXXVIII (1933), p. 294f.: Wilhelm in *A.J.A.* XXVIII (1934), p. 178f.: Heichelheim, p. 10f. The clause mentioning the *dediticii*, which has been varyingly restored, was read by Wilhelm as [μ]ένοντος [οὐδενὸς ἐκτὸς τῶν πολιτευμ]άτων χωρ[ὶς] τῶν [δε]δειτικίων, rendered by Jones (p. 227) as "no one remaining outside the citizen bodies (of the several cities which the empire comprises) except the *dediticii*." According to this interpretation, which accepts the frequently expressed view that the words χωρ[ὶς] τῶν [δε]δειτικίων are to be construed with the [μ]ένοντος clause rather than with the preceding δίδωμι . . . π[ολιτ]είαν Ῥωμαίων, the grant of citizenship was universal and the additional clause not only confirmed the existence of the present citizen bodies but also ordered that all persons should be enrolled in the local citizen-registers. Heichelheim, who restored

the missing words as [δ' *οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ταγμ*]*άτων* or [*δὲ παντὸς γένους συστημ*]*άτων* and translated them as "no other legal status remaining except that of the *dediticians*" also connected *χωρ*[*ὶς*] *κ.τ.λ.* with the [*μ*]*ένοντος* clause; nevertheless, he regarded (p. 18) the *dediticii* as "the small groups which remained excluded from the Roman citizenship after Caracalla." These restorations, however, are not wholly satisfactory. A confirmation of the status of the existing citizen bodies seems to be out of place in this document. It may be questioned, moreover, whether the *dediticii* could be regarded, even by implication, as a *πολίτευμα* or a *τάγμα*. What seems to be needed in the general connexion is a clause defining or restricting the extent of the grant of citizenship, such as [*μ*]*ένοντος* [*οὐδενὸς ἄνευ τῶν δικαιωμ*]*άτων* (cf. *Pap. Oxy.* 1119, 15) *χωρ*[*ὶς*] *τῶν* [*δε*]*δειτικίων*. For the general meaning of the term *dediticii* as found in the ancient authors see C. H. Moore in *Arch. f. Lat. Lexicographie* XI (1900), p. 81f. Its specific use in the papyrus, however, is obscure. The Lex Aelia Sentia of A.D. 4 assigned *dediticiorum numero* those freed slaves who by their conduct during their period of slavery had merited severe or degrading punishment and hence were debarred from citizenship; see Gaius *Inst.* I 13, 15 and 26. According to Ulpian *Regulae* 20, 14 (Huschke *Iurisprud. Anteiust. Reliquiae*[6] I p. 470), *(dediticius) nullius certae civitatis est.* In Gaius *Inst.* I 14 *peregrini dediticii* are defined as *hi qui quondam adversus populum Romanum armis susceptis pugnaverunt et deinde victi se dediderunt.* They appear as a special category of troops (apparently forming a *numerus*) in *C.I.L.* XIII 6592 = Dessau 9184 of A.D. 232 *(officiales Brit(tonum) deditic(iorum) Alexandrianorum)*, where Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* VI p. 168f.) regarded them as similar to the troops furnished to Marcus Aurelius by the Iazyges (Cassius Dio LXXI 16, 2). The *dediticii qui ad nostra desciscunt* in Ammianus Marcellinus XX 8, 13 and those mentioned in XXI 4, 8 were presumably also of this type. The *dediticii* mentioned in the papyrus, therefore, may have included one or more of the following categories: (1) freedmen whose crimes as slaves rendered them unworthy; (2) persons belonging to no definite communal organization, possibly, as Rostovtzeff suggested (*S.E.H.R.E.* p. 369 and note 37), including inhabitants of villages not belonging to cities and the tenants of the imperial estates; (3) former enemies, who had surrendered unconditionally and become subjects of Rome; (4) groups of "barbarians" who, either as civilians or soldiers (organized as *numeri*, see Rowell in *R.E.* XVII 1334), were settled within the boundaries of the Empire; see also R. Grasse *Röm. Militärgesch. von Gallienus, etc.* (Berlin 1920), p. 206f. The term was regarded by Jones (p. 232) as designating those "*peregrini* who belonged to no political community but were immediately subject to Rome." The view, however, originally proposed by P. M. Meyer and frequently repeated, most recently by Jones and A. Segrè, that it included the Egyptian *λαογραφούμενοι* (inhabitants of the villages, who paid a poll-tax), seems questionable. For the gradual disappearance of the poll-tax see H. I. Bell in *J.R.S.* XXXVII (1947), p. 17f. Whatever the *dediticia condicio* implied, it disappeared in the course of time, for in A.D. 530 it was only a *vanum nomen* (*Cod. Iust.* VII 5).

CHAPTER XXIX

1. Cassius Dio LXXVIII 30, 2f. and 38, 3f.: Herodian V 3f.: *Vit. Macr.* 9f. See also O. F. Butler *Stud. in the Life of Heliogabalus* in *Univ. of Mich. Stud., Human. Ser.* IV (1910), p. 46f.: G. Herzog in *R.E.* X 941f.: H. J. Bassett *Macr. and Diadumenianus*, p. 65f.: von Petrikovits in *R.E.* XVIII 554f. The dates given by Dio (16 May, 218 for the proclamation in the camp and 8 June for the final battle) were accepted by Butler, von Petrikovits in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 105f. and W. F. Snyder in *Klio* XXXIII (1940), p. 41. For Macrinus's death at Archelais see Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 178 Schöne = Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 214 Helm.

2. For the reigns of Elagabalus and Alexander see Cassius Dio LXXIX-LXXX: Herodian V 5, 6–VI 9. See also Groebe in *R.E.* II 2529f. (Alexander): R. V. N. Hopkins *The Life of Alex. Sev.* (Cambridge 1907), p. 40f.: W. Thiele *De Sev. Alex. Imp.* (Berlin 1909), p. 9f.: O. F. Butler *ibid.* p. 75f.: K. Hönn *Quellenunters. z. d. Viten d. Heliog. u. d. Sev. Alex.* (Leipzig 1911), p. 23f.: G. Herzog in *R.E.* X 918f. (Mamaea): A. Jardé *Ét. crit. sur la Vie et le Règne de Sév. Alex.* (Paris 1925), p. 21f.: M. Besnier *L'Emp. Rom.* p. 81f.: S. N. Miller and W. Ensslin in *C.A.H.* XII p. 53f. For the proclamation of Alexander as *Imperator* on 13 Mar. 222 see the *Feriale Duranum*, col. I, l. 23f. (*Yale Class. Stud.* VII [1940], p. 85f.). The *Vitae* of Elagabalus and Alexander contain some material of historical value but consist chiefly of details intended to vilify the former and glorify the latter. For the view that they were written under Julian as propaganda against Constantius Gallus and for Julian see N. H. Baynes *The Hist. Aug.* (Oxford 1926), pp. 58 and 118f., accepted by Ensslin *ibid.* p. 58. Jardé pointed out (p. 28f.) that Alexander, despite the principle *princeps legibus solutus est* (Ulpian in *Digesta* I 3, 31), declared *nihil tamen tam proprium imperii est ut legibus vivere* (*Cod. Iust.* VI 23, 3). At the same time, he showed that Alexander's "reforms" did not, as suggested by the *Vita*, mark a return to the early principate, in which the power was shared by the emperor and the Senate. See also Besnier, p. 94f. and Ensslin, p. 59f.

3. For the coins see Chap. XXVIII note 38. It was supposed by Bassett (*ibid.* p. 38f.) that the "double coins" of Macrinus and Diadumenianus and the coins on which the latter is called *αὐτοκράτωρ* were issued during an actual visit of the Emperor and his son to the cities during a journey to or from the Danube region, invaded by the Dacians in 217. It is difficult, however, to arrange all these cities in an itinerary, and the evidence for this journey is very slight. For Aegaeae as Macrinoupo(lis) and Tarsus as *Μακρεινιανή* see *B.M. Cat. Lycaonia, etc.* p. 24, no. 25f. and p. 200, no. 204f. For Pergamum see Cassius Dio LXXVIII 20, 4. The nature of the *ἀτιμία* with which the city was punished cannot be determined. For Armenia see Cassius Dio LXXVIII 27, 4 and Chap. XXVIII note 43.

4. For the ἱερὸς [ἀγὼ]ν εἰσελαστικός (in which the victors made a triumphal entry, see Pliny *Epist. ad Trajan.* 118-119) at Thyateira see *I.G.R.* IV 1251 (corrected in Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 119f.), where Keil and von Premerstein showed (II p. 35) that the emperor in question was Elagabalus. It was pointed out by A. H. M. Jones (*Greek City*, p. 232f.) that the imperial permission to hold a contest of this kind, granted to Pergamum by Trajan (*I.G.R.* IV 336, see Chap. XXV note 7) and to Smyrna by Hadrian (*I.G.R.* IV 1431, see Chap. XXVI note 15), seems to have become increasingly frequent during the third century. For the milestones recording *milia restituta* by M. Ulpius Ofellius Theodorus, imperial legate of Cappadocia about A.D. 220, on the road from Mazaca-Caesareia to Melitene (see Chap. XXI note 3) see *C.I.L.* III p. 2063. For other roads see *C.I.L.* III 6058=6900 (near Ancyra, see Chap. XIX note 9); 12214 (Tyana-Cilician Gates, see Chap. XI note 36); 7195=*I.G.R.* IV 1206 (Thyateira, see Chap. II note 20), under C. Aufidius Marcellus, proconsul of Asia in 220 or 221 (*P.I.R.*² I p. 277, no. 1389).

5. For monuments in honour of Alexander see *I.G.R.* III 53 and 54 (Prusias ad Hypium, statues); 354 (Sagalassus); IV 641 (=*M.A.M.A.* VI 240, Acmonia); 1207 (Thyateira, statue): *Denkmäler aus Lycaonien, etc.* p. 74, no. 150 and p. 129f. (Isaura, arch): *Ins. Sardis* 72 (?). For Tarsus as Ἀλεξανδριανή see *I.G.R.* III 879 and 880 (=1526=*O.G.I.* 578). For the taxes see *Vit. Alex.* 39, 6. For the *aurum coronarium* under Elagabalus see *Pap. Oxy.* 1659, and for the edict remitting it see *Pap. Fayûm* 20=Hunt and Edgar *Select Pap.* II (London 1934), no. 216, republished by W. Schubart in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* XIV (1941), p. 44f. The name of the emperor is lost, but, although sometimes assigned to Julian (see *e.g.* Dessau in *R. Phil.* XXV [1901], p. 285f. and Ensslin in *Klio* XVIII [1923], p. 129), it is now generally attributed to Alexander; see Wilcken in *Ztschr. d. Savigny-Stift., Roman. Abt.* XLII (1921), p. 150f.: P. M. Meyer in *Pap. Hamburg* I p. 237: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* Ital. Ed. p. 502, note 56: Johnson in *Econ. Surv.* II p. 576: H. I. Bell in *J.R.S.* XXXVII (1947), p. 20. For a theory propounded unconvincingly by W. Seston that it was issued by Julian using the name of Alexander see *R.E.A.* XLIV (1942), p. 224f. and XLV (1943), p. 49f. In spite of the edict, however, as Johnson observed (*l.c.*), the *aurum coronarium* was collected in Egypt under Alexander in 232 and 235; see J. G. Tait *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library, etc.* I (London 1930), p. 97, no. 136 and *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 733.

6. For the proconsul's letter to Aphrodisias and the statue of Sulpicius Priscus, ὁ διασημότατος ἀνθύπατος, see *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 84f.=Abbott and Johnson *Municip. Administration*, nos. 137 and 138. The proconsul is probably to be identified with Q. Vibius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus, known from *C.I.L.* V 7783; see Fluss in *R.E.* IV A 821f.

7. *Digesta* L 15, 1, 11 (Selinus, see Chap. XXV note 39): *I.G.R.* III 785=*Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 14, no. 2 (Attaleia): *Coll. Wadd.* 6817f. and *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 98f. (Tyana): Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 472, no. 13 (Mallus, see also *Coll. Wadd.* 4370f. under Valerian): *Mon. Ant. ibid.* p. 214, no. 152=*Ann. Ép.* 1915, 53 (Trebenna). Balbura in Lycia seems to be referred

to as a colony in *I.G.R.* III 479. For Nicomedeia as a colony in A.D. 294/5 see *C.I.L.* III 326=Dessau 650. For the honorary character of the title see A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 64. The title of Ἰταλικὴ κολωνία possessed by Nicopolis in Armenia Minor (*B.C.H.* XXXIII [1909], p. 35, no. 13=*Ann. Ép.* 1909, 19), although it does not appear until the time of Gordian, may perhaps have originated in a settlement of some of Pompey's soldiers in the place (see Chap. XV note 35). The grant of colonial status evidently did not necessarily include exemption from the *tributum*; for, as Professor A. C. Johnson has pointed out to me, Caracalla *Antiochenses* (in Syria) *colonos fecit salvis tributis* (*Digesta* L 15, 8, 5), *i.e.* without remission of the *tributum*. In this case, since it can hardly be supposed that Roman settlers were sent to Antioch, the rank of colony must have been purely honorary.

8. See Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 233 and note 88 and p. 377 and note 50: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 243f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 871f.: A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 260. For the edict concerning Pizus (see Chap. XXVIII note 39) see *I.G.R.* I 766=*Syll.*[3] 880=Abbott and Johnson, no. 131, corrected by Rostovtzeff in *J.R.S.* VIII (1918), p. 29 (συν[τελ]είας in l. 52) and by Robert in *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 307f. (ἐμποριά(ρχ)ους in ll. 28-29). For other *emporia* in Thrace see *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 71-73 and 75. For the *emporium* at Dia (Akçakoca) see *I.G.R.* III 1427. For an ἐμπόριον near Taraklı in Bithynia see *B.C.H.* XXIV (1900), p. 415, no. 111, corrected in *Ét. Anat. l.c.*, and for an ἐμποριάρχης see *R.E.A.* XLII (1940), p. 306, no. 5 (Arıcaklar, east of Gölpazarı). See also Robert *Hellenica* II p. 134f. For an emporiarch at Apameia (presumably at the head of a local market) see Chap. V note 20. For the ἀγόραιος at Tetrapyrgia, near Kula, see *I.G.R.* IV 1381=Abbott and Johnson, no. 148, to be dated under Valerian and Gallienus if, as seems probable, Domninus Rufus, to whom the letter of the proconsul Maximillianus was addressed, was the man of this name who appears on coins of Sardis of this time (*B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 273f., no. 206f.).

9. *Ephesos* II nos. 41-42; III nos. 9, 13, 58 and 71: *Milet* I 7, no. 200: *I.G.R.* IV 1632 (Philadelpheia); 1266 (Thyateira). See Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 752f. For the priests at Panamara and Lagina in the third century see Laumonier in *B.C.H.* LXI (1937), p. 287f. and LXII (1938), p. 282f. For Nicomedeia and Nicaea see Ruge in *R.E.* XVII 481 and 486 and 231f. For the contests at Termessus see Chap. XXVII note 59, and for the gymnasium see Heberdey in *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX 3 (1929), p. 77f. and *R.E.* V A 746. For the Σενήρεια [Ἀλεξάνδρεια] Εὐαρέστεια at Oenoanda see *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 229f., no. 9f. and Chap. XXII note 57.

10. See J. Hammer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 103: L. C. West *Gold and Silver Standards*, pp. 9, 25 and 130f. and in *Am. Num. Soc. Museum Notes* I (1945), p. 60f. Alexander's coins inscribed *Mon(eta) Restituta* and *Restitutor Mon(etae)* (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 2, p. 117f., nos. 589 and 601) have been supposed to refer to some kind of monetary reform, but since there is no evidence for any real change in the currency, it has been

varyingly suggested that the legends allude to the abolition of the Antoninianus (see Chap. XXVIII note 47) and the consequent restoration of the denarius to its former importance (Mattingly-Sydenham IV 2, pp. V f. and 66f.), to the recoining of the *dupondius* (*C.A.H.* XII p. 65), or merely to a rebuilding of the mint (West *Coin Standards*, p. 130, note 294). The list of the Asianic cities known to have issued coins (see Chap. XX note 16 and Chap. XXVIII note 38) shows 155 under Alexander and 200 under Caracalla. The difference is most marked in Caria (10 *vs.* 18) and Phrygia (20 *vs.* 40).

11. For the Cappadocian road see *C.I.L.* III p. 2063 (*vias et pontes vetustate conlapsas restituit*). For the Cilician road (see Chap. XI note 36) see *Syria* II (1921), p. 219 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 129 (*viam et pontes restituit*, A.D. 230): *C.I.L.* III 226 (A.D. 223); 228 = 12119 = 14177[12] = *I.G.R.* III 893 (*viam et pontes a Pylis usq*[*ue ad*] *Alexandream ex in*[*te*]*gro restituit*); and probably *C.I.L.* III 227 = 12118 = 14177[11] = *Byz. Ztschr.* XIV (1905), p. 66, no. 108. For the road from Tyana to the Gates see *Ann. Ép.* 1941, 163 (A.D. 222), and for the route from the Halys eastward (see Chap. VIII note 33) see *C.I.L.* III 14184[27] and 14184[30], restored in A.D. 222 by L. Julius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (of Galatia, see *C.I.L.* VIII 18270 = Dessau 1196 and *Ann. Ép.* 1917-18, 51). For Ancyra-Tavium-Amaseia (see Chap. XIX note 9) see *C.I.L.* III 311 = 6901 (A.D. 223) and 14184[42] (*viam vetustate conlapsam* [*r*]*estituit*), and for Ancyra-Parnassus see *C.I.L.* III 316 (A.D. 223). For Zela-Sebastopolis (see Chap. VIII note 25) see Cumont in *Stud. Pont.* II p. 197f. and *C.R.A.I.* 1905, p. 348f. (= *Ann. Ép.* 1905, 132 and 133, no. VII from Zela and no. V from Sebastopolis), under Q. Julius Proculeianus (Proclianus), *leg. pr.* [*pr. Cap*]*pa*[*dociae*]. Cumont pointed out that the numbering of the milestones from the two places and the variation in the spelling of the legate's name indicate that this section of road was built from both ends at once and so presumably in great haste.

12. See Nöldeke *Tabari, Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber z. Zeit d. Sassaniden* (Leyden 1879), p. 1f. and, for the chronology, p. 409f.: A. von Gutschmid *Gesch. Irans*, p. 159f.: E. Herzfeld *Paikuli, Monument and Inscr. of the early Hist. of the Sasan. Emp.* (Berlin 1924), p. 35f.: A. Christensen *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen 1936), pp. 81f. and 201f. and *C.A.H.* XII p. 109f. For Rome's wars with the Persians in general see Ensslin in *Neue Jahrbb. f. Wiss. u. Jugendbildung* IV (1928), p. 339f. For Alexander's war see Cassius Dio LXXX 3-4 (the outbreak only): Herodian VI 2-6: Zonaras XII 15 (III p. 121f. Dind.): Syncellus p. 674 Bonn. It is briefly mentioned (as a Roman victory) in Eutropius VIII 23, Orosius VII 18, 7, Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 24, 2 and *Vit. Alex.* 55. See also S. Krauss in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 628f. (from the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elias): Groebe *R.E.* II 2535f.: Jardé *ibid.* p. 76f.: Ensslin in *C.A.H.* XII pp. 69f. and 127f.: Besnier *ibid.* p. 106. The statement in Zonaras and Syncellus that Ardashir overran Cappadocia and besieged Nisibis presumably refers to this invasion of Mesopotamia. Alexander's departure from Rome appears on coins inscribed *Prof*(*ectio*) *Au-*

g(usti) of 231; see Mattingly-Sydenham IV 2, p. 112, no. 524 and p. 124, no. 666 A. It was pointed out by Jardé (p. 78, note 1) that the attempt of Thiele (*de Sev. Alex.* p. 96f.) to reconstruct Alexander's itinerary from Dyrrachium to Antioch from the places in which dedications to him have been found was unsuccessful, since these do not prove that he was actually present in the various places. For a visit of Alexander to Palmyra, presumably on his way to the front, see *I.G.R.* III 1033 = *O.G.I.* 640. For his triumph and cognomina see *Vit. Alex.* 56, 1 and 9. Jardé observed (p. 81f.) that the bestowal of the latter is confirmed by an African milestone (*Bull. arch. d. Com. d. Trav. hist.* 1902, p. 516f., no. 27) on which Alexander is called *Particus Max.* and [*Persicus*] *Max.* For a medallion of 233 representing a Victory crowning the Emperor, who is trampling on the Euphrates and the Tigris, see Cohen *Descr. hist.*[2] IV p. 445, no. 446 = Gnecchi *Medaglioni Rom.* II p. 81, no. 17. For Ardashir's seizure of Nisibis and Carrhae see Zonaras XII 18 (III p. 129 Dind.) and *Vit. Gord.* 26, 6 (their recapture by Gordian): Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 180 Schöne = Syncellus p. 681 Bonn. The testimony of these authors is borne out by the fact that while the two cities issued coins under Alexander and Gordian, they seem to have issued none under Maximinus; see *B. M. Cat. Arabia, etc.* pp. 88f. and 120f. See also J. Sturm in *R.E.* XVII 738.

13. For the chronology of the year 238 see (most recently) C. E. Van Sickle in *C.P.* XXII (1927), p. 416f. and XXIV (1929), p. 285f. and P. W. Townsend in *Yale Class. Stud.* I (1928), p. 231f. and *A.J.P.* LI (1930), p. 62f., whose dates were accepted by Besnier (p. 145f.) and Ensslin in *C.A.H.* XII p. 76f. For Maximus as proconsul of Asia see *Ephesos* I p. 210 = *O.G.I.* 518 = Dessau 8839. According to *Vit. Max.-Balb.* 5, 8, he held the *proconsulatus Bithyniae*, but this statement is of doubtful value, not only on account of the generally unreliable character of the *Vita* but because he could not have borne the title of *proconsul*, since Bithynia was made an imperial province about A.D. 165 (see Chap. XXVIII note 7); see also *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 278. Balbinus, according to *Vita* 7, 2, *Asiam et Africam et Bithyniam et Galatiam et Pontum et Thracias et Gallias civilibus administrationibus rexerat.* This evidence was accepted for Galatia by Perrot (*De Galatia Prov. Rom.* [Paris 1867], p. 121f.), who dated his term of office in 205-208, and for Asia by Waddington (*Fastes*, p. 262f.), but its value also is very doubtful; see Jardé *Sév. Alex.* p. 126, note 4 and *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 25. An inscription found near the border of Galatia and Lycaonia (*Ann. Ép.* 1909, 175) was supposed to contain Balbinus's name as [*ἀ*]*νθύπ*[*ατος*] and was connected with his proconsulship of Asia, but a re-examination of the stone showed this reading to be incorrect; see Calder in *Class. Rev.* XXVII (1913), p. 11.

14. For the career of Timesitheus (before his appointment as Prefect of the Guard) see *C.I.L.* XIII 1807 = Dessau 1330. See also von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 226f.: A. Stein in *R.E.* VII 364f.: *P.I.R.*[2] III p. 228f., no. 581. He seems to appear as procurator of Arabia also in *Ann. Ép.* 1936, 151. For his appointment to the prefecture and the marriage of his

daughter, Tranquillina, to Gordian in the spring or early summer of 241 see P. W. Townsend in *Yale Class. Stud.* IV (1934), p. 72f. For other instances of the temporary tenure of the proconsulship of Asia by a procurator see Chap. XXIV note 32 (C. Minicius Italus under Domitian) and Chap. XXVIII note 35 (Aelius Aglaus under Severus and Caracalla or Elagabalus and Alexander). For the practice in general see Hirschfeld *V.B.* p. 387f.: von Domaszewski in *Bonner Jahrbb.* CXVII (1908), p. 169: C. W. Keyes *The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Rom. Emp.* (Princeton 1915), p. 5f.

15. For this war and the death of Gordian see Zonaras XII 18 (III p. 129f. Dind.): Zosimus I 18, 1f.: *Vit. Gord.* 26, 3 (with dates recorded by consulships, probably taken, like other dates similarly recorded in this *Vita* and in the *Vitae* of Gallienus and Claudius, from Dexippus, see Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* VII p. 327, note 3 and L. Homo in *Rev. Hist.* CXXXII [1919], p. 9): Eusebius *Chron.* II p. 180f. Schöne = Syncellus pp. 681 and 683 Bonn and Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 217 Helm: Eutropius IX 2: Orosius VII 19, 4f.: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 27, 7f. For the invasions of Shapur under Gordian, Trebonianus Gallus and Valerian recorded in his "Res Gestae" see Rostovtzeff in *Berytus* VIII (1943), p. 18f. and (for the Greek text) G. P. Carratelli in *La Parola del Passato* II 5 (1947), p. 209f. See also Mommsen *R.G.* V² p. 421f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 98f.: von Rohden in *R.E.* I 2626f.: S. Krauss in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 630f.: K. F. W. Lehmann *Kaiser Gordian III* (Berlin 1911), p. 76f.: Fluss in *R.E.* I A 2327f.: P. W. Townsend in *Yale Class. Stud.* IV (1934), p. 126f.: Ensslin in *C.A.H.* XII pp. 86f. and 130f.: A. T. Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXVII (1942), p. 251f. The statement in *Vit. Gord.* 26, 5 that Antioch *a Persis iam tenebatur*, which was rejected by Mommsen (followed by von Rohden and Lehmann), was accepted by Stein in *R.E.* VII 366 and by Fluss; it is, however, scarcely credible, and J. Sturm pointed out in *R.E.* XVII 739 that the statement of Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 32) that Shapur invaded Syria and captured several cities, by which Fluss supported his contention, refers to the King's later invasion (see below note 29). Gordian's crossing of the Bosporus was commemorated by coins inscribed *Traiectus Aug.* (Cohen *Descr. hist.*² V p. 58f., no. 342f.). The investiture of Abgarus X (see *P.I.R.*² I p. 2, no. 11) is represented on coins with the names of Gordian and Abgarus as Βασιλεύς; see *B.M. Cat. Arabia, etc.* p. 113f., no. 136f. and Bellinger in *Yale Class. Stud.* V (1935), p. 144f., who, pointing out that Edessa appears as a colony in 243, suggested that Abgarus may have been made king about 240 but ruled for only a short time. The recapture of Carrhae and Nisibis (see above note 12) is shown by coins of the two cities bearing Gordian's portrait; see *B.M. Cat. Arabia*, p. 89f., no. 54f. and p. 121f., no. 11f. The victory at Rhesaena is recorded in Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 5, 17. For Singara see Chap. XXVIII note 26. The statement in Eusebius-Syncellus and Zonaras that Gordian was killed πρὸς Κτησιφῶντα γενόμενος is misleading, for, according to the general testimony of the authors, a monument was erected at the place of his murder, near the mouth of the Khabûr, near Circesium (*Vit. Gord.* 34, 2, Eutropius and Orosius),

or at Zaytha (Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 5, 7), or at Dura (Zosimus III 14, 2). The statement in Zonaras XII 19 (III p. 130 Dind.) that Philip ended the war by surrendering Mesopotamia and Armenia to Shapur is apparently incorrect, for, as E. Stein pointed out (*R.E.* X 759), the Romans' subsequent possession of Mesopotamia is shown by inscriptions of Philip's brother, C. Julius Priscus, as ἔπαρχος Μεσοποταμίας (*I.G.R.* III 1201 and 1202 [=Dessau 8847] and perhaps *C.I.L.* VI 1638 [=Dessau 1331]) and as *praef(ectus) prae(torio) rect*[*o*]*rque Orientis* (*C.I.L.* III 14149[6]=Dessau 9005). For the latter office see Zosimus I 20, 2. See also von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* LIV (1899), p. 159f. For Philip's cognomina see *C.I.L.* III 4634, 10619 (=Dessau 507) and 14354[6]; VI 1097 (=Dessau 506). For the coin inscribed *Pax fundata cum Persis* see Cohen V p. 105, no. 113f.

16. *Cod. Iust.* III 3, 1; IX 20, 4; I 54, 3; IX 2, 6; X 41, 2 and 61, 2. See Townsend in *Yale Class. Stud.* IV p. 69f. and Ensslin in *C.A.H.* XII p. 82f.

17. *C.I.L.* III 12336=*I G.R.* I 674=*Syll.*[3] 888=Abbott and Johnson, no. 139. See Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 426f.: Dessau in *Herm.* LXII (1927), p. 205f.: Wilcken in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* IX (1930), p. 15f.: Townsend *ibid.* p. 66f. For the petition of the Aragueni in Phrygia, which may be dated before the younger Philip became Augustus in July or August, 247, see Chap. XXVIII note 35. Rostovtzeff pointed out (*Kolonat,* p. 305) that the threat of the Scaptopareni, φευξόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων (l. 85f.), like the similar threat of the tenants of the imperial estate at Ağabey Köy in Lydia (see Chap. XXVIII note 34), shows that in neither case were the petitioners legally bound to the soil but that the word φευξόμεθα indicates that the threatened action was abnormal. For acts of violence committed by soldiers (under Caracalla) see also Chap. XXVIII note 42, and in general see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 423f. On the ground that the petitions both of the Scaptopareni and of the Aragueni were conveyed to the emperor by soldiers, Rostovtzeff propounded the thesis (*Mus. Belge* XXVII [1923], p. 236f. and *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 442f.) that in the third century the army, representing the peasant proletariat, supported a sort of social revolution against the privileged classes of the city-bourgeoisie. As was observed, however, by Abbott and Johnson (p. 472f.), the petitions describe the soldiers as oppressors of the villagers, and, in general, Rostovtzeff's thesis has failed to find acceptance; see E. Stein *Gesch. d. Spätröm. Reiches* I (Vienna 1928), p. 8f., note 1.

18. For Lollianus see Groag in *R.E.* V 2001f. and *P.I.R.*[2] III p. 73f., no. 36. His third year as proconsul of Asia is known from *C.I.L.* III 12270=*Ins. Magn.* 257 (a milestone of Philip and his son as Caesar near Magnesia ad Maeandrum): *C.I.L.* III 468=L.W. 1733=*Rev. Épigr.* I (1913), p. 308f. (a milestone from the coast road near Alexandria Troas, see Chap. II note 19): *A.M.* VIII (1883), p. 316f., no. 1=*P.A.S.* I p. 94f., no. 1 (statue at Tralles): *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1922-24), *Beibl.* 252f., no. 10=*S.E.G.* II 652 (Smyrna). His second year is mentioned in *I.G.R.* IV 1285 (Thyateira) and L.W. 232 (near Didyma). He appears as proconsul also in *Ephesos* III nos.

88 (τὸ .) and 89 (=*C.I.L.* III 14195[34]): *Milet* I 7, no. 268: *I.G.R.* IV 1284 (Thyateira) and 1501 (near Sardis): *C.I.L.* VI 1405. Groag's belief (*R.E.* V 2002) that he held the proconsulship for eight years was founded only on the restoration τὸ [η'] in the inscription from Ephesus published as *Ephesos* III no. 88, where the missing numeral (of which a *hasta* remains) has been restored as [γ'?]. Since the milestone from Magnesia cited above describes the younger Philip as *nobilissimus Caesar* and so must be dated before July or August, 247 (see above note 17), Lollianus's first year was not later than 245/6 and not earlier than 242/3. If the milestone on the coast road near Elaea (*I.G.R.* IV 269, evidently the same as 1175) dedicated to Gordian ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Α should be restored with Lollianus's name, rather than, as Townsend suggested (*ibid.* p. 92), with that of one of his predecessors, Asinius Sabinianus, it would show that his first year was prior to 244. For Lollianus's governorship of Bithynia-Pontus see *I.G.R.* III 33 (Prusa, where he is called οἰκιστὴς τῆς πατρίδος), dated under Severus or Caracalla by Brandis in *Herm.* XXXI (1896), p. 168f. For Galatia in 218 see *C.I.L.* III 6058=6900=Dessau 467 (milestone no. III from Ancyra). For Arabia see *Ann. Ép.* 1899, 22. Lollianus was described as ὁ ῥήτωρ at Athens (*I.G.* II² 4217), as ἁγνὸς καὶ δίκαιος at Plataea and as εὐεργέτης at Thespiae (*I.G.* VII 2510 and 2511).

19. *Ephesos* I p. 210f. (two statues of Gordian and one of Tranquillina) and *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), *Beibl.* 17f.=*S.E.G.* IV 523=*Ann. Ép.* 1930, 78. See also *I.G.R.* IV 1164 (Tranquillina, at Yaya Köy but probably from Thyateira, see Keil-Premerstein II p. 57); 1038 (Astypalaea); III 235 (Cinna ?); 646 (=*T.A.M.* II 830, Idebessus); 792 (Perge, with 791, Gordian I and Gordian II): *T.A.M.* II 739 (Neisa, Tranquillina): *C.I.L.* III 6783 (*Provincia Isauria*). For honours in the other provinces see Townsend *ibid.* p. 81f.

20. *I.G.R.* IV 1315 (no. IV from Thyateira); 269=1175 (between Elaea and Myrina, see above note 18): *C.I.L.* III 347=6996 (Prusa-Cius, see Chap. XIII note 17): *A.M.* XXXIII (1908), p. 152, no. 7 (Chalcedon-Nicomedeia, see Chap. XIII note 11): *C.I.L.* III 6749=6894=14184[16] and 14184[52] (Sebastopolis and Ancyra-Parnassus, see Chap. XIX note 9): *R.E.G.* XV (1902), p. 333, no. 53 (Comana-Neocaesareia, see Chap. VIII note 25). For the Cappadocian road under Maximinus (see also G. M. Bersanetti in *Atti d. Terzo Congresso Naz. di Studi Rom.* I [1934], p. 590f.), Maximus and Balbinus, Gordian and Philip see *C.I.L.* III p. 2063.

21. For the *liberalitates* of Gordian to the soldiers see Cohen *Descr.*² V p. 33f., no. 126f. The coin inscribed *Liberalitas V* (no. 152) is probably not genuine. For the coinage see J. Hammer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 103: Sydenham in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1919), p. 137: L. C. West *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, pp. 9, 25 and 135 and *Am. Num. Soc. Museum Notes* I (1945), p. 60f. For the cities which issued coins see Chap. XXVII note 25, Chap. XXVIII note 38 and above note 10.

22. For Pacatianus see Zosimus I 20, 2f. and Zonaras XII 19, both of whom call him Marinus. His full name appears on his coins; see Cohen² V p. 181f., one of which is inscribed *Romae aeter(nae) an(no) mill(esimo) et primo, i.e.* A.D. 248/9). See also *P.I R.*² II p. 216, no. 930. For Iotapianus see Zosimus I 20, 2: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 29, 2: Polemius Silvius p. 521, 38 Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. hist.* IX 2). On his coins his name is found as M. F. Ru. Iotapianus; see Cohen² V p. 183f. See also R. Mowat in *Rev. Num.* XVI (1912), p. 193f. For Julius Priscus as *Rector Orientis* see above note 15.

23. See B. Rappaport *Die Einfälle d. Goten in d. Röm. Reich* (Leipzig 1899), p. 27f.: L. Schmidt *Gesch. d. Deutschen Stämme*² I (Munich 1934), p. 203f.: Wittig in *R.E.* XV 1269f.: Alföldi in *C.A.H.* XII p. 141f. For the invasion under Decius see also Salisbury and Mattingly in *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 17f. and F. Lammert in *Klio* XXXIV (1942), p. 125f.

24. For a list of the places in Asia Minor in which there were communities of Christians in the second century see A. von Harnack *Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums*⁴ (Leipzig 1923-24) II p. 626f. For the persecution under Decius see Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* VI 41, 9f. (Alexandria): Lactantius *de Mort. Persec.* 4: Orosius VII 21, 2: Zonaras XII 20 (III p. 132f. Dind.): Syncellus p. 683 Bonn. See also (most recently) Alföldi in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 323f. (with bibliography in note 1) and *C.A.H.* XII p. 202f.: Besnier *ibid.* p. 159f.: Lietzmann in *C.A.H.* XII p. 521f. For the content of Decius's edict see von Harnack in *Theol. Lit.-Ztg.* XIX (1894), p. 38f. For the commissioners see Cyprian *Epist.* 43, 3 and *de Lapsis* 8. For the *libelli* see Cyprian *Epist.* 30, 3; 55, 3 and 13f.; 67, 1 and 6 (Rome, Carthage and Spain). For those on papyri from Egypt see L. Faulhaber in *Ztschr. f. Kath. Theol.* XLIII (1919), pp. 449f. and 617f.: J. R. Knipfing in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XVI (1923), p. 345f.: A. Bludau in *Röm. Quartalschr. Suppl.* XXVII (1931). For Smyrna see *Acta S. Pionii* in O. von Gebhardt *Ausg. Märtyreracten* (Berlin 1902), p. 96f. = R. Knopf *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*² (Tübingen 1913), p. 56f. and Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 15, 47 (where the martyrdom is incorrectly placed in the second century). For Gregory Thaumaturgus see Gregory of Nyssa III p. 945f. Migne. The *Acta* include Maximus in Asia; Peter, Andrew, Paul and Dionysia at Lampsacus; Lucianus and Martianus at Nicomedeia; Tryphon and Respicius at Nicaea; Nestor at Side; Achatius at Antioch-near-Pisidia. See B. Aubé *L'Église et l'État dans la seconde Moitié du III^e Siècle*² (Paris 1886), p. 154f. and, for their unreliability, L. Duchesne *Hist. anc. de l'Église*⁴ I (Paris 1908), p. 368, note 1.

25. For this letter, ascribed to Decius by Waddington, see L.W. 1624 (corrected in *R.E.G.* XIX [1906], p. 82f.) = Abbott and Johnson, no. 145. For the rights of Aphrodisias under Alexander see above note 6. For the roads see *I.G.R.* IV 771 (Eumeneia-Peltae, see Chap. II note 21): *C.I.L.* III 14184⁴⁰ (Halys-Amaseia, see Chap. XIX note 9) and 14184²⁵ (Neapolis-Neocaesareia, see Chap. VIII note 33); 12201 (Cappadocian road); 13644 (river Sabrina, see Chap. VIII note 33). For a statue of Decius erected in 249 by

the city of Comana (Hieropolis) in Cappadocia see *Anat. Stud. Ramsay*, p. 400 = *S.E.G.* VI 794 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 141 = 1939, 27.

26. Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 29, 2f.: *Epit. de Caess.* 29, 5: Polemius Silvius p. 521, 40 Mommsen (*Mon. Germ. hist.* IX 2): *Vit. Tyr. Trig.* 20. See also Wittig *ibid.* 1271. As Rappaport pointed out (*ibid.* p. 40, note 5), Priscus cannot be identified, as has sometimes been done (*e.g.* by Mowat in *Rev. Num.* XVI [1912], p. 197), with Philip's brother of the same name (see above note 15). For the coins of Uranius Antoninus see Cohen² IV p. 503f.: Froehner in *Ann. de la Soc. Franç. de Num.* X (1886), p. 189f.: Blanchet in *Rev. Num.* XI (1893), p. 41. Some of those from Emesa (Froehner, no. 10f.) are dated in the (Seleucid) year 565, *i.e.* A.D. 253/4. He was incorrectly placed under Elagabalus or Alexander by the ancient authors; see Zosimus I 12: Syncellus p. 674 (where he is wrongly connected with Edessa): Polemius Silvius p. 521, 31 Mommsen. See *P.I.R.* II p. 170, no. 125.

27. For a dedication to Gallus and his son, Volusianus, by the city of Hyrcanis in Lydia see *I.G.R.* IV 1487. An inscription at Trajanopolis dated ἔτους σπβ′ (*I.G.R.* IV 626), from which the name of the emperor has been erased, was restored by Körte, on the supposition that the era of Actium was used, with the name of Gallus; see Chap. XVIII note 37. For milestones of Gallus see *I.G.R.* IV 534 (Dorylaeum-Amorium, see Chap. II note 21): *C.I.L.* III 6919 and 12196 (Cappadocian road). Coins of Gallus and Volusian were issued in fifty-six Asianic cities, of Aemilian in Aegaeae, Amisus, Julia-Ipsus and Side and in the colonies of Antioch and Parium. For the length of Aemilian's reign see *P.I.R.*² I p. 50f., no. 330.

28. For the attacks of the Goths and their allies on Asia Minor under Valerian and Gallienus see Zosimus I 28, 1 and 31, 1f.: Eutropius IX 8, 2: Orosius VII 22, 7: Syncellus p. 715f. Bonn: *Vit. Gall.* 4, 7f.; 6, 2; 7, 3; 11, 1; 12, 6; 13, 8: Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 220 Helm.: Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 5, 15f. See also Mommsen *R.G.* V² p. 223f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* I p. 263f.: Rappaport *ibid.* pp. 50f., 55f. and 63f.: L. Schmidt *ibid.* I p. 212f.: Besnier, pp. 177 and 181f.: Alföldi in *Berytus* IV (1937), p. 57f. (chronology) and *C.A.H.* XII pp. 147f., 169 and 721f. According to Zosimus I 28, 1, the attack which occurred while Aemilian was governor of "Paeonia" (*i.e.* Moesia), evidently in 253, included Ephesus and τὰ μέχρι Καππαδοκίας καὶ Πισινοῦντος. This reference to Cappadocia and Pessinus was regarded by Rappaport (p. 65) and Schmidt (p. 215, note 1, who also included Ephesus, see p. 214, note 5) as misplaced and was connected by them with the later invasion of Ionia and central and eastern Asia Minor (see below). Alföldi, on the other hand, following Mommsen, believed (*C.A.H.* XII p. 147, note 1) that, in contrast to the *second* invasion (ἡ δευτέρα ἔφοδος, *i.e.* of Bithynia, Zosimus I 35, 2), this was the first of the attacks. The defence of Pityus may be dated by the promotion of Successianus and his summons to join Valerian at Antioch, which, according to the chronology proposed by Alföldi (*Berytus* IV p. 56), took place in 254 but was perhaps a little later (see

below note 29). The capture of Trapezus and its consequences were vividly described by Gregory Thaumaturgus (p. 1037f. Migne and *Jahrbb. f. Protest. Theol.* VII [1881], p. 730f.). For the burning of the Artemision at Ephesus during the invasion of Ionia see *Vit. Gall.* 6, 2 and Jordanes *Getica* 107. An epigram from Ephesus mentioning the construction of walls (*J.O.A.I.* XXX [1937], *Beibl.* 204, no. 10) was dated in the period of this invasion by Keil, who suggested that it may refer to a rebuilding of the city-wall; but Keil subsequently pointed out (*J.O.A.I.* XXXVI [1946], p. 128f.) that there is no reason to suppose that the Goths captured the city itself. The invasion has usually been dated in 262 or 263, but it was supposed by Alföldi (*C.A.H.* XII pp. 148 and 721) to have taken place in 267. The former date depends (apart from Hieronymus's dating of an expedition to "Pontus and Asia" in this year) on the assumption that the mention of the burning of the Artemision mentioned in *Vit. Gall.* 6, 2 is to be connected with the previous mention (5, 2) of the Consuls of 262 (perhaps taken from Dexippus, see above note 15) and that the defeat of the Goths *Romanorum ducum virtute ac ductu* related in *Vit. Gall.* 7, 3f. took place during Gallienus's stay in Byzantium, from which he returned to Rome to celebrate his Decennalia, late in 262 (von Domaszewski in *Philol.* LXV [1906], p. 346f., note 15). See also Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 117f., no. 48 (April, 263). Alföldi's dating, on the other hand, was based only on the statement of Syncellus (p. 717, see also *Vit. Gall.* 12, 6f.) that Odenathus's plan to intercept the Goths at Heracleia Pontica failed because of his death. It is far from certain, however, that this expedition against northern Asia Minor took place in the same year as the invasion of Ionia. There is, moreover, no assured connexion between the death of Odenathus in 266/7 (Stein in *R.E.* XIV 253 and XVII 1881) at Emesa, according to Zosimus I 39, 2, and this expedition; for the raid which he planned to intercept may have been a different one. Either dating, therefore, rests on very slight evidence, and the time of the attack on Ionia cannot be regarded as definitely determined. For Miletus see Wiegand in *S.B. Berl. Akad.* 1935, p. 205 and *Milet* II 3, pp. 81f. and 126f. (new wall) and I 9, no. 339 (repulse of "dangerous foes" by Macarius). For the temple at Didyma, besieged by "Scythians," see *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1924, I, p. 22 = *S.E.G.* IV 467 (mentioning a proconsul, Festus, dated between 286 and 293 by Rehm in *Philol.* XCIII [1938], p. 78f.); see also Robert *Hellenica* IV (1948), p. 74f. and VI (1948), p. 119f. It was pointed out by A. Körte in *G.G.A.* CLIX (1897), p. 391f. that the presence of used blocks of stone with inscriptions of the early third century in the walls of Dorylaeum (see also *M.A.M.A.* V p. xiii) and Prusias ad Hypium suggests that these were hastily built at this time. For Stratoniceia see *C.I.G.* 2717 = L.W. 518, corrected in *A.E.M.* XVII (1894), p. 42f., no. 8. An epigram from Sardis (L.W. 629 = *Ins. Sardis* 83 = *I.G.R.* IV 1510) in praise of a certain Acholius has usually been supposed to refer to a strengthening of the fortifications of the acropolis at this time, but in a reinterpretation of the inscription Keil showed (*J.O.A.I.* XXXVI [1946], p. 121f.) that it should be dated in the late fourth or early fifth century. The invasion of Cappadocia and Galatia is reported in Syncellus p. 716, *Vit. Gall.* 11, 1 and

Philostorgus *Hist. Eccl.* II 5 (p. 17 Bidez). For the fortification of Ancyra, probably on this occasion, see *I.G.R.* III 206 and Körte *ibid.* p. 392.

29. For Shapur's seizure of Armenia and the flight of Tiridates see Agathangelus 15f. (*F.H.G.* v 2, p. 120f.): Zonaras XII 21 (III p. 137 Dind.): A. von Gutschmid in *Ztschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Ges.* XXXI (1877), p. 48f.: Asdourian *Polit. Beziehungen zw. Armenien u. Rom*, p. 126f., who dated the murder of Chosroes in 250. For Valerian's war against Shapur and his capture see Zosimus I 27, 2; 30, 1; 36, 1f.; III 32, 5; Zonaras XII 23 (III p. 140f. Dind.): Eutropius IX 7 and 8, 2: Orosius VII 22, 4 and 12: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 32, 5: Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 220 Helm: Syncellus p. 715f. Bonn: Malalas p. 295f. Bonn = p. 366f. Stauffenberg: Petrus Patricius frg. 9 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 187): Nöldeke *Tabari* p. 31f. (where Shapur's attack on Nisibis is dated after eleven years of rule, *i.e.* in 252): S. Krauss in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 631f. (Hebrew Apocalypse of Elias). It is recorded also in Shapur's "Res Gestae"; see above note 15. See also Mommsen *R.G.* v² p. 429f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 108f.: Fluss in *R.E.* I A 2329f.: Wickert in *R.E.* XIII 491f.: A. Christensen *Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 215f. (with illustration showing Shapur and Valerian, p. 217) and *C.A.H.* XII p. 132f.: Alföldi in *Berytus* IV (1937), p. 41f. and *C.A.H.* XII p. 170f. (with a new and somewhat hazardous chronology): Olmstead in *C.P.* XXXVII (1942), p. 399f. An invasion of Syria and an attack on Antioch, apparently under Trebonianus Gallus, are recorded in Zosimus I 27, 2, where, however, the statement ἕως εἷλον καὶ ταύτην (Antioch) may be, as Christensen supposed (*C.A.H.* XII p. 133), merely an "anticipatory survey." Alföldi, on the other hand, accepting this statement, believed that the city was captured before the Emperor's arrival in the East, which, on the basis of a coin of Valerian as *Cos. II* issued at Antioch, he dated in 254 (the year of Valerian's second consulship), whereas it has generally been believed that the Emperor arrived in 256. The capture of Antioch is recorded in Malalas, where the reading of the manuscripts, ἔτους δτι′ (of the era of the city), has been variously emended into τιδ′ (A.D. 265/6), τδ′ (A.D. 255/6) and τι′ (A.D. 261/2); see Fluss *l.c.* and Christensen, p. 133, note 3. The date given by Malalas, therefore, is of little value for determining the time either of Valerian's arrival (and his summons to Successianus, see above note 28) or of Shapur's capture of Antioch. Alföldi, however, on the basis of the coins inscribed *Victoria Part(hica)* issued at Antioch from 257 onward (*Berytus* IV p. 59f.) and because the city was evidently in the possession of the Romans in May, 258 (*Cod. Iust.* V 3, 5 and IX 9, 18), dated the capture (for the second time, according to his view) in 259, supposing that it was on this occasion that Shapur was aided by the traitor Mariades (Cyriades, see *Vit. Tyr. Trig.* 2 and Stein in *R.E.* XIV 1744f.). On the other hand, the capture may have taken place before 257 at the time of Valerian's withdrawal to "Cappadocia" (and his sending of Felix to Byzantium), recorded in Zosimus I 36, 1. This, according to Alföldi, was actually an advance to Samosata with the establishment of headquarters there, a suggestion which was based on the attribution to the mint of Samosata of certain gold coins issued in 255 and the following years but apparently

not at Antioch. Some military success on Valerian's part is suggested by the coins issued at Antioch which are inscribed *Restitut(or) Orientis* and *Victoria Parthica* (Mattingly-Sydenham v 1, p. 60, nos. 286 and 291 and p. 103f., nos. 448 and 453), and this may have been the recovery of the city after Shapur's withdrawal from it. For accounts of the capture of Antioch see Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII 5, 3: Malalas *l.c.*: Cont. Dionis (Petrus Patricius) frg. 1 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 192) = frg. 157 Boiss. (III p. 741f.): Libanius *Orat.* XXIV 38 (II p. 531 Förster). For the capture of Valerian in 260 and the varying accounts of the events leading up to it see Wickert *ibid.* 492f. For the persecution under Valerian see Alföldi in *Klio* XXXI (1938), p. 338f. (with bibliography in note 3).

30. For the general state of panic in the East after Valerian's capture see Zosimus I 37, 1. For Shapur's invasion see Zonaras XII 23 (III p. 141 Dind.): Syncellus p. 716 Bonn (capture of Antioch, Tarsus, Caesareia, defended by Demosthenes, and Lycaonia): Malalas p. 297 Bonn = p. 374 Stauffenberg (a list of the cities captured): Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 220 Helm (Cilicia and Cappadocia): Agathias IV 24 (*Hist. Gr. Min.* II p. 332f. Dind., Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia): *Oracula Sibyllina* XIII 89f. (Tyana and Caesareia), where the invader is represented as a λῃστὴς ἐκ Συρίας προφανείς, probably Shapur but possibly Mariades (but see Rostovtzeff in *Berytus* VIII [1943], p. 31). For the list of places in Shapur's "Res Gestae" see Olmstead *ibid.* p. 414f.

31. See Wickert in *R.E.* XIII 354f. and Alföldi in *C.A.H.* XII p. 181f. The *Vita Tyrannorum Triginta,* which lists thirty supposed claimants to the Empire (including two women) was padded with names to raise the number to that of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens. After the removal of those who never really held the imperial power and of those who did not claim it until after the death of Gallienus, the actual number of pretenders during the latter's reign, apart from Macrian and his sons (see below), may be reduced to six, *viz.* Ingenuus, Regalianus, Postumus, Laelianus, Marius and Aureolus; see H. Peter in *Abh. Sächs. Ges.* XXVII (1909), p. 188f. For the coins of Postumus, Laelianus, Marius, Regalianus and Aureolus see Mattingly-Sydenham v 2, pp. 328f. and 586f. For Callistus and Macrian and his sons see Zonaras XII 23 and 24 (III pp. 141f. and 145f. Dind.): Syncellus p. 716 Bonn: *Vit. Val.* 4, 4: *Vit. Gall.* 1, 2f. and 2, 5f.: *Vit. Tyr. Trig.* 12-14 (Macriani and Quietus) and 18 (Ballista): Cont. Dionis (Petrus Patricius) frgs. 3 and 8, 1 Müller (*F.H.G.* IV pp. 193 and 195) = frgs. 159 and 167 Boiss. (III pp. 742 and 744): Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* VII 10, 5f. See also Henze in *R.E.* II 2831: Stein in *R.E.* VII 254f. and 259f.: Alföldi in *Berytus* IV (1937), p. 65 and V (1938), p. 68f., who pointed out that Callistus was praefectus praetorio under Macrian and his sons (*Vit. Gall.* 3, 2) and not under Valerian (*Tyr. Trig.* 12, 1), and *C.A.H.* XII p. 172f.

32. For Odenathus as λαμπ[ρότατος ὑπατικ]ός in 258 see *I.G.R.* III 1031 = J. Cantineau *Invent. d. Inscrs. de Palmyre* III (Beirut 1930), p. 23, no. 17. The suggestion of Waddington (L.W. p. 600) that he was governor of Syria

Phoenice is hardly probable; see G. A. Harrer *Rom. Prov. of Syria*, p. 59. For the titles of Odenathus in Palmyrene inscriptions see Clermont-Ganneau in *Rev. Biblique* XXIX (1920), p. 382f.: J. B. Chabot *Choix d'Inscrs. de Palmyre* (Paris 1922), p. 56f.: Cantineau *ibid.* no. 19 and *Journ. Asiat.* CCXXII (1933), p. 217f.: Bersanetti in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Ital.* XVII (1933), p. 103f.: Besnier, p. 216f.: A. Stein in *Aegyptus* XVIII (1938), p. 235f.: Alföldi in *Berytus* V (1938), p. 77f. It is now generally agreed that the Palmyrene title which was read by Clermont-Ganneau as the equivalent of *Corrector* (ἐπανορθωτής) *totius provinciae* should be rendered as *Corrector totius Orientis* rather than, as Cantineau proposed, *Restitutor totius Orientis*; see also J. G. Février *Essai sur l'Hist. polit. et écon. de Palmyre* (Paris 1931), p. 97f. Odenathus is described as στρατηγὸς τῆς Ἑῴας in Syncellus p. 716 Bonn and Zonaras XII 23 (III p. 142 Dind.) and as *imperator totius Orientis* in *Vit. Gall.* 3, 3 and 10, 1. For his position under Gallienus see Solari in *Philol.* XCII (1937), p. 239. For Gallienus's triumph see *Vit. Gall.* 10, 5. For his cognomina see *C.I.L.* X 4784 and VIII 22765 = Dessau 543 and 8923.

33. For the coins of Macrian and Quietus issued at Antioch see Mattingly-Sydenham V 2, p. 580f. For papyri dated in their first and second years (260-261) see Stein in *R.E.* VII 254f. and *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* VII (1924), p. 44. For a dedication to Quietus at Coptos see *I.G.R.* I 1181. For monuments of Valerian and members of his family in the Asianic cities see *I.G.R.* III 122 and 123 (Comana in Cappadocia, Gallienus and his son, Valerian); 355 (Sagalassus, Gallienus and Saloni[nus ?]); 572 (= *T.A.M.* II 734, Combe in Lycia, the younger Valerian); IV 776 and 777 (the younger Valerian, Saloninus and Salonina). Since the younger Valerian died in 258 and Saloninus in 260 or early 261 (see Wickert in *R.E.* XIII 245 and 356f.), these monuments (except *I.G.R.* III 355, where Saloni[na] should perhaps be restored) must be dated before Macrian's revolt. A statue of Salonina at Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia (*Ann. Ép.* 1939, 25) is dated in 255/6; those erected by Ancyra (*I.G.R.* III 237) and by Meirus in Phrygia (*I.G.R.* IV 593), on the other hand, cannot be dated. For a fragment of a letter from Valerian, Gallienus and the younger Valerian to Arycanda in 258 (?) see *T.A.M.* II 784 = *I.G.R.* III 643 = *S.E.G.* VI 759 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 29. For the welcome given in Asia to Macrian see Zonaras XII 24 (III p. 145 Dind.). For statues of Macrian and Quietus as γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης at Nacoleia and Apameia Myrleia see *M.A.M.A.* V 199 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 147) and *I.G.R.* III 27. For their coins see *Receuil* I pp. 383 and 510f. and *B.M. Cat. Thrace*, p. 109, no. 5f.

34. For this invasion see especially Alföldi in *C.A.H.* XII p. 721f., who showed that many of the events contained in the sources were assigned by the writers, some to Gallienus and some to Claudius, as, for example, the attack on Cyzicus (placed under Gallienus by Syncellus p. 717 Bonn and in *Vit. Gall.* 13, 8, and under Claudius in Zosimus I 43, 1) and the scene of the great victory over the barbarians (παρὰ τὸν Νέσσον under Gallienus, according to Syncellus *l.c.*, mentioned without name in *Vit. Gall.* 13, 9, and ἐν Naΐσσῳ under Claudius, according to Zosimus I 43, 2 and 45, 1), whereas

they presumably took place in one single campaign, to be dated under Gallienus. For a rejection of this view see P. Damerau *Kaiser Claud. Goth.* = *Klio Beih.* XXXIII (1934), p. 63f. The continuation of the war in 269 under Claudius is contained in Zosimus I 45, 1f. and *Vit. Claud.* 9, 3f.; 11, 3f.; 12, 1.

35. Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 33, 33f. and 37, 6. For this change see C. W. Keyes *The Rise of the Equites, etc.* p. 49f.: A. Rosenberg in *Herm.* LV (1920), p. 319f.: R. Grosse *Röm. Militärgesch. von Gallienus, etc.* p. 4f.: L. Homo in *Rev. Hist.* CXXXVII (1921), p. 192f. and CXXXVIII (1922), p. 2f.: N. H. Baynes in *J.R.S.* XV (1925), p. 195f.: Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* Ital. Ed. p. 532f. and note 35: A. Stein *Der Röm. Ritterstand* = *Münch. Beitr. z. Pap.-Forsch.* X (1927), p. 449f.: Anderson in *J.R.S.* XXII (1932), p. 27f.: Besnier, p. 187f.: E. Stein *Gesch. d. Spätröm. Reiches* I p. 67f. Homo supposed that in the senatorial provinces the proconsuls (or propraetors) were replaced by *Equites.* It was shown by Keyes (p. 9), however, that under Florian and Probus, Hispania Baetica was governed by a *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) a(gens) v(ice) p(raesidis)* (*C.I.L.* II 1115 [= Dessau 593] and 1116). Of the known governors of Asia in the period immediately after Gallienus, none was an *Eques* except Julius Proculus, *v.p., procurator agens vice procos.* in 276 (*Ephesos* III no. 20 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 70). In Lycia-Pamphylia, it is impossible to date definitely Terentius Marcianus, ὁ διασημότατος (*i.e. perfectissimus*) ἡγεμών (dated tentatively in 279 or 280 by G. M. Bersanetti in *Aevum* XIX [1945], p. 384f.); see *T.A.M.* III 1, 89 = *I.G.R.* III 434 = *O.G.I.* 564 (Termessus): *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 214, no. 152 (Trebenna): *I.G.R.* III 358 (Sagalassus, where the name was wrongly read as Africanus). For Bithynia-Pontus see *I.G.R.* III 39 (= *Syll.*[3] 895) and 40 (Velleius Macrinus, ὁ λαμπρ(ότατος) ὑπατικός) and *A.J.P.* XXVII (1906), p. 449, no. 3 and *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 329, no. 78 = X (1906), p. 433 (Aelius Casinus Atianus *v.p., pr(aeses) p(rovinciae) P(onti)*). For Cilicia see *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] p. 168, no. 116 = Rosenberg *l.c.* (A. Voconius Zeno, ὁ διασημότατος ἡγεμών, under Gallienus) and *Ephesos* III no. 54 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 83 (Caecilius Arellianus, a procurator ὁ καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐνχειρισθείς, of unknown date). Of the other imperial provinces, Keyes showed that Arabia, Dalmatia and Numidia had Equestrian governors after Gallienus, but there was no such change before Diocletian in Britain, Hispania Tarraconensis, Moesia Inferior and Syria Coele. For Equestrian commanders of legions and *vexillationes* under Gallienus and his successors see Keyes, p. 34f. The view of Homo that during the "senatorial reaction" under Tacitus Gallienus's edict was repealed and the former system restored was shown by Baynes to be untenable, especially since in Aurelius Victor 37, 6 (on which Homo's view was largely based), *amissa Gallieni edicto refici militia potuit, etc.*, the Codex Bruxellensis has the reading *amisso.* The retention of Gallienus's measure is shown also by the case of Julius Proculus, *agens vice proconsulis* of Asia in Tacitus's second year.

36. *I.G.R.* III 481 = Dessau 8870 (Valerius Statilius Castus). For an "Isaurian" brigand (*archipirata*), Trebellianus, not otherwise known and probably fictitious, under Gallienus see *Vit. Tyr. Trig.* 26 and Stein in *R.E.* VI A

2262. For the war against the Isaurian brigands in the time of Probus see below note 50. For the probable connexion of Castus with the suppression of piracy or brigandage see also von Domaszewski in *Rh. Mus.* LVIII (1903), p. 389, Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 425f. and Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 910. It may be questioned, however, whether Rostovtzeff was justified in supposing that the self-defence implied in his activity took "the form of the establishment of an almost independent vassal state." Castus's title of "Ally of the Augusti" may be compared with that of an Ephesian who in the early third century held the offices of quaestor of Lycia-Pamphylia and tribunus Plebis and appears at Ephesus as "Ally of the Romans by decree of the Senate" (*Ephesos* III no. 38). For the milestone found at Kavak, south of Iconium, see *C.I.L.* III 6956=12215 and Chap. XIX note 41.

37. *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 44f., no. 6=*Ann. Ép.* 1933, 271 (Sex. Claudius Silianus Aesinus, whose name appears on coins of Pergamum under Gallienus, see *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 162, no. 347f.). For the wall of Nicaea see *I.G.R.* III 39 (=*Syll.*[3] 895) and 40 (A.D. 269). The representations of fortifications with a gate and towers which appear on coins of Macrian and Quietus as well as of Gallienus (*Receuil* I pp. 507 and 510f.) presumably refer to the construction of this wall. See also Schneider and Karnapp *Die Stadtmauer v. Iznik*, p. 36f. For the mint at Cyzicus see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, pp. 24, 207f. and 230f. and Alföldi in *Berytus* V (1938), p. 66f. For another mint established under Gallienus in an undetermined city of Asia Minor see Alföldi, p. 59f. For the uncompleted condition of the Artemision at Ephesus see *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), *Beibl.* 59f. and *Ephesos* I p. 102.

38. See *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 59, no. 289 (Cyzicus, Claudius): *B.M.Cat. Lycia, etc.* p. 201, no. 140f. (Antioch, Claudius); p. 218, no. 14f. (Cremna, Aurelian); p. 239, no. 7f. (Prostanna, Claudius); p. 248f., no. 43f. (Sagalassus, Claudius); p. 254f., no. 10f. (Seleuceia Sidera, Claudius); p. 267, no. 86 (Selge, Aurelian); p. 139f., no. 100f. (Perge, Aurelian and Tacitus); p. 296, no. 128 A (Side, Aurelian); p. 170, no. 25 (Sillyum, Aurelian). For the depreciation of the currency under Gallienus see Hammer in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXVI (1908), p. 105f.: Sydenham in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1919), p. 139: Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 7f.: L. C. West *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, pp. 19, 26 and 151f. It was pointed out by Alföldi in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXXVIII (1928), p. 194, note 1 that under Valerian (in 258 or 259) the Antoninianus inscribed *Religio Augg.* (Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 47, no. 114) shows the most rapid decline in fineness, weight and execution in the history of Roman coinage. For the rise in the price of bread at Ephesus see Chap. XXVIII note 9, and for the rise in Egypt during the third century see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 419.

39. See G. Billeter *Gesch. d. Zinsfusses im Gr.-Röm. Alt.* pp. 103f. and 211f., according to whom the rate of interest, which in the early second century was 9 per cent in Asia Minor, declined in the third century in general from a normal rate of 5 per cent or 6 per cent to 4 per cent. For a rate of 6 per cent in Asia Minor in the later second century see Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV

p. 900 (Magnesia ad Sipylum and Aphrodisias) and Chap. XXVII note 59 (Aphrodisias). On the other hand, a rate of 12 per cent is mentioned in *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 13f., no. 1 (Ephesus, second century). For Orcistus see *J.H.S.* LVII (1937), p. 1f., a legacy of 2500 *ἀργυρίου ἀριθμίου Ἀττικὰς* (*δραχμάς*) in A.D. 237. For the term *ἀρίθμια* (*νομίσματα*) in papyri of the sixth century see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson *Currency in Rom. and Byz. Egypt* (Princeton 1944), p. 120f., where it is used to denote payments or loans subject to certain deductions. Professor Johnson has informed me, however, that, not merely on account of the date but also because the papyri refer only to payments in gold, this is not necessarily its meaning in the present inscription and that in his opinion the term in this case was used to specify that the amount of the legacy was to be paid in drachmae of the old Attic standard and not in the current depreciated denarii (so also Broughton, p. 912, note 27). For other payments to be made in Attic drachmae in Asia Minor during the second and third centuries see *e.g. I.G.R.* IV 872, 887, 1185 and 1360: *Alt. v. Hierap.* nos. 147, 149 and 341: Keil-Premerstein III no. 55: Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 473, no. 321: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 481, no. 62: *J.H.S.* XVII (1897), p. 414f., no. 16. For *ἀργυρίου ἀρχαῖα δηνάρια* and (*δηνάρια*) *βόνα* see *C.I.G.* 2826 and *T.A.M.* II 334 (pointed out to me by the Rev. J. S. Creaghan, S.J.). For a similar demand for old Ptolemaic silver in Egypt see Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 421 and note 5.

40. For the *δῆμος Ὁρμηλέων* see Chap. XIX note 44 (where the view is expressed, contrary to the usual opinion, that the estate was private and not imperial) and, most recently, A. H. M. Jones *Greek City*, p. 272 and Ruge in *R.E.* XVIII 1098f. with an excellent summary of what had been written previously on the subject. Whereas most of the inscriptions, some of which mention as owners Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus (Consul in 200) and his wife, Annia Faustina (see *P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 128, no. 709), evidently date from the early third century, a list of persons (*P.A.S.* II no. 59=*I.G.R.* IV 893), presumably, except for a *βουλευτής* of Olbasa, tenants of the estate, mentions Flavius Antiochianus (Consul *iterum* in 270, see *R.E.* VI 2530), *ὁ λαμπρό-(τα)τος ὑπατικός*, and his wife, Pomponia Ummidia, and so is evidently to be dated in the later part of this century. For the marble chair bearing the names of two priests, dated, respectively, in 236 and 237 (of the era of Cibyra), *i.e.* A.D. 261 and 262, see *P.A.S.* II no. 60=Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 304, no. 99. As Jones pointed out, the *demos* had a form of communal organization with a headman (*προάγων*); see *I.G.R.* IV 890 and 891. For the *Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι* in the mountainous country northeast of Lake Eğridir see Chap. XIX note 44. While many of the inscriptions can be dated about 238 on account of the mention of the Consuls of this year in a fragmentary list of names (*B.S.A.* XVIII [1911-12], p. 62f.), the latest (*P.A.S.* III no. 366=Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 319f., no. 2=*J.H.S.* XXXII [1912], p. 154, no. 2), dated by Ramsay (p. 355f.) about twenty-five years after the earlier ones, may be placed between 260 and 265; see Ruge in *R.E.* V A 162. The amounts of the contributions vary from 6001 to 901 denarii.

41. For the decline of Orcistus, which in 325/6 was in danger, through poverty, of losing its city-rights and becoming a dependency of Nacoleia, see *C.I.L.* III 7000 = Dessau 6091 = Abbott and Johnson, no. 154. Buckler inferred (*J.H.S.* LVII [1937], p. 9) from the lack of any mention of a *βουλή* in the decree accepting the legacy in A.D. 237 (see above note 39), in which only the *gerousia* and the *demos* appear, that at this time Orcistus had lost its status as a *polis* and had become a mere village. While the mention of three *archontes* and a *grammateus* in the decree does not necessarily indicate that Orcistus had city-rights, since villages also had these officials (see Chap. V note 70), the danger to its status in 325/6 seems to show that it had not as yet lost it.

42. For the general situation at the time of Claudius's accession see Damerau *Kaiser Claud. Goth.* p. 48f. For the expedition of the Goths against southern Asia Minor see Zosimus I 46, 1 (Rhodes and Crete): Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI 5, 16 (*Pamphyliae civitates* and *insulae*): *Vit. Claud.* 12, 1 (Crete and Cyprus). For the siege of Side see Dexippus frg. 23 Müller (*F.H.G.* III p. 681f.) = frg. 29 Jacoby (*F. Gr. Hist.* II p. 474). See also Rappaport *Einfälle d. Goten*, p. 90: L. Schmidt *Gesch. d. Deutschen Stämme*[2] I p. 219: Damerau, p. 73. The invaders seem, however, to have been ultimately driven off by a Roman fleet under the command of the prefect of Egypt, Probus; see Zosimus I 44, 2 and Damerau, p. 56f.

43. For Zenobia as *ἡ λαμπροτάτη βασίλισσα* see *I.G.R.* III 1028, 1029 and 1030 (= Dessau 8807, A.D. 271) = *O.G.I.* 648-650. She appears as *Σεβαστή* on two milestones (*I.G.R.* III 1027 and 1065 [= *O.G.I.* 647]) erected in her honour and that of an *ἀνείκητος Σεβαστός*, whose name has been restored as Claudius. It is more probable, however, that the emperor was Aurelian; see Groag in *R.E.* V 1365 and Damerau *Kaiser Claud. Goth.* p. 60, note 5. For the titles of Vaballathus as King of Kings and Corrector of the Orient (inherited from his father, see above note 32) see Clermont-Ganneau in *Rev. Biblique* XXIX (1920), p. 391f. = Chabot *Choix d'Inscrs. de Palmyre*, p. 58. For his titles see also Wilcken in *Ztschr. f. Num.* XV (1887), p. 330f. and Février *Essai sur l'Hist. etc. de Palmyre*, p. 111f. For the conquests of Zenobia see Zosimus I 44 (Egypt) and 50, 1 (Asia Minor): Zonaras XII 27 (III p. 152 Dind., Egypt): Syncellus p. 721 Bonn (Egypt): Malalas p. 299 Bonn = p. 67 Stauffenberg (Arabia): *Vit. Claud.* 11, 1. They are attested for the province of Syria by the milestone (*I.G.R.* III 1065) cited above, which was found near Byblus on the Syrian coast, and for the province of Arabia by a milestone bearing the name and titles of Vaballathus from the road from Bostra to Philadelpheia (*Ann. Ép.* 1904, 60). See also *Syria* XXII (1941), p. 46, Damerau, p. 54f. and A. Solari in *Philol.* XCII (1937), p. 240f. Her conquest of Galatia is reported by Zosimus only, and since there is no epigraphic evidence to support his statement, it was probably not a permanent occupation. The suggestion of Alföldi (*Berytus* V [1938], p. 86) that the fact that the Pisidian cities which coined under Claudius (see above note 38) did not coin under Quintillus was a result of this invasion is hardly convincing; for it is difficult to believe that the Palmyrenes conquered this remote district,

and the lack of any coins of Quintillus in Asia Minor may easily be attributed to the shortness of his rule.

44. For the army under Heraclianus sent by Gallienus against the Persians see *Vit. Gall.* 13, 4f., suspected by Schiller (*Gesch. d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* I p. 859, note 1), by Mommsen (*R.G.* v^2 p. 435, note 3 = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 114, note 3) and by Wickert (*R.E.* XIII 360), but accepted by L. Homo (*Essai sur le Règne de l'Emp. Aurel.* [Paris 1904], p. 36 and p. 49, note 2 and in *Rev. Hist.* CXIII [1913], p. 246f.), by Février (*ibid.* p. 104), by Besnier (p. 183f.) and by Bersanetti (*Riv. Indo-Greco-Ital.* XVII [1933], p. 109f.). Homo suggested that the real purpose of this expedition was to check the power of Palmyra. Heraclianus was apparently Prefect of the Praetorian Guard; see Bersanetti in *Epigraphica* IV (1940), p. 169f. If he was the man of this name who, according to Zosimus I 40, 2, *Vit. Gall.* 14, 1 and Zonaras XII 25, was one of the conspirators against Gallienus at Milan in 268, his eastern expedition must have been a short one. The view of Alföldi (*Berytus* V p. 86f. and *C.A.H.* XII p. 179f.) that Zenobia's invasion both of Asia Minor and of Egypt took place under Quintillus rather than in the last year of Claudius is, in view of the former's brief rule, hard to accept. For the activity of the mint of Antioch under Claudius see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 228f. and Alföldi, p. 88. For gold coins issued at Antioch at the beginning of Aurelian's reign see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 307 and Alföldi *l.c.* For the double coin at Antioch of Aurelian and Vaballathus, on which the latter is called *V(ir) C(larissimus), R(ex), Im(perator), D(ux) R(omanorum)* see Rohde *Die Münzen d. Kais. Aurel., etc.* (Miskolcz 1881), p. 261, no. 1 and Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 308, no. 381. Alföldi pointed out (p. 88) that this coin shows the terms which Palmyra offered the Emperor. For similar coins at Alexandria, dated in Aurelian's first and second and Vaballathus's fourth and fifth years (A.D. 269/70 and 270/1, see A. Stein in *Klio* XXI [1927], p. 78f.), on which the latter appears (with his father's titles) as *ὑ(πατικός)*, *α(ὐτοκράτωρ)*, *σ(τρατηγὸς)* *Ῥ(ωμαίων)*, see Rohde, p. 263f., no. 10f. and J. Vogt *Alex. Münzen* I p. 213f. For the coins of Vaballathus as Augustus (in 271) and Zenobia as Augusta issued at Antioch see Rohde, p. 261f., no. 2f. and no. 27f. and Mattingly-Sydenham V 2, p. 584f. For those of Vaballathus as Augustus and Zenobia as Augusta at Alexandria see Rohde p. 266, no. 21f. and p. 267f., no. 25f. and Vogt I p. 214. For Vaballathus's imperial titles of *Im(perator) Caesar* and *Persicus Maximus, Arabicus Maximus, Adiabenicus Maximus, Pius, Felix, Invictus Au(gustus)* see *Ann. Ép.* 1904, 60 (see above note 43).

45. For Aurelian's campaign against Zenobia and his subsequent capture of Palmyra see Zosimus I 50, 2f.: Cont. Dionis (Petrus Patricius) frg. 10, 4f. Müller (*F.H.G.* IV p. 197) = frg. 176-77 Boiss. (III p. 746f.): Syncellus p. 721 Bonn: *Vit. Aur.* 22f.: Eutropius IX 13, 2: Orosius VII 23, 4. See also Mommsen *R.G.* v^2 p. 438f. = *Prov. Rom. Emp.* II p. 117f.: Homo *Essai*, p. 84f.: Groag in *R.E.* V 1360 and 1382f.: Février *ibid.* p. 115f.: Besnier, p. 237f.: Mattingly in *C.A.H.* XII p. 302f. For Aurelian's break with Vaballathus (erroneously

dated in the spring of 272 by P. Schnabel in *Klio* XX [1926], p. 367f.) in the first half of 271 see A. Stein in *Klio* XXI (1927), p. 79. For Marcellinus see Zosimus I 60, 1 and Groag in *R.E.* XIV 1440f. Apsaeus (Zosimus *l.c.*) was presumably the Septimius Apsaeus ὁ πολίτης καὶ προστάτης who appears in *I.G.R.* III 1049 (from Palmyra). Antiochus (Zosimus I 60, 2) is probably to be identified with Achilleus *parens Zenobiae* in *Vit. Aur.* 31, 2. He seems to be the Βασιλεὺς [Σεπτί]μ[ιος] Ἀντ[ί]ο[χος] of *I.G.R.* III 1029 = *O.G.I.* 650, where he appears as the son of a queen (not necessarily Zenobia, see Dittenberger's note 1), and the Βασιλεὺς [Σεπτ.] Ἀντίοχος of *O.G.I.* 651. For Aurelian's triumph see *Vit. Aur.* 33f. For his coins inscribed *Restitutor Orbis* and *Restitutor Orientis* see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, pp. 280, 290, 297f. and 304. For a statue of Aurelian at Satala in Armenia Minor see *C.I.L.* III 14184[8].

46. *Vit. Aur.* 35, 4. According to Zonaras XII 27 (III p. 153 Dind.) and Syncellus p. 721 Bonn, the expedition was directed against the "Scythians," *i.e.* Goths or Heruli. But, as Groag observed (*R.E.* V 1402), the plea attributed to the Heruli in *Vit. Tac.* 13, 3 (see below note 49) that Aurelian had summoned them to take part in a war against the Persians suggests that the statement of *Vit. Aur.* 35, 4 is correct. See also Homo *Essai*, p. 324f., Besnier *Hist. Rom.* p. 264 and *C.A.H.* XII p. 309f. For Shapur's death in 272 and the succession of his sons, Hormizd I (272-73) and Vahram I (273-76), see Christensen *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 220f. and *C.A.H.* XII p. 113.

47. For the *monetariorum bellum* see *Vit. Aur.* 38, 2: Eutropius IX 14: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 35, 6: *Epit. de Caess.* 35, 4. See also Homo *Essai*, p. 162f. and Groag in *R.E.* V 1372f. The reform of the currency is mentioned only in Zosimus I 61, 3, where ἀργύριον νέον presumably refers to the new type of Antoninianus. As Groag pointed out (*ibid.* 1394), however, Zosimus's statement that Aurelian withdrew the older coins from circulation is incorrect, for hoards of the late third century show large numbers of the coins of his immediate predecessors; see L. C. West *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, p. 193. For Aurelian's coinage and the various theories concerning the meaning of the legend XX·I (K·A) see (most recently) Groag *ibid.* 1394f.: G. Dattari in *Riv. Ital. di. Num.* XVIII (1905), p. 443f.: E. A. Sydenham in *Num. Chron.* XIX (1919), p. 140f.: P. H. Webb in *Num. Chron.* XIX p. 235f.: Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, pp. 8f. and 248f.: H. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.* VII (1927), p. 219f. and *C.A.H.* XII p. 307: Besnier, p. 260: L. C. West *ibid.* p. 167f. and in a forthcoming work, suggesting that the value of the new coin inscribed XX·I was fixed at one carat of gold or 1728 to the pound and that in all probability the *as* was the unit on which it was based. For the bronze coinage of Aurelian see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, pp. 274f., 301, 306, 313 and 316.

48. Valerian and Gallienus: *C.I.L.* III 6094 (Southern Highway); III 6956 = 12215 (Iconium-Isauria, see above note 36). Aurelian: *C.I.L.* III 14184[49] (Ancyra-Parnassus); 313 b (Ancyra); 6902 (Dorylaeum-Ancyra, see

Chap. XIX note 9); 472 = *I.G.R.* IV 1482 (Smyrna-Sardis). Tacitus: *C.I.L.* III 7190 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1163) and *I.G.R.* IV 1165 a (Caïcus-Thyateira, see Chap. II note 20). Probus: *C.I.L.* III 14184[35] (Halys-Neapolis, see Chap. VIII note 33) and *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 329, no. 78, corrected in X (1906), p. 433 and *A.J.P.* XXVII (1906), p. 449, no. 3 (northwest of Sinope, see Chap. VIII note 21). Probus or Carus: *C.I.L.* III 7173 = *I.G.R.* IV 695 (Hieropolis, see Chap. II note 21). Carus: *I.G.R.* IV 1305 (Thyateira-Sardis (?), see Chap. II note 20) and *A.J.A.* IX p. 328, no. 76 (Sinope-Boyabat, see Chap. VIII note 21).

49. Zosimus I 63, 1: Zonaras XII 28 (III p. 154 Dind.): *Vit. Tac.* 13, 3 (see above note 46): Malalas p. 301 Bonn = p. 69 Stauffenberg. See also Rappaport *Einfälle d. Goten*, p. 101f. and L. Schmidt *Gesch. d. Deutschen Stämme*[2] I p. 222. For Tacitus's cognomen Ghotycus (*sic*) Maximus see *C.I.L.* XII 5563 = Dessau 591 and for his coins inscribed *Victoria Gothica* see Mattingly-Sydenham V 1, p. 337f., nos. 110, 171f. and 199f. For Florianus see Zosimus I 64 and *Vit. Tac.* 14.

50. See Mattingly-Sydenham V 2, p. 21, no. 10: *C.I.L.* II 3738 (= Dessau 597); XI 1178 b (= Dessau 594, A.D. 276); XII 5467 (?). It is, of course, possible that the cognomen refers to a victory over the Goths in Europe. For the Isaurians in the time of Gallienus see above note 36. For Claudius see *Vit. Tyr. Trig.* 26, 7. For Probus's campaign see Zosimus I 69f. (where the Isaurian leader is called Lydius) and *Vit. Probi* 16, 4f. (where he is called Palfuerius). The identity of these two men, suggested by Peter in *Die Scriptores Hist. Aug.* (Leipzig 1892), p. 152, was accepted by J. H. E. Crees *The Reign of the Emp. Probus* (London 1911), p. 106f., von Domaszewski in *S. B. Heidelb. Akad.* 1918, 13, p. 155, Rostovtzeff *S.E.H.R.E.* p. 622, note 23 and (with a query) by Mattingly in *C.A.H.* XII p. 315; but E. Dannhäuser (*Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. Kaisers Probus* [Jena 1909], p. 63f.), followed by Stein in *R.E.* XIII 2205, showed that they were probably different chieftains and that the attacks on them, conducted, respectively, by an unamed ἡγούμενος and by Probus himself, were different episodes in this war. There seems to be no good reason for connecting Palfuerius, as Rostovtzeff suggested, with the Roman family of the Palfurii Surae. It was observed by Ritterling in *R.E.* XII 1348 that the Legiones I, II and III Isaurae, known in the fourth century, may have taken their name from the settlers' sons, who, according to *Vit. Probi* 16, 6, were under obligation to enter Roman military service.

51. *Vit. Probi* 19. The triumph was probably commemorated by the medallions which show Probus standing on a chariot and crowned by a Victory, with the date *Cos. IIII* (A.D. 281); see Cohen *Descr. hist.*[2] VI p. 279, no. 269f. and p. 300, no. 465f. = Gnecchi *Medaglioni Rom.* II p. 116f., no. 12f. and p. 119, no. 35f. For a statue of Probus at Comana in Cappadocia see *I.G.R.* III 124.

52. Eutropius IX 18: Orosius VII 24, 4: Aurelius Victor *de Caess.* 38, 2f.: *Epit. de Caess.* 38, 3f.: *Vit. Car.* 8, 1f.: Zonaras XII 30 (III p. 156 Dind.):

Syncellus p. 724 Bonn. The variant version, recorded by Zonaras, that Carus was killed during a campaign against the Huns is evidently incorrect. For the situation in Persia see Christensen *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 222f. For Carus as Persicus or Persicus Maximus see *I.G.R.* I 1144 and *C.I.L.* VIII 12522 = Dessau 600. For "*consecratio*" coins on which he appears as Parthicus and Pers(icus) see Mattingly-Sydenham V 2, p. 138, no. 30, p. 140, nos. 48 and 50, p. 147, no. 108f. Carus's death, usually dated in the summer of 283 (see A. Stein in *Arch. f. Pap.-Forsch.* VII [1924], p. 48f. and *P.I.R.*² I p. 299, no. 1475), was placed, on the evidence of inscriptions, at the end of 283 by T. B. Jones in *A.J.P.* LIX (1938), p. 338f. and P. Wuilleumier in *R.E.A.* XLVII (1945), p. 118f.

53. *Cod. Iust.* VII 64, 5-6; VII 45, 6; X 42, 5; 43, 1; 48, 1.

APPENDIX I

ROMAN PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS AND THEIR SUBORDINATES

A. ASIA

Waddington *Fastes*, p. 28f.: Vaglieri in Ruggiero *Diz. Epigr.* I p. 717f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 305f. and *Mélanges en Hommage à la Mém. de Fr. Martroye* (Paris 1941), p. 81f.: Heberdey in *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 231f. (A.D. 110-120): W. Hüttl *Ant. Pius* II p. 33f. (A.D. 138-161): Keil in *J.O.A.I.* XXIX (1935), p. 83 (A.D. 54-60): P. Lambrechts *La Composition du Sénat Rom. de l'Accession . . . d'Hadrien à la Mort de Commode* = Fac. de Phil. et Lettres de Gand 1936, p. 221f. (I) (A.D. 117-192) and *La Comp. du Sénat Rom. de Sept. Sév. à Dioclétien* (Budapest 1937), p. 113f. (II) (A.D. 193-254): A. L. Suskin in *A.J.A.* XL (1936), p. 71f. (A.D. 100-118): M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 458: S. J. de Laet *De Samenstelling v. d. Rom. Senaat ged. d. erste Eeuw v. het Principaat* = Fac. de Phil. . . . de Gand 1941, p. 239f. (30 B.C.-A.D. 68).

1. PROCONSULS (PROPRAETORS)

B.C.

131-130 P. Licinius P.f. Crassus Mucianus (Chap. VI note 15).

130-129 M. Perperna (Chap. VI note 20).

129-126 M'. Aquillius M'. f. (Chap. VI note 24).

120-119 Q. Mucius Q. f. Scaevola (Chap. VII note 46).

Cn. Aufidius Cn. f.: *I.G.* XII 5, 722.

C. Labeo: *Ins. Priene* 121.

L. Piso: *Ins. Priene* 121.

M. Hypsaeus: *Ins. Priene* 121.

94-93 Q. Mucius P.f. Scaevola (Chap. VII note 47).

93 P. Rutilius P.f. Rufus (legate) (Chap. VII note 49).

L. Valerius Flaccus ? (Chap. XVI note 1).

C. Julius C.f. Caesar: *C.I.L.* I² p. 199 = VI 1311: *Ins. Priene* 111, ll. 14 and 21; 117, l. 49: *C.I.L.* I² 705 = III 14203⁶ = *Ins. Delos* 1712 = Dessau 7272: *Ins. Delos* 1701 and 1847 (= *C.I.L.* I² 706), see Broughton in *A.J.A.* LII (1948), p. 329.

L. Lucilius L.f.: *Ins. Priene* 111, ll. 136 and 147.

89-88 C. Cassius (Chap. IX note 22).

85-84 L. Cornelius L.f. Sulla Felix: *I.G.* XII 1, 48 = *I.G.R.* IV 1118 = *Syll.*³ 745 = Dessau 8772: Dessau 8771.

84-81 L. Licinius P.f. Murena (above p. 240f.).

81-80 M. Minucius Thermus: Suetonius *Caes.* 2.

80-79 C. Claudius Nero: *I.G.R.* IV 196 = *O.G.I.* 443: Cicero *II Verr.* I 50 and 71f.

Terentius Varro? (Chap. X note 42).
76-75 M. Junius D.f. Silanus: (Chap. X note 43).
75-74 M. Juncus (Chap. X note 44).
71-68 L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus (Chap. X note 47).
68-67 P. Cornelius Dolabella (Chap. X note 47).
67-66 L. Manlius L.f. Torquatus (Chap. X note 47).
66-65? T. Aufidius (Chap. X note 47).
65-64? P. Varinius (Chap. X note 47).
64-63 P. Orbius: Cicero *pro Flacco* 76 and 79.
63-62 P. Servilius Globulus: Cicero *pro Flacco* 76, 79, 85 and 91.
62-61 L. Valerius L.f. Flaccus (above p. 379).
61-58 Q. Tullius M.f. Cicero (Chap. XVI note 12).
58-57 T. Ampius T.f. Balbus (Chap. XVI note 15).
57-56 C. Fabius M.f. (Chap. XVI note 16).
56-55 C. Septimius T.f. (Chap. XVI note 16).
55-53 C. Claudius Ap. f. Pulcher (Chap. XVI note 16).
51-50 Q. Minucius Q.f. Thermus (above p. 399).
50-49 C. Fannius (Chap. XVI note 76).
49-48 Q. Caecilius Q.f. Metellus Pius Scipio (Chap. XVI note 80).
48-46 Cn. Domitius M.f. Calvinus (Chap. XVII note 14).
46-44 P. Servilius P.f. Isauricus (Chap. XVII notes 41-42).
44-43 C. Trebonius C.f. (Chap. XVIII note 45).
43-42 M. Junius M.f. Brutus (Chap. XVII note 53).
42-41 M. Antonius M.f. (Chap. XVIII note 1).
40 L. Munatius L.f. Plancus (Chap. XVIII note 9).
M. Cocceius Nerva?: *S.E.G.* IV 604: Dessau 8780. See Syme *Rom. Revolution*, p. 266, note 3 (but see *P.I.R.*^{2} II p. 290, no. 1224).
36-35 C. Furnius C.f. (Chap. XVIII note 32).
M. Titius L.f.? (*R.E.* VI A 1560, but see *C.A.H.* X p. 77): *C.I.L.* III 7160 = Dessau 891: *I.G.R.* IV 1716 = *S.E.G.* I 383.
C. Norbanus C.f. Flaccus (*R.E.* XVII 1272): *I.G.R.* IV 428: Philo *Leg. ad Gaium* 40, 314f.: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 6, 3 and 6, §§ 166 and 171.
33-32? M. Herennius Picens (*J.O.A.I.* XXV [1929], p. 72): *I.B.M.* 521 = *Syll.*^{3} 784.
29-28? M. Tullius M.f. Cicero: *B. M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 139, no. 13f. (Magnesia ad Sipylum): Seneca Rhetor *Suas.* 7, 13.
Sex. Appuleius Sex. f.: *I.G.R.* IV 253; 323 (= *O.G.I.* 462 = Dessau 8783); 402 (= *O.G.I.* 461); 403; 404; 1719 (= *S.E.G.* I 386).
Potitus Valerius Messalla (Chap. XX note 60).
M. Junius Silanus? (Chap. XX note 34).
Q. Aemilius M'.f. Lepidus (*P.I.R.*^{2} I p. 63f., no. 376): *I.G.R.* IV 901: L.W. 506.
10-9? Paullus Fabius Q.f. Maximus (Chap. XX note 39): *O.G.I.* 458: *I.G.R.* IV 438 = *O.G.I.* 465: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 243f.: *Coll. Wadd.* 6142f.
P. Cornelius P.f. Scipio (Chap. XX note 37).

Iullus Antonius M.f. (*P.I.R.*² I p. 153, no. 800): Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 6, 7, § 172.

6-5 C. Asinius C.f. Gallus (Chap. XX note 38).

2-1 Cn. Cornelius Cn.f. Lentulus (Augur): *Syll.*³ 781.

A.D.

2-3 C. Marcius L.f. Censorinus: Vell. Pat. II 102, 1: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XVI 6, 2, § 165: *Milet* I 7, no. 255: *I.G.R.* IV 427 = *O.G.I.* 466: *S.E.G.* II 549.

3-4 C. Antistius C.f. Vetus: *I.G.R.* IV 399; 778 (= *C.I.L.* III 12241); 943 (= *Syll.*³ 785): Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 128 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 157.

M. Plautius M.f. Silvanus: *I.B.M.* 892: *Ins. Sardis* 32 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 252(?): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 94: *C.I.L.* XIV 3613 = Dessau 918(?), see *J.O.A.I.* XXI-XXII (1922-24), *Beibl.* 445f.

L. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso (Augur) (*P.I.R.*² II p. 67f., no. 290): *I.G.* XII 2, 219 = *I.G.R.* IV 94 = *O.G.I.* 467 = Dessau 8814: *I.G.R.* IV 410 and 411: *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 183.

P. Vinicius M.f.?: *I.G.* XII 5, 756 (see *P.I.R.* III p. 436f., no. 446).

L. [Volu]sius L.f. Saturninus: *I.G.R.* IV 429 = *O.G.I.* 468.

11-12? L. Valerius Potit.f. Messalla Volesus (Chap. XX note 60).

13-16? C. Vibius C.f. Postumus (Chap. XX note 61).

Favonius: Dessau 9483 = *Ann. Ép.* 1914, 136.

Q. Poppaeus Q.f. Secundus: *B. M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 140, no. 251.

20-21? C. Junius C.f. Silanus (Chap. XXI note 33).

22-24 M. Aemilius Paulli f. Lepidus (Chap. XXI note 35).

C. Fonteius C.f. Capito (Chap. XXI note 36).

M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus: *Ephesos* III no. 22: *Ins. Sardis* 36 = *I.G.R.* IV 1508. See S. J. de Laet in *L'Antiq. Class.* VI (1937), p. 138f.

Sex. Pompeius Sex. f.?: Valerius Maximus II 6, 8.

29-35? P. Petronius P.f. (Chap. XXI note 38).

C. Vibius Rufinus: *Ephesos* III no. 23.

P. Cornelius P.f. Lentulus Scipio (*P.I.R.*² II p. 343, no. 1398): *I.G.R.* IV 1409.

C. Calpurnius Aviola: *Coll. Wadd.* 1951: *B. M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 269.

C. Asinius C.f. Pollio: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 252, no. 106f. (see *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV [1904], p. 256f., note 2).

M. Vinicius P.f.: *Ephesos* III no. 24: Ἀρχ. Δελτ. XI (1927-8), Παρ. p. 27, no. 9 = *Ann. Ép.* 1932, 7?.

40-41 C. Cassius L.f. Longinus: Cassius Dio LIX 29, 3; Suetonius *Cal.* 57, 3.

C. Sallustius L.f. Crispus Passienus: *Hist. Ztschr.* CXXV (1922), p. 237, note 2: *Ephesos* III nos. 25 and 26 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 72.

P. Memmius P.f. Regulus: *C.I.L.* III 7090 = Dessau 962: *S.E.G.* I 158 = Dessau 8815.

Cn. Domitius Cn. f. Corbulo (Chap. XXIII note 15).

Paullus Fabius Persicus (Chap. XXIII note 16).

P. Suillius Rufus (Chap. XXIII note 70).
L. Pedanius Secundus ?: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 162, no. 7; see *R.E.* XIX 24.
54 M. Junius M.f. Silanus (Chap. XXIII note 67).
Ti. Plautius M.f. Silvanus Aelianus (Chap. XXIII note 52).
Marius Cordus (Chap. XXIII note 72).
Q. Allius Maximus?: *Acta S. Timothei*, p. 8 Usener; see *P.I.R.*² I p. 92, no. 547 and *J.O.A.I.* XXIX (1935), p. 83.
58-59 L. Vipstanus Publicola Messalla (Chap. XXIII note 72).
59-60 C.(?) Pompeius Longinus Gallus (Chap. XXIII note 72).
M. Vettius Niger (Chap. XXIII note 72).
Volasenna: Mionnet IV p. 220, no. 153: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 58, no. 1f.
Barea Soranus (Chap. XXIII note 77).
63-64 L. Salvius L.f. Otho Titianus: Tacitus *Agr.* 6.
64-65 L. Antistius L.f. Vetus (Chap. XXIII note 78).
65-66 M'. Acilius C.f. Aviola: *C.I.L.* VI 1331=31631: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 74, no. 212f.; *Coll. Wadd.* 1620.
M. Aefulanus (Chap. XXIII note 72).
(A. Ducennius) Geminus: *I.G.R.* IV 1620; see *P.I.R.*² III p. 64, no. 201.
68-69 C. Fonteius Agrippa: Tacitus *Hist.* III 46: *C.I.L.* III 6083=Dessau 1913: *I.G.R.* IV 439 (?).
M. Suillius P.f. Nerullinus: Mionnet *Suppl.* VI p. 335, no. 1661 (see *R.E.* IV A 719).
70-73 T. Clodius M.f. Eprius Marcellus (Chap. XXIV note 8).
M. Aponius Saturninus: *I.G.R.* IV 644=*O.G.I.* 482=Dessau 8817.
Vettius Bolanus: Statius *Silv.* V 2, 56f.: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 272f., no. 294f.: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1910, *Anh.* p. 94f.
Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus: *Cl. Rev.* XLIX (1935), p. 217: Pliny *Epist.* III 7, 3: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 273, no. 302f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 51f., no. 69f.: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 195, no. 1f.
M. Plancius Varus: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 95, no. 149f.
Arrius Antoninus: Pliny *Epist.* IV 3, 1: *Vita Pii* 3, 2.
79-80 M. Ulpius Trajanus (Chap. XXIV note 33).
C. Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus (*P.I.R.*² II p. 20f., no. 104): *Milet* I 9, no. 360=*Ann. Ép.* 1909, 138.
82-83? Sex. Julius Frontinus? (Chap. XXIV note 34).
83-84? L. Mestrius Florus (Chap. XXIV note 34).
P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (Chap. XXIV note 34).
L. Luscius Ocrea (Chap. XXIV note 18): *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117, nos. 2 and 3.
M. Fulvius Gillo: *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117f., nos. 4-8.
M. Atilius Postumus Bradua (*P.I.R.*² I p. 265, no. 1303): *Ephesos* III no. 8: *I.G.R.* IV 1413 (?).
89? Sex. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis (Chap. XXIV note 32).

C. Minicius C.f. Italus (*procurator vice procos.*) (Chap. XXIV note 32).

L. Junius Caesennius Paetus (Chap. XXIV note 34).

97 Carminius Vetus: *J.O.A.I.* II (1899), *Beibl.* 73f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1899, 71.

Cn. Pedanius Cn. f. Fuscus Salinator: *I.B.M.* 499 = Dessau 8822: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 276, no. 325f.: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 303, no. 72: *B.M. Cat. Mysia*, p. 46, no. 212.

Secundus ?: Mionnet IV p. 240, no. 275 (see *R.E.* II A 990, no. 3).

100 Q. Julius Balbus: *C.I.L.* III 7150 and 14195[48] (= Dessau 4051 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 258).

103-104 C. Aquillius Proculus: *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 114 and 327: *C.I.L.* III 14195[4] (= Dessau 7193); 14195[5]; 14195[6] (= *O.G.I.* 480 = Dessau 7194): *Milet* I 7, no. 226: Mionnet *Suppl.* VII p. 603, no. 526 (?).

Albius Pullaienus Pollio: *C.I.L.* III 14195[2].

106-107? Ti. Julius Ti.f. Celsus Polemaeanus (Chap. XXIV note 44).

M. Lollius Paullinus Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus: *C.I.L.* III 14195[3] = *O.G.I.* 481: *I.G.R.* IV 960 and 1745 (?).

108-109? C. Antius A. Julius A.f. Quadratus (Chap. XXIV note 35).

L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus Asprenas: *Ephesos* II no. 29; III no. 27.

Fabius Postuminus: *I.G.R.* IV 572: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 304, no. 73.

L. Baebius Tullus: *I.G.R.* IV 1412 = *O.G.I.* 478: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 184, no. 4; *Zur Griech. u. Röm. Münzkunde*, p. 133, no. 3.

Hadrianus: Mionnet IV p. 157, no. 899; *Suppl.* VII p. 447, no. 602 (?).

112-113 Cornelius Tacitus (Chap. XXIV note 33).

M. Scapula: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 166, no. 40.

115-116 Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus: *I.G.R.* IV 172: *I.B.M.* 500; *Coll. Wadd.* 5042.

Ti. Julius Ferox: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 105, no. 19: *Coll. Wadd.* 5005.

L. Dasumius ? (*P.I.R.*[2] III p. 3, no. 14): *C.I.G.* 2876.

117-118 Galeo Tettienus Severus M. Eppuleius Proculus L.f. Ti. Caepio Hispo (see *P.I.R.*[2] III p. 82, no. 83): *S.E.G.* IV 532 = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 77: *I.G.R.* IV 1688: *C.I.L.* V 5813 (?); XI 14 (= Dessau 1027): *Milet* I 7, no. 229 (?).

C. Julius P.f. Cornutus Tertullus ?: *C.I.L.* XIV 2925 = Dessau 1024.

Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus: *C.I.L.* III 14191[1] = *I.G.R.* IV 571 = *O.G.I.* 502: *I.B.M.* 486 = *Syll.*[3] 833.

120-121 Cornelius Priscus: *I.B.M.* 486 = *Syll.*[3] 833.

Q. Licinius Q.f. Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus (see *R.E.* XIII 459f.): Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 8, 6; 9, 1: Justin Mart. *Apol.* I 68: Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 199 Helm.

C. Minicius Fundanus: Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 8, 6; 9, 1; 26, 10: Justin Mart. *Apol.* I 68: Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 199 Helm.

Q. Roscius Sex.f. Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Julius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco (Chap. XXVI note 17): *C.I.L.* X 6321 (= Dessau 1035); III 7163 (= Dessau

1037): *C.I.G.* 2963 c: *I.G.R.* IV 779 (=*C.I.L.* III 12260); 780 (=*O.G.I.* 490=Dessau 8820).

M. Peducaeus Q.f. Priscinus (Chap. XXVI note 17).

125-126 Avidius Quietus (Chap. XXVI note 52): *C.I.L.* III 355=*I.G.R.* IV 571=*O.G.I.* 502: *I.G.R.* IV 1156 *b*: *Coll. Wadd.* 5043: *Num. Ztschr.* XVI (1884), p. 286, no. 132.

126-127 Stertinius Quartus (Chap. XXVI note 17).

128-129? Q. Gargilius Q.f. Antiquus (Chap. XXVI note 35).

129-130? P. Afranius Flavianus (Chap. XXVI note 30).

130-131? P. Juventius Celsus T. Aufidius Hoenius Severianus: *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 166f., no. III 1.

131-132? L. Aelius Lamia Aelianus: *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 166f., no. III 2.

132-133 C. Julius Alexander Berenicianus (Chap. XXVI note 30).

T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus (Chap. XXVII note 2).

138-139? L. Venuleius Apronianus: *Ephesos* II no. 19=*O.G.I.* 493: Mionnet III p. 230f., no. 1292f.; *Suppl.* VI p. 342, no. 1701f.

145-146? Julianus: *I.B.M.* 491=*Syll.*[3] 850: Aristides *Orat.* L 107 Keil. See Hüttl II p. 46f.

146-147 T. Atilius Maximus: *I.G.R.* IV 1399=*Syll.*[3] 851.

147-148? L. Antonius Albus (Chap. XXVII note 7).

149-150 Popilius Priscus: *I.B.M.* 493: *I.G.* XII 3, 326 and *Suppl.* p. 283. See Hüttl II p. 49f.

150-151 P. Mummius Sisenna: *I.G.* XII 3, 325=*Syll.*[3] 852 A.

T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio: *C.I.L.* II 5679 and XII 361=Dessau 1113 and 1114: *I.G.R.* IV 1291 and 1292: Aristides *Orat.* L 12 and 71 Keil.

152-153? C. Julius Severus (Chap. XXVI note 54).

154-155 L. Statius Quadratus: *I.G.R.* IV 1339: Aristides *Orat.* XLVII 22; L 63 and 71 Keil: Ruinart *Acta Prim. Martyr.*[2] p. 45=Th. Zahn *Patr. Apost. Op.* II (1876), p. 164.

P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus: *Epigraphica* I (1939), p. 311=*Ann. Ép.* 1940, 99.

P. Popilius C.f. Carus Pedo: *I.B.M.* 482=*Syll.*[3] 867: *Ephesos* III no. 28=*Ann. Ép.* 1924, 74: Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 408f., no. 135: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 312, no. 208.

L. Stertinius Quintilianus Acilius Strabo Q. Cornelius Rusticus Apronius Senecio Proculus: *C.I.L.* VI 1387=Dessau 1089.

L. Sergius Paullus (see *R.E. Suppl.* VI 818): Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* IV 26, 3.

M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus: *Ephesos* II no. 68=*O.G.I.* 512: Lucian *Demonax* 30 (not named).

165-166? Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus (Chap. XXVIII note 6).

M. Junius Rufinus Sabinianus (see *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 256): *I.G.R.* IV 1283 and 1363: Waddington *Fastes*, p. 233 (Ephesus).

P. Mummius P.f. Sisenna Rutilianus: *C.I.L.* XIV 3601 (=Dessau 1101) and 4244: Lucian *Alex.* 30, 33f., 48, 57 and 60.

170-171 M. Nonius M.f. Macrinus (*R.E.* XVII 879f.): *Ephesos* III no. 29 = Dessau 8830: Aristides *Orat.* XXII p. 31 Keil.
Gratus: Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* V 16, 7.
Sex. Sulpicius Tertullus: *I.G.R.* IV 1358 and 1500(?)
Q. Pompeius Q.f. Senecio Roscius Murena Coelius Sex. Julius Frontinus Silius Decianus C. Julius Eurycles Herculaneus L. Vibullius Pius Augustanus Alpinus Bellicius Sollers Julius Aper Ducenius Proculus Rutilianus Rufinus Silius Valens Valerius Niger Cl. Fuscus Saxa Amyntianus Sosius Priscus: *C.I.L.* XIV 3609 = Dessau 1104.
182 Novius P[riscus]: *I.G.R.* IV 1201.
Aemilius Frontinus: Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* V 18, 9; see *Epigraphica* III (1941), p. 292f.
L. Aemilius L.f. . . . : *Africa Ital.* VII (1940), p. 35f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1942-43, 1: see *Epigraphica* III (1941), p. 292f.
P. Julius P.f. Geminius Marcianus: *C.I.G.* 2742 (see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 315): *I.G.R.* IV 406(?)
C. Arrius Antoninus: *Vit. Comm.* 7, 1: Tertullian *ad Scap.* 5: *M.A.M.A.* VI 122 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 192(?)
Sulpicius Crassus: *Vit. Comm.* 7, 7.
192-193 Asellius Aemilianus (Chap. XXVIII note 20): Herodian III 2, 2f.: Cassius Dio LXXIV 6, 2: *Vit. Sev.* 8, 13f.
201-202 Q. Hedius L.f. Rufus Lollianus Gentianus: *C.I.L.* II 4121 (= Dessau 1145); III 471 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1482); 12272; 13689 = 14202^{8} (= *Ins. Magn.* 256): *I.G.R.* IV 132 and 1483.
Tarius Titianus: *I.G.R.* IV 881.
[P]opilius Pedo Apronianus (Chap. XXVIII note 32).
Q. Licinius Nepos (*R.E.* XIII 451): *Ins. Priene* 230 = Dessau 9464.
Aelius Aglaus (*procurator vice procos.*) (Chap. XXVIII note 35).
Q. Tineius Sacerdos: *Ephesos* II no. 40: *I.G.R.* IV 674 = 698 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 10.
Julius Avitus ?: Cassius Dio LXXVIII 30, 4.
D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus ? (Chap. XXIX note 13).
214-215 L. Marius L.f. Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus: *C.I.L.* VI 1452 (= Dessau 2936); X 6567; 6764: *Ephesos* III no. 30: *I.G.R.* IV 1287 = *O.G.I.* 517.
217 C. Julius Asper: Cassius Dio LXXVIII 22, 3-4.
217-219 Q. Anicius Faustus: Cassius Dio LXXVIII 22, 2 and 4.
M. Aufidius C.f. Fronto ?: Cassius Dio LXXVIII 22, 4-5.
220-221 C. Aufidius Marcellus (Chap. XXIX note 4).
M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (Chap. XXIX note 13).
Q. Vibius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus (Chap. XXIX note 6).
C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus (*procurator vice procos.*) (Chap. XXIX note 14).
239-240 M. Asinius Sabinianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1313; 1315; 1364 *a* (?).
244-247? L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (Chap. XXIX note 18).

249-250 Julius Proculus Quintilianus: *Acta S. Pionii* 23 (p. 114 von Gebhardt): *Chron. Pasch.* I p. 504 Bonn.
Optimus ?: *Acta S. Maximi* I (p. 121 von Gebhardt): *Acta SS. Petri, etc.* 6 (Ruinart *Act. Prim. Mart.*[2] p. 160).
Maximillianus (Chap. XXIX note 8).
254 C. Julius Volusenna Rogatianus: *C.I.L.* III 6094.
[C. Asinius?] Nicomachus Julianus: *I.G.* XIV 283 = *I.G.R.* I 502.
Arellius Fuscus ?: *Vit. Aur.* 40, 4.
Faltonius Probus ? (*P.I.R.*[2] III p. 117, no. 108): *Vit. Aur.* 40, 4.
Nummius Aemilianus Dexter (*R.E.* XVII 1408): *C.I.L.* II 4512.
276 Julius Proculus (*procurator vice procos.*) (Chap. XXIX note 35).

UNDATABLE

REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Asinius (see *P.I.R.*[2] I p. 246): von Fritze *Ant. Münzen Mysiens* I p. 113, no. 350. Placed in 35-34 B.C. by Grant, p. 394f.
L. Qui[ntius] L.f. Rufus: *I.G.* XII 5, 924.
C. Rabirius ? (see *R.E.* I A 27): *C.I.L.* III 7239 = *Ins. Delos* 1859: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 20, § 241 (?).
P. Servilius P.f. Galba ?: Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 21, § 244.

IMPERIAL PERIOD

Aemilius: *I.G.R.* IV 1415.
Aemilius Juncus (see *Phil. Woch.* LIII [1933], 1382): *I.G.R.* IV 1275.
L. Albinius A.f. Saturninus: *C.I.L.* X 4750.
Albinus: *Ins. Sardis* 153 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 258.
Bononius Quintilianus: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 36 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 265.
Calpurnius Proculus: *I.G.R.* IV 1365.
Cn. Catilius Severus (see *P.I.R.*[2] II p. 126f., no. 556): *I.G.R.* IV 1281.
Ti. Claudius Artemidorus: *B.C.H.* I (1877), p. 293, no. 82.
Claudius Capitolinus: *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 282 (*I.G.R.* IV 1340).
Claudius Cels[inus]: *B.C.H.* XIV (1890), p. 614f., no. 14.
Cossinius Rufinus: *I.G.R.* IV 1162.
Faustinianus: Keil-Premerstein III 171.
[Lic]inius Donatus: *I.G.R.* IV 1736.
Menyllius Attalus: Dessau 8836.
Messalla: *O.G.I.* 494 = Dessau 8860. But see Chap. XXIII note 14.
P. Nonius Asprenas Caesius Cassianus (Chap. XXIII note 19).
Pedo: *I.G.R.* IV 1282.
M. Rutilus: *J.H.S.* XXXIV (1914), p. 46, no. 185: see M. Grant, p. 238f.
C. Sulpicius (see *R.E.* IV A 757): *I.G.R.* IV 1723 = *S.E.G.* I 391.
[V]al[erius . . .] Gran[ianus . . .] Grattius . . . Geminius R . . . ?: *C.I.L.* II 6084.
L. Vedius Rufus Lollianus Avitus: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 45, no. 7 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 272: *I.G.R.* IV 1414.

Vibius Bassus: *Ephesos* III no. 72.
[Volu]mnius: *I.G.R.* IV 967.

UNKNOWN

C.I.L. III 7267 = *I.G.* IV² 439 = Dessau 963 (see *P.I.R.*² III p. 64, no. 201).
I.G. XII 5, 658.
I.G.R. IV 269 = 1175. See Chap. XXIX note 18.
S.B. Berl. Akad. 1894, p. 919 = *I.G.R.* IV 230.
Arch. Jahrb. XVII (1902), *Arch. Anz.* p. 151.
Bull. Comm. Arch. Com. LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 7, no. 4.

2. LEGATES

REPUBLICAN PERIOD

L. Aelius Tubero: Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 10; *pro Planc.* 100.
A. Allienus: Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 10.
T. Ampius T.f. Balbus ? (49 B.C.): Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 13f., §§ 229f. and 238.
...cius Balbus: *Bull. Comm. Arch. Com.* LX (1932), *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* p. 4f., no. 2 = *Ann. Ép.* 1934, 85.
Cn. Domitius M.f. Calvinus (62/1 B.C.): Cicero *pro Flacco* 68.
M. Gratidius: Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* I 1, 10; *pro Flacco* 49.
L. Hortensius ? (*R.E.* VIII 2466) (120/19 B.C.): Lucilius *Sat.* 60 and 1267 Marx.
L. Licinius Murena (above p. 240).
C. Plotius: Cicero *pro Flacco* 50.
M. Pupius M.f. Piso Frugi ? (Chap. XII note 41).
P. Rutilius P.f. Rufus (94/3 B.C.) (Chap. VII note 49).
C. Salluvius C.f. Naso ? (Chap. XIV note 15).
Satrius (44/3 B.C.): Cicero *Epist. ad Brut.* I 6, 3.
Sornatius ?: *I.G.R.* IV 437.
M. Turius: Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 252, no. 128f.: Grant, p. 246f.

IMPERIAL PERIOD

M'. Acilius M'.f. Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus (*Phil. Woch.* LIII [1933], 1380f. and *P.I.R.*² I p. 11, no. 73): *C.I.L.* XIV 4237 = Dessau 1072: Aristides *Orat.* L 97 and 100.
M. Acilius A.f. Priscus Egrilius Plarianus ?: *C.I.L.* XIV 155.
C. Aemilius Berenicianus Maximus: *C.I.L.* XII 3163 = Dessau 1168.
P. Afranius Flavianus: *I.B.M.* IV 481*, ll. 77, 328 and 372.
C. Antius A. Julius Quadratus: *C.I.G.* 3548 = *Ins. Perg.* II p. 305: *I.G.R.* III 550 (= *T.A.M.* II 566); IV 275; 1686: *C.R.A.I.* 1929, p. 89 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 98.

C. Arminius Gallus: *I.B.M.* 499 = Dessau 8822.
C. Caesonius C.f. Macer Rufinianus: *C.I.L.* XIV 3900 = Dessau 1182.
Ser. Calpurnius Domitius Dexter: *C.I.L.* VI 1368 = XIV 3993 = Dessau 1175.
M. Calpurnius M.f. Rufus: *C.I.L.* III 6072.
L. Catilius Cn.f. Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus (Chap. XXV note 8).
Claudianus: *T.A.M.* II 282 = *I.G.R.* III 615 = Dessau 8821.
Ti. Claudius Candidus: *C.I.L.* II 4114 = Dessau 1140.
Claudius Iullus: *M.A.M.A.* VI 103 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 190.
P. Claudius Pallas Honoratus Repentinus: *C.I.L.* III 4567.
L. Claudius Pollio Julius Julianus Gallicanus: *C.I.L.* X 1249.
Ti. Claudius Telemachus ?: *T.A.M.* II 194 = *I.G.R.* III 581.
P. Cluvius Maximus Paullinus: *Epigraphica* I (1939), p. 311 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 99.
M. (Gavius) Cornelius Cethegus: *Ephesos* II no. 68 = *O.G.I.* 512: Lucian *Demonax* 30.
Q. Cornelius Senecio Proculus: *C.I.L.* VI 1388 = Dessau 1090.
P. Delphius Peregrinus Alfius Alennius Maximus Curtius Valerianus Proculus M. Nonius Mucianus (*C.I.L.* VIII 23246): *C.I.L.* V 3343.
. . . nius L.f. Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus: *C.I.L.* III 6813 = Dessau 1038. See Chap. XXV note 24.
M. Helvius L.f. Geminus: *C.I.L.* III 6074 = Dessau 975.
Ti. Julius Ti.f. Frugi (II) (*Wien. Stud.* LIV [1936], p. 197): *C.I.L.* VI 31717.
M. Julius Romulus: *Notiz. d. Scavi* 1924, p. 346 = *Ann. Ép.* 1925, 85.
C. Julius Severus (Chap. XXVI note 54): *Corinth* VIII 2, no. 56 = *Ann. Ép.* 1923, 4: *I.G.R.* III 174 (= *O.G.I.* 543 = Dessau 8826); 175: *M.A.M.A.* V 60 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 144.
. . . ius M.f. V . . . Junior: *C.I.L.* VI 1556 = X 6663.
A. Junius P.f. Pastor L. Caesennius Sospes: *C.I.L.* III 6076 (= 12253 = Dessau 1095); VI 1435 (?).
M. Junius M.f. Vestinus Mallo . . . oncanius Romanus: *C.I.L.* XII 2453.
[L.] Laberius L.f. Iu . . . Cocceius Lepidus Proculus: *C.I.L.* VI 1440.
Sex. Lartidius (6/5 B.C.): *C.I.L.* III 6070 = 7118 = Dessau 97: *I.B.M.* 523 and 524.
. . . tilius Lol[lian]us: *C.I.L.* III 335 = *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 108f., no. 88 (Chap. XXIV note 33).
Q. Lollianus Q.f. Plautius Avitus: *C.I.L.* VI 32412 = Dessau 1155.
Q. Lollius M.f. Urbicus: *C.I.L.* VIII 6706 = Dessau 1065.
P. Lucceius Torquatus: *C.I.G.* 2977 = L.W. 147 a.
M. Nonius M.f. Macrinus: *Ephesos* III no. 29 = Dessau 8830.
C. Novius C.f. Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus: *C.I.L.* III 6814 =

J.R.S. XIV (1924), p. 189f., no. 10: *J.R.S.* II (1912), p. 104, no. 40 and VI (1916), p. 130f. (?).

M. Nummius Attidius Tuscus (*R.E.* XVII 1409): *I.B.M.* 540 = Dessau 8833.

M. Nummius Umbrius Primus M.f. Senecio Albinus: *C.I.L.* V 4347 (= Dessau 1149); VI 1475.

M. Paconius: Tacitus *Ann.* III 67, 1: Suetonius *Tib.* 61, 6.

L. Passerius Romulus (A.D. 100): *C.I.L.* III 7150 and 14195^{43} (= Dessau 4051 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 258).

Cn. Pompeius ?: *Ins. Priene* 247.

Q. Pompeius Senecio . . . Sosius Priscus (see *sub* Proconsuls): *C.I.L.* X 3724; XIV 3609 = Dessau 1104.

Pomponius Bassus (A.D. 79/80): *Syll.*^{3} 818 = Dessau 8797.

L. Ranius Optatus Acontianus: *C.I.L.* VI 1507.

L. Saevinius L.f. Proculus: *Ephesos* III no. 37 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 77.

[L.] Servenius L.f. Cornutus: *I.G.R.* IV 644 = *O.G.I.* 482 = Dessau 8817.

M. Servilius Q.f. Fabianus Maximus: *C.I.L.* VI 1517 = Dessau 1080.

Sex. Tadius Sex. f. Lusius Nepos Paullinus: *C.I.L.* IX 4119.

M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus: *I.G.R.* IV 674 = 698 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 10: *M.A.M.A.* IV 331 = *S.E.G.* VI 200 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 94.

L. Valerius L.f. Publicola Balbinus Maximus: *C.I.L.* VI 1531 and 1532 = Dessau 1190 and 1191.

L. Vetina Priscus: *C.I.L.* III 430.

C. Vettius C.f. Sabinianus Julius Hospes: *C.R.A.I.* 1919, p. 356 = *Ann. Ép.* 1920, 45.

. . . ntinianus: *C.I.L.* III 444.

UNKNOWN

C.I.L. III 6079 = 7128.

Ann. Scuol. Atene VIII-IX (1925-26), p. 365, no. 3.

3. QUAESTORS

REPUBLICAN PERIOD

M'. Aemilius M'.f. Lepidus (*proquaest.*): *Ins. Priene* 244: *Ins. Delos* 1659 (see F. Münzer *Röm. Adelsparteien*, p. 318).

L. Antonius L.f. (*q. pro pr.*) (Chap. XVI note 76).

M. Antonius M.f. (Chap. XII note 12).

M. Appuleius Sex.f. (Chap. XVII note 51).

L. Aquillius M'.f. Florus: *C.I.L.* III 479 (= 14201^{11}); 14202^{4} (= *I.G.R.* IV 1659).

M. Aurelius Scaurus: Cicero *II Verr.* I 85.

P. Cornelius P.f. Lentulus Spinther (Chap. XVII note 49).

L. Julius L.f. Caesar: *I.G.R.* IV 197 = *O.G.I.* 444 = *Herm.* LXI (1926), p. 132f. = *S.E.G.* IV 664 (see Chap. X note 24).

M. Junius D.f. Silanus (Chap. X note 43).
L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus (Chap. X note 19).
Patiscus ?: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XII 15, 2.
L. Sestius Pansa: *I.G.R.* IV 435 (=*O.G.I.* 452) and 436: Cicero *Epist. ad Quint. Fr.* II 9, 2.

IMPERIAL PERIOD

L. Aurelius L.f. Gallus: *C.I.L.* VI 1356=Dessau 1109.
M. Aurelius Secundinus: *Ephesos* III no. 39.
L. Catilius Cn.f. Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus (Chap. XXV note 24).
C. Clodius C.f. Nummus: *C.I.L.* III 429.
Cn. Domitius Corbulo: *Ephesos* II no. 59=*O.G.I.* 768.
T. Flavius Philinus: *I.G.* VII 1866.
Gellius Publicola: Tacitus *Ann.* III 67, 1.
C. Julius Agricola: Tacitus *Agr.* 6, 2.
C. Julius Agrippa (*qu. pro pr.*): *I.B.M.* 537=Dessau 8823.
P. Julius Junianus Martialianus: *C.I.L.* VIII 2392 and 7049=Dessau 1178 and 1177.
C. Julius Lupus T. Vibius Varus Laevillus (*qu. pro pr.*): *I.B.M.* 541.
M. Julius Maior Maximianus (*qu. pro pr.*): *I.G.R.* IV 407.
A. Larcius A.f. Priscus (Chap. XXVIII note 4).
C. Memmius C.f. Fidus Julius Albius: *C.I.L.* VIII 12442=Dessau 1110.
P. Numicius Pica Caesianus (*qu. pro pr.*) (Chap. XVIII note 63).
Cn. Pompeius Hermippus Aelianus: *Ephesos* III no. 36=*Ann. Ép.* 1924, 76.
P. Quinctilius Sex.f. Varus: *O.G.I.* 463=Dessau 8812 (cf. *I.G.R.* IV 418=*O.G.I.* 464).
M. Sentius Sex.f. Proculus: *Syria* VII (1926), p. 67f.=*Ann. Ép.* 1926, 150.
. . . rianus Vo[lcinius . . .]nicus (Chap. XXIV note 33).

B. BITHYNIA-PONTUS

Bosch *Kl. M.* II 1, 1, p. 78f. (28 B.C.-A.D. 98): Hüttl II p. 150f.: Lambrechts I p. 232f. (A.D. 135-192); II p. 120 (A.D. 194-240): M. Grant, p. 458: de Laet, p. 244.

1. PROCONSULS (PROPRAETORS)

B.C.
74 M. Juncus (Chap. XIII note 51).
73-70 M. Aurelius M.f. Cotta (Chap. XIV notes 3 and 5).
70-67 L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus (Chap. XIV note 39).
67-66 M'. Acilius M'. f. Glabrio (Chap. XIV note 57).
66-63 Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus: Cassius Dio XXXVI 42, 4.

61-59 C. Papirius Carbo (Chap. XVI note 68).
57-56 C. Memmius L.f. (Chap. XVI note 69).
56 C. Caecilius Cornutus (Chap. XVI note 69).
51-50 P. Silius (above p. 399).
49-48 A. Plautius: Cicero *Epist. ad Fam.* XIII 29, 4.
47-46 C. Vibius C.f. Pansa Caetronianus (Chap. XVII note 40).
46-45 P. Sulpicius Q.f. Rufus ?: Grant, pp. 11f. and 251f.
45-44 Q. Marcius Crispus (Chap. XVII note 40).
44-43 L. Tillius Cimber (Chap. XVII note 45).
35 Cn. Domitius L.f. Ahenobarbus: Appian *B.C.* V 137.
28 Thorius Flaccus: Bosch, p. 78: Grant, p. 384.
28-27 App. Claudius Pulcher ?: *Receuil* I² p. 202*, no. 78 (Grant, p. 255f., but see *P.I.R.*² II p. 239, no. 984).

A.D.

L. Licinius ?: *C.I.L.* VI 1442; see *R.E.* XIII 219f.
14-15 M. Granius Marcellus (Chap. XXI note 32).
17-18 P. Vitellius P.f.: Bosch, p. 79.
42? L. Mindius Pollio: Bosch, p. 80f.
L. Mindius Balbus: Bosch, p. 81.
47-48 C. Cadius Rufus (Chap. XXIII note 6).
P. Pasidienus Firmus: Bosch, p. 82f.
54-55 Attius Laco: Bosch, p. 83.
59-60 M. Tarquitius Priscus (Chap. XXIII note 69).
T. Petronius: Tacitus *Ann.* XVI 18, 3: *R.E.* XIX 1201f.
L. Montanus: Bosch, p. 84.
71-72? M. Maecius Rufus: Bosch, p. 84f.
M. Salvidienus Proculus: Bosch, p. 86.
M. Salvidienus Asprenas: Bosch, p. 86.
78-79? M. Plancius Varus: *I.G.R.* III 4 and 37: Bosch, p. 87f.
Ti. Julius Ti. f. Celsus Polemaeanus (Chap. XXIV notes 22 and 27).
98-99? C. Julius Bassus (Chap. XXV note 16).
Varenus Rufus (Chap. XXV note 18).
111-113? C. Plinius L.f. Caecilius Secundus (*Leg. pr. pr. consulari potestat.*) (Chap. XXV note 12).
C. Julius P.f. Cornutus Tertullus (*Leg. pr. pr.*) (Chap. XXV note 23).
135? C. Julius Severus (*Corrector*) (Chap. XXVI note 54).
142-143? Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus: *T.A.M.* II 1201 = *I.G.R.* III 763 = Dessau 8828. See Hüttl II p. 150f.
Q. Cornelius Senecio Annianus: *C.I.L.* II 1929. See Groag in *Phil. Woch.* LIII (1933), 1382.
L. Coelius Festus: *C.I.L.* XI 1183 = Dessau 1079: Hüttl II p. 103.
M. Roscius Murena (Chap. XXVIII note 7).
. . . us L.f. Rufus: *C.I.L.* VI 1508 = *I.G.* XIV 1077 = *I.G.R.* I 139 (see Chap. XXIII note 6).

UNKNOWN

I.G.R. III 4.
I.G.R. III 316 = *O.G.I.* 535.
C.I.L. III 254.

2. LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE

165-166 L. Lollianus Avitus (Chap. XXVIII note 7): *I.G.R.* III 84: *Digesta* L 2, 3, 2: Lucian *Alex.* 57.

175 D. Clodius Septimius Albinus ?: *Vit. Cl. Alb.* 6, 2: but see J. Hasebroek *Die Fälschung d. Vit. Nigri u. Vit. Alb.* (Berlin 1916), p. 23.

M. Didius Severus Julianus: *C.I.L.* VI 1401 = Dessau 412: *Vit. Did. Jul.* 2, 2.

193-194? L. Fabius M.f. Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus (Chap. XXVIII note 19).

198 Q. Tineius Sacerdos: *I.G.R.* III 82: Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 295f., no. 4 = *Ann. Ép.* 1938, 158: *Échos d'Orient* XXX (1931), p. 147f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1931, 66.

Ti. [Claudius] Callippianus M[. . . Italicus] (cf. *I.G.* II² 4215): Schneider and Karnapp *Stadtmauer v. Iznik*, p. 46, no. 16 = *Ann. Ép.* 1939, 295.

Aelius Antipater (under Severus): Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 24, 2.

M. Claudius Demetrius: *I.G.R.* III 6.

C. Claudius Attalus Paterculianus: Dessau 8836.

L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (Chap. XXIX note 18).

217-218 Caecilius Aristo: Cassius Dio LXXVIII 39, 5.

218 Claudius Aelius Pollio ? (*P.I.R.*² II p. 165, no. 770): Cassius Dio LXXIX 3, 1.

269 Velleius Macrinus (Chap. XXIX note 35).

279 Aelius Casinus Atianus (Chap. XXIX note 35).

UNDATABLE

L. Albinius A.f. Saturninus: *C.I.L.* X 4750.

UNKNOWN

A.J.A. IX (1905), p. 328f., nos. 76 (A.D. 282/3) and 77.

3. LEGATES

L. Aemilius M.f. Honoratus: *C.I.L.* XII 3164 = Dessau 1048.

C. Antius A. Julius A.f. Quadratus: *T.A.M.* II 566 = *I.G.R.* III 550: *C.I.G.* 3548: *I.G.R.* IV 275, 375, 383-385 and 1686: *C.R.A.I.* 1929, p. 89 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 98.

M. Calpurnius M.f. Rufus: *C.I.L.* III 6072.

C. Caristanius C.f. Fronto: *J.R.S.* III (1913), p. 260, no. 4 = Dessau 9485.

Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcius

Celer M. Calpurnius Longus: *T.A.M.* II 426=*I.G.R.* III 667=Dessau 8835.

[Ti. Jul]ius [Fr]ugi (father): *I.G.R.* III 249 rest. by Groag in *Wien. Stud.* LIV (1936), p. 195f. and *P.I.R.*² II p. 61.

Ti. Julius Ti.f. Frugi (son): *C.I.L.* VI 31717 (Groag, p. 197).

[A. Larcius A.f. Lepidus Sulpicianus ?] (Chap. XXIV note 33).

Q. Marcius Censorinus: *A.J.A.* IX (1905), p. 309, no. 36.

4. QUAESTORS

L. Aemilius M.f. Honoratus (*q. pro pr.*): *C.I.L.* XII 3164=Dessau 1048: *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 74, no. 22.

L. Burbuleius L.f. Optatus Ligarianus: *C.I.L.* X 6006=Dessau 1066.

C. Caesius T.f. Aper (*q. pro pr.*) (Chap. XXIV note 33).

. . nius L.f. Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus: *C.I.L.* III 6813=Dessau 1038.

. Julius C.f. Maximus Mucianus (*q. pro pr.*): *B.C.H.* LXII (1938), p. 421f., no. 8=*Ann. Ép.* 1939, 184.

M. Pompeius Macrinus Neos Theophanes (*q. pro pr.*): *I.G.* XII 2, 235 and *Suppl.* p. 22=*I.G.R.* IV 96: *I.G.* V 2, 151.

Sex. Quinctilius Sex.f. Valerius Maximus: *C.I.L* III 384=Dessau 1018 (Chap. XXV note 11).

UNKNOWN

C.I.L. III 7339 (*q. pro pr.*).

C. CAPPADOCIA

Vaglieri in *Diz. Epigr.* II p. 96: *C.I.L.* III pp. 1252 and 2063 (A.D. 198-253): Hüttl II p. 68f. (A.D. 138-161): Lambrechts I p. 224 (A.D. 133-185); II p. 114f. (A.D. 198-253): M. H. Griffin *Administration of the Rom. Prov. of Cappadocia*, p. 71f.

LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE (A.D. 72-253)

For Galatia-Cappadocia (A.D. 76-107) see *sub* Galatia.

113-114 M. Junius Homullus ? (Chap. XXV note 24).

115-117 L. Catilius Severus Julianus Claudius Reginus (Chap. XXV note 24).

134-137 Flavius Arrianus (Chap. XXVI note 43).

138 L. Burbuleius L.f. Optatus Ligarianus: *C.I.L.* X 6006=Dessau 1066.
L. Aemilius L.f. Carus: *C.I.L.* VI 1333=Dessau 1077.

151-153? M. Cassius Apollinaris: *I.G.R.* III 130=*Ann. Ép.* 1901, 33. See Hüttl II p. 69f.
[Sec]undus ? (perhaps P. Cassius Secundus, *P.I.R.*² II p. 122, no. 521): *Coll. Wadd.* 6766 (Antoninus Pius). See Groag in *Phil. Woch.* LIII (1933), 1382.

160? M. Sedatius C.f. Severianus Julius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus Censor (Chap. XXVIII note 4).

162-164 M. Statius M.f. Priscus Licinius Italicus: *C.I.L.* VI 1523 = Dessau 1092: *C.I.L.* III 7505 = Dessau 2311: Cassius Dio LXXI 3: *Vit. Marc.* 9, 1; *Vit. Veri* 7, 1.

Aelius Proculus ?: *I.G.R.* III 106.

172-175? P. Martius Verus (Chap. XXVIII note 14).

175 C. Arrius Antoninus (Chap. XXVIII note 4).

184-185 Caelius Calvinus: *C.I.L.* III 6052 = Dessau 394.

198 C. Julius Flaccus Aelianus: *C.I.L.* III 6904; 6907; 6911; 6922; 6927; 6929; 6950; 12171; 12178; 12179; 12186; 12197; 12203; 12204: *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 27.

199 L. M. ius: *Bull. Acad. Belg.* 1907, p. 553, no. 1 = *Ann. Ép.* 1908, 22.

218-219 M. Munatius Sulla Cerialis (*C.I.L.* III 11743): Cassius Dio LXXIX 4, 5.

M. Ulpius Ofellius Theodorus (Chap. XXIX note 4).

222 Asinius Lepidus: *Ann. Ép.* 1941, 163.

Q. Atrius Clonius: *C.I.L.* II 4111 = Dessau 1176.

231 Q. Julius Proculeianus (Chap. XXIX note 11).

235? Licinius Serenianus: *C.I.L.* III 6932; 6945; 12195: Cyprian *Epist.* 75, 10.

Sex. Catius Clementinus Priscillianus: *C.I.L.* III 6924.

238 Cuspidius Flaminius Severus: *C.I.L.* III 6913; 6934; 6936; 6953; 12168; 12176.

Cl(audius) Marcellus ?: *C.I.L.* III 14184[16].

T. Clodius Saturninus Fidus: *C.I.L.* III 12213.

245-246? M. Antonius Memmius Hiero: *C.I.L.* III 6914; 6941; 6942; 6946; 6947; 12192; 12199; 12206; 12212.

P. Petronius Polianus ?: *B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 35, no. 13 = *Ann. Ép.* 1909, 19: Groag in *R.E.* XIX 1220.

249-251 C. Valerius Tertullianus: *C.I.L.* III 13644 = *Ann. Ép.* 1899, 83.

251-253 A. Vergilius Maximus: *C.I.L.* III 6919 and 12196.

UNCERTAIN

C. Julius OCI : *C.I.L.* III 6910.

UNKNOWN

I.G.R. III 131.

I.G.R. IV 815.

D. CILICIA

Vaglieri in *Diz. Epigr.* II p. 232: Hüttl II p. 71f. (A.D. 137-161): Lambrechts I p. 224 (A.D. 134-182); II p. 115 (A.D. 192-244).

1. PROCONSULS (PROPRAETORS) (80-44 B.C.)

B.C.

80-79 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella (Chap. XII note 16).

78-74 P. Servilius C.f. Vatia Isauricus (Chap. XII note 17).
74 L. Octavius Cn.f. (above p. 294).
74-67 L. Licinius L.f. Lucullus (Chap. XII note 31).
67-66 Q. Marcius Q.f. Rex (Chap. XII note 39).
66-63 Cn. Pompeius Cn.f. Magnus: Cassius Dio XXXVI 42, 4.
57-56 T. Ampius T.f. Balbus (Chap. XVI note 29).
56-53 P. Cornelius P.f. Lentulus Spinther (Chap. XVI notes 18 and 29).
53-51 App. Claudius App.f. Pulcher (Chap. XVI note 18).
51-50 M. Tullius M.f. Cicero (above p. 390).
50 C. Coelius Caldus (*q. pro pr.*) (Chap. XVI note 67).
47-46 Q. Marcius L.f. Philippus ? (Chap. XVII note 40).
46-45 Q. Cornificius Q.f. (Chap. XVII note 40).
45-44 L. Volcatius L.f. Tullus (Chap. XVII note 40).
44 Q. Marcius Crispus ? (Chap. XVII note 40).

44 ? B.C.-A.D. 72 ? Cilicia Campestris attached to Syria (Chap. XVII note 44 and Chap. XXIV note 27).

2. LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE

A.D.

77-78 L. Octavius Memor: *I.G.R.* III 840 = *M.A.M.A.* III p. 6.
90 ? Ti. Julius Ti.f. Celsus Polemaeanus (Chap. XXIV note 27).
92-93 Q. Gellius Longus: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 55f.
98 ? M. Pompeius Macrinus Neos Theophanes: *I.G.* V 2, 151; von Premerstein in *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), p. 209f.
133? T. Vibius Varus: *Digesta* XXII 5, 3, 1.
137-139 P. Pactumeius P.f. Clemens; *C.I.L.* VIII 7059 = Dessau 1067.
C. Etrilius Regillus Laberius Priscus (Chap. XXVIII note 3): *P.A.S.* III no. 189: *I.G.R.* III 290 = 1489 = *O.G.I.* 576 = Dessau 8827.
[P. Cass]ius T.f. Dexter Augus[tanus Alpin]us Bellicius Sollers Metilius us Rutilianus (*P.I.R.*² II p. 114, no. 490): *C.I.L.* III 12116 = 13618 = Dessau 1050 = *I.G.R.* III 903.
180? M. Cassius Apronianus: Cassius Dio LXIX 1, 3; LXXII 7, 2.
Q. Venidius Rufus Marius Maximus L. Calvinianus: *C.I.L.* XIII 7994: *Digesta* L 6, 3.
198? Antonius lius: *I.G.R.* III 848.
202 Flavius Ulpianus: *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 76, no. 110 = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 75.
Antonius Balbus: *I.G.R.* III 838.
Ostorius ?: *I.G.R.* III 879.
M. Domitius Valerianus (*P.I.R.*² III p. 54, no. 168): *I.G.R.* III 904.
C. Mevius C.f. Donatus Junianus: *C.I.L.* XIV 2107. See Fluss in *R.E.* XV 1509.
A. Voconius Zeno (under Gallienus) (Chap. XXIX note 35).
Petronius Faustinus: *I.G.R.* III 849 a: Groag in *R.E.* XIX 1215.

UNDATABLE

. . . . isus ? Cl.f. Haterianus: *C.I.L.* VII 108.

Caecilius Arellianus (*procurator vice praesidis*) (Chap. XXIX note 35).

UNKNOWN

C.I.L. III 254.

E. GALATIA

Vaglieri in *Diz. Epigr.* III p. 362f.: Hüttl II p. 85f.: Lambrechts I p. 226f.; II p. 116: de Laet, p. 243: W. F. Shaffer *The Administration of the Rom. Prov. of Galatia from 25 B.C. to A.D. 72* (Princeton 1951).

I. LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE

B.C.

25-23 M. Lollius M.f. (Chap. XIX note 26).

6 Cornutus Aquila (Chap. XIX notes 42 and 43).

A.D.

M. Plautius M.f. Silvanus ? (Chap. XIX note 4).

Pupius ?: *I.G.R.* III 262 = 1472 (perhaps under Augustus, but see *J.H.S.* XXXVIII [1918], p. 169).

Metilius: *I.G.R.* III 157 = *O.G.I.* 533 = Krencker and Schede *Der Tempel in Ankara*, p. 52f., III, l. 19f.: see Rostovtzeff in *Mél. Boissier*, p. 419f. and *P.I.R.*^{2} III p. 201.

Fronto: *ibid.* l. 41.

Silvanus: *ibid.* l. 57.

Basila: *ibid.* l. 72.

M. Annius Afrinus (under Claudius after A.D. 49): *C.I.L.* III 288 = 6799: *Coll. Wadd.* 4762f. and 6592: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 18, no. 3: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 416, no. 3.

54? Q. Petronius Umber: *I.G.R.* III 335 = *O.G.I.* 538.

Q. Julius Cordinus C. Rutilius C.f. Gallicus (Chap. XXIII note 40).

69 Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas: Tacitus *Hist.* II 9.

Combined with Cappadocia (Chap. XXIV notes 22 and 25)

76 Cn. Pompeius Collega: Dessau 8904: Mionnet IV p. 377, no. 17: Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 229, no. 760.

79 M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa: *I.G.R.* III 125 and 223: *Coll. Wadd.* 6594 and 6749f.: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 47f., nos. 18 and 23f.

80-82 A. Caesennius Gallus: *C.I.L.* III 312 (=Dessau 268); 318 (=Dessau 263); 12218; 14184[48]: *Coll. Wadd.* 6752f.: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 49, no. 27.

Ti. Julius Candidus Marius Celsus: *C.I.L.* III 250.

93-94 L. Antistius Rusticus (Chap. XXIV note 38).

. . . P.f. Sos[pes] (Chap. XXIV note 22).

96-100 T. Pomponius Bassus (Chap. XXV note 10).
100-102 Aufidius Umber (Chap. XXV note 24).
106-107 P. Calvisius Ruso Julius Frontinus (Chap. XXV note 24).
C. Julius Quadratus Bassus ? (Chap. XXV note 16).

Galatia without Cappadocia

. . nius L.f. Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus: *C.I.L.* III 6813 = Dessau 1038 (Chap. XXV note 24).
122 A. Larcius Macedo (Chap. XXVI note 8).
128 C. Trebius Sergianus: *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 245f. = *S.E.G.* VI 59 = *Ann. Ép.* 1926, 73.
C. Bruttius Praesens: *I.G.R.* III 273 = 1487.
138 C. Julius Scapula ... onatus ... nus: *I.G.R.* III 151 (= 1457); 176-178.
P. Alfius Maximus (Numerius Licinianus ?): *I.G.R.* III 162 = *J.R.S.* XII (1922), p. 166 = *J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), p. 28f., no. 16: Hüttl II p. 86.
L. Fulvius Rusticus Aemilianus: *I.G.R.* III 186: Hüttl II p. 87.
161-163 P. Juventius Celsus: *Coll. Wadd.* 6660 and 6668: *B.M. Cat. Galatia, etc.* p. 20, no. 13: Groag in *R.E.* X 1364f.
165 L. Fufidius Pollio: *C.I.L.* 6759 = Dessau 1914.
176-180? T. Licinius Mucianus: *J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), p. 41, no. 63 (= *S.E.G.* VI 14 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 90, see LIII [1933], p. 314) = *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 242, no. 17 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 143): *J.O.A.I.* XXX (1937), *Beibl.* 30f., no. 37.
Julius Saturninus: *I.G.R.* III 171.
P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo: *C.I.L.* VI 332 = Dessau 1135: *Denkmäler aus Lycaonien, etc.* no. 38 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 251.
L. Fabius M.f. Cilo Septiminus Catinus Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus (Chap. XXVIII note 19).
197? [Va]lerianus ... ninus: *C.I.L.* III 243.
198 L. Petronius Verus: *C.I.L.* III 6754 and 14184[84].
198-200 C. Atticius Norbanus Strabo: Ramsay *Stud. East. Rom. Prov.* p. 172f., nos. 56 and 58 = *Ann. Ép.* 1906, 21 and 1907, 58: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 51, no. 39 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 5: *J.R.S.* XVI (1926), p. 105.
209-210 C. Julius Senecio (*procurator vice praesidis*): *C.I.L.* III 251 = Dessau 1373: *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 246, no. 21 = *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 144 = 1931, 128.
218 L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (Chap. XXIX note 18).
222 L. Julius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (Chap. XXIX note 11).
Aurelius Basileus: *C.I.L.* III 14184[42].
Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus: *C.I.L.* VIII 22721 = Dessau 8978.
235? P. P ... ellus Vibianus: *C.I.L.* III 308.

M. Antonius Me[mmius Hiero?] (*Corrector*): *I.G.R.* III 238 (see *P.I.R.*² I p. 164, no. 850).

250 M. Junius Valerius Nepotianus: *C.I.L.* III 14184[25] = *Ann. Ép.* 1900, 150.

UNDATABLE

Axius: *C.I.L.* III 248.

L. Cossonius Gallus: *J.R.S.* XIV (1924), p. 194, no. 16 = XVI (1926), p. 214, no. 6 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 101 (see *P.I.R.*² II p. 378, no. 1541).

P. Pomponius Secundianus: *I.G.R.* III 184.

M. Valerius Italus: *C.I.L.* III 253.

UNKNOWN

C.I.G. 4053 = *J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), p. 39, no. 57 = *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 232, no. 4.

C.I.L. III 254.

C.I.L. III 6819 = Dessau 1039.

I.G.R. III 189.

I.G.R. III 316 = *O.G.I.* 535.

J.R.S. II (1912), p. 255, no. 13.

2. LEGATES OF GALATIA-CAPPADOCIA

(See Chap. XXIV note 22)

C. Antius A. Julius A.f. Quadratus.

Ti. Julius Ti.f. Celsus Polemaeanus.

F. LYCIA-PAMPHYLIA

Treuber *Gesch. d. Lykier*, p. 210, note 1 and p. 212, note 1: Ritterling in *Rh. Mus.* LXXIII (1920-24), p. 36f.: P. Graindor in *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 323f.: Hüttl II p. 107f. (A.D. 139-161): Lambrechts I p. 229 (A.D. 118-180); II p. 117 (A.D. 193-230): *T.A.M.* II p. 349f. (A.D. 103?-152).

1. LEGATI AUGUSTI PRO PRAETORE

A.D.

45? Q. Veranius (Chap. XXII note 49).

56? T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (above p. 533).

C. Licinius Mucianus (Chap. XXII note 48).

74? L. Luscius Ocrea (Chap. XXII notes 50 and 51).

78? Sex. Marcius Priscus (Chap. XXII note 50).

Cn. Avidius Celer Fiscillinus Firmus (Chap. XXII note 50).

79-80 T. Aurelius Quietus (Chap. XXII note 50).

81-82 C. Caristanius C.f. Fronto (Chap. XXII note 51 and Chap. XXIV note 35).

85 P. Baebius P.f. Italicus (Chap. XXIV note 35).

92? C. Antius A. Julius A.f. Quadratus (Chap. XXIV note 35).

L. Domitius Apollinaris (Chap. XXIV note 35).

98-100? L. Julius L.f. Marinus Caecilius Simplex: *T.A.M.* II 567 and 594 = *I.G.R.* III 554 and 562: *I.G.R.* III 470. See Groag in *R.E.* X 671.

100-102? Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus: *T.A.M.* II 134 and 421 = *I.G.R.* III 523 and 668-9 = *O.G.I.* 562 and 561.

106? Q. Roscius Sex.f. Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Julius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco: *C.I.L.* III 12117 = *I.G.R.* III 902 = Dessau 1036: *C.I.L.* X 6321 = Dessau 1035: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 1.

114 Ti. Julius Frugi: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 4, 15 and 17. See Groag in *Phil. Woch.* LIII (1933), 1382 and *Wien. Stud.* LIV (1936), p. 197.

116-117 Trebius Maximus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 6, 7, 10 and 12.

118-119 T. Calestrius Tiro: *I.G.R.* III 704 I (Consul in 122, see *Ann. Ép.* 1942-43, 84).

120 T. Pomponius T.f. Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus (*C.I.L.* VII 164): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 14.

121-123? C. Valerius Severus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 16.

Sufenas Verus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 18, 19 and 21.

. . . us Seneca: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 24.

Junius Paetus: *I.G.R.* III 704 I. See Hüttl II p. 110f.

139-141 Cn. Arrius Cornelius Proculus: *I.G.R.* III 342 (?); 700: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 28-32 and 34.

141-142 P. Julius Aemilius Aquila: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 35: *I.G.R.* III 793. See Hüttl II p. 109.

144-147 Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus: *I.G.R.* III 705: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 36, 42, 55 and 59: *T.A.M.* II 1201 = *I.G.R.* III 763 = Dessau 8828: *C.I.L.* III 6885 = *B.S.A.* XVI (1909-10), p. 128, no. 27, see *J.R.S.* VI (1916), p. 132.

147-148 C. Julius Avitus: *I.G.R.* III 705.

149-151 D. Rupilius Severus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 43-50 and 63.

152 [Aeli]us Pro[culus]: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 68. See Hüttl II p. 113f.

M. Flavius Aper: *I.G.R.* III 706.

. . . rius Severus: *Ann. Ép.* 1917-18, 60. See Hüttl II p. 114f.

178 Licinius Priscus (Chap. XXVIII note 7).

UNDATABLE

Nerati[us]: *T.A.M.* II 568 = *I.G.R.* III 1511 (L. Neratius Priscus under Trajan(?), see *R.E.* XVI 2547).

Stlaccius Clodianus ?: *T.A.M.* II 272 = *I.G.R.* III 617.

UNKNOWN

T.A.M. II 569 = *I.G.R.* III 558.

I.G.R. III 724.

2. PROCONSULS

From about A.D. 180 onward (see Chap. XXVIII note 7) and mostly undatable.

P. Aelius Bruttius Lucianus: *I.G.R.* III 776.
Carminius Athenagoras (under Severus ?): *M.A.M.A.* VI 74 (= *B.C.H.* XI [1887], p. 348f., no. 5) and 75 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 185).
M. Cassius Apronianus (about 180) (Chap. XXVIII note 7).
Ti. Claudius Bithynicus: *I.G.R.* III 807 = *J.H.S.* XXVIII (1908), p. 189f., no. 19.
Ti. Claudius Pausanias: *I.G.R.* III 471.
T. Flavius Philinus: *I.G.* VII 1866.
Julianus Sura Magnus: *T.A.M.* II 122 (perhaps M. Julius M.f. Sura Magnus Attalianus, *C.I.L.* VI 1431).
C. Julius Saturninus: *T.A.M.* II 277 = *I.G.R.* III 616 = *O.G.I.* 559.
Ti. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus (A.D. 243 ?): *T.A.M.* II 572 = *I.G.R.* III 556 = *O.G.I.* 568 = Dessau 8840.
Cn. Pompeius Hermippus Aelianus (before A.D. 213): *Ephesos* III p. 123, no. 36 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 76.
C. Pomponius Bassus Terentianus (under Commodus): *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582 = 1515.
C. Porcius C.f. Priscus Longinus (under Severus Alexander ?): *C.I.L.* XIV 3611.
. . . M.f. Primus: *C.I.L.* IX 973.
Pudens: *J.H.S.* XLVI (1926), p. 46 = *B.C.H.* LI (1927), p. 322, no. 88 = *Ann. Ép.* 1927, 88 = 1929, 85 (perhaps L. Arrius Pudens, Consul in 165, or Q. Servaeus Pudens, Consul in 166).
Q. Ranius Terentius Honoratianus Festus: *C.I.L.* XI 6164.
Sa[bucius Caecili]anus: *T.A.M.* II 620 (perhaps C. Sabucius Maior Caecilianus, Consul in 186).
Sulpicius Justus (under Severus): *I.G.R.* III 500 III.
Terentius Marcianus (Equestrian) (Chap. XXIX note 35).
Vindicianus ?: *J.O.A.I.* XV (1912), *Beibl.* 273f. = *Ann. Ép.* 1913, 178.

3. LEGATES

Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus: *I.G.R.* III 357 and 367 (= Dessau 8838).
L. Decimius Apronianus (?): *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 18f., no. 5 = *Ann. Ép.* 1915, 46.
P. Flavonius Paulinus: *T.A.P.A.* LVII (1926), p. 230, no. 62 = *S.E.G.* VI 555 = *Ann Ép.* 1927, 173.
Q. Ranius Terentius Honoratianus Festus: *C.I.L.* XI 6164.
Sulpicius Pollio: *I.G.R.* III 500 III.
L. Virius Lupus Julianus: *C.I.L.* VI 31774 and 37078 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1911, 74); VIII 23800 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1905, 52) (Consul in 232, see *Rev. Épigr.* I [1913], p. 26f. and *A.J.A.* XLIII [1939], p. 282).

4. QUAESTORS

M. Antonius Me[mmius Hiero]: *I.G.R.* III 238.
Cn. Pompeius Ant. Amoenus: *Ephesos* III p. 125, no. 38.

UNKNOWN

I.G.R. IV 1307 = Dessau 8842 and III 2, p. cxci.

APPENDIX II

PROVINCIAL DIGNITARIES

A. ASIA

Vaglieri in *Diz. Epigr.* I p. 728f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 482f.

1. ARCHIEREIS

Aebutius Flaccus (*ναοῦ ἐν* Κυζ.): *I.G.R.* IV 153.
P. Aelius Paullus: *I.G.R.* IV 1225.
(Aelius Stratonicus see Voconius).
P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus: *I.G.R.* IV 819.
Alciphron: *Ins. Magn.* 158 and 159.
4a Alexander (s. of Cleon): *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 251, no. 104f.; see *Ztschr. f. Num.* XXIV (1904), p. 256, note 2.
5 Anaxagoras ?: *I.G.R.* IV 1608 c = *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 181f.
L. Antonius Claudius Dometinus Diogenes: L.W. 1596: *C.I.G.* 2777 (?).
M. Antonius Lepidus: *Ins. Sardis* 8 x = *I.G.R.* IV 1756 x.
7a L. Antonius Corn. (?) Zeno: *M.A.M.A.* VI 104.
Apollonius: *O.G.I.* 458 II and III.
Aristocrates (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): *C.I.G.* 2987 b.
10 [Ar]temon (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 51, no. 3 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 278.
L. Aurelius Aristomenes: *I.G.R.* IV 1229.
Aurelius Athenaeus: *Ephesos* III no. 57.
M. Aurelius Diadochus (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *I.G.R.* IV 1230 and 1231.
M. Aurelius Mindius Matidianus Pollio (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97: *Ephesos* III no. 56 (?).
15 M. Aurelius Severus (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *I.G.R.* IV 577.
Carminius Claudianus: *C.I.G.* 2782.
Charinus: *Ins. Sardis* 8 VII = *I.G.R.* IV 1756 VII.
Ti. Claudius Aristion: *I.B.M.* 498 = *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 118, no. 7: *Ephesos* IV no. 5 (?).
Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Celsus Orestianus (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *I.G.R.* IV 908.
20 Ti. Claudius Quir. Charidemus Philometor: *Ins. Magn.* 188.
Ti. Claudius Quir. Democrates: *Ins. Magn.* 157 b.
Ti. Claudius Frontonianus (*δὶς*): *I.G.* XII 3, 1119.
Ti. Claudius Herodes ?: *I.G.R.* IV 1410 = *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 181.
A. Claudius Lepidus (*ναῶν ἐν* Σμύρ.): *I.G.R.* IV 586.
25 Ti. Claudius Lupus: *I.G.R.* IV 1236.
Ti. Claudius Magnus Charidemus (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): L.W. 146.
Ti. Claudius Menogenes Caecilianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1238.
Ti. Claudius Mil[etus] (*ναοῦ ἐν* Σμύρ.): *Ins. Sardis* 44 = *I.G.R.* IV 1524.

Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Mithradates: *I.G.R.* IV 780 (= *O.G.I.* 490 = Dessau 8820); 787.

Ti. Claudius Phesinus: M.κ.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 180, no. τξζ′ = *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117f., no. 4: *I.G.R.* IV 1571.

Ti. Claudius Quir. Pius (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.) (son of Nicomedes): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 43, no. 4 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 270.

M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus: *Herm.* VII (1873), p. 32f., no. 4 = M.κ.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 179, no. τξε′ (cf. *Ephesos* III p. 159).

Ti. Claudius Quir. Socrates: *I.G.R.* IV 1238 and 1239 (*ναοῦ ἐν* Περγ.). See also *I.G.R.* IV 1156 a = *Syll.*[3] 837.

Ti. Claudius Ti.f. Quir. Timon: *Ins. Magn.* 157 b.

M. Claudius Valerianus: *Coll. Wadd.* 6033f.: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 218, no. 47f.

Ti. Damianus ?: *C.I.G.* 2887.

Demetrius: *I.G.R.* IV 707 = *M.A.M.A.* IV 66 = *S.E.G.* VI 246.

Demetrius (s. of Heraclides): *Ins. Sardis* 8 VIII = *I.G.R.* IV 1756 VIII.

L. Flavius Hermocrates (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 49f., no. 15 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 276.

Flavius Menophantes: *I.G.R.* IV 456 and 470.

T. Flavius Quir. Montanus (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): *I.G.R.* IV 643 = 1696: *Ephesos* II nos. 61 II, 62, and 63.

T. Flavius Varus Calvesianus Quir. Hermocrates (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): *I.G.R.* IV 1323 = *O.G.I.* 489 = Dessau 8864.

Julius Calpurnius (*ναῶν ἐν* Περγ.): *I.G.R.* IV 1639.

Julius Cleon: *Coll. Wadd.* 6029: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 217, no. 41f.

Ti. Julius Damas Claudianus: *Num. Ztschr.* LII (1919), p. 117, no. 2.

C. Julius Hippianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1244.

C. Julius C.f. Fab. Julianus: *Ins. Magn.* 151.

C. Julius M.f. Lepidus: *I.G.R.* IV 1246.

L. Julius Libonianus (*ναῶν ἐν* Σαρδ.): *Ins. Sardis* 47 = *I.G.R.* IV 1523 = *S.E.G.* IV 637.

C. Julius M . . . : *I.B.M.* 894 = *R. Phil.* LXI (1935), p. 182f.

C. Julius Pardalas: *I.G.R.* IV 1611 *b* = *O.G.I.* 470 II.

C. Julius Philippus: L.W. 1652 c: *P.A.S.* I p. 100, no. 6; p. 102; II no. 379 (= *O.G.I.* 499): *A.M.* XXVI (1901), p. 239, no. 3: *B.C.H.* XXIX (1905), p. 361.

C. Julius Python: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 346, no. 1.

C. Julius A . . . Saturninus: *Échos d'Orient* X (1907), p. 77, no. 2.

T. Oppius Afer Pollius Tertullus: *S.E.G.* IV 519.

C. Orfius Flavianus Philographus (*ναοῦ ἐν* Κυζ.): *I.G.R.* IV 155.

Philistes: *Ins. Sardis* 8 IX = *I.G.R.* IV 1756 IX.

Cn. Pompeius Hermippus (*ναῶν ἐν* Ἐφ.): *Ephesos* II no. 69.

Proclianus Trypho: *I.G.R.* IV 784 (cf. *B.C.H.* VII [1883], p. 308, no. 30 and *Coll. Wadd.* 5734).

Scopelianus: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* I 21, 2.

M. Ulpius Appuleius Eurycles: *I.G.R.* IV 564: *O.G.I.* 509 (*ναῶν ἐν Σύρν. τὸ β′*) (cf. *I.G.R.* IV 573-576 = *O.G.I.* 504-507).

Ulpius Damas (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ.*): *Ephesos* II no. 67.
M. Ulpius Quir. Trypho Megas Antonianus: *I.G.R.* IV 882.
Vedius Gaius Sabinianus: *Ephesos* III no. 72.
65 Cn. Vergilius Capito: *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1911, *Anh.* I p. 65, no. 3. See Chap. XXIII note 5.
C. Voconius Aelius Stratonicus Acamantius (*ναῶν ἐν Περγ.*): *J.O.A.I.* XVI (1913), *Beibl.* 72, no. 2 = *I.G.R.* IV 525.
L. Volcacius Tullus ?: *O.G.I.* 458, l. 42 as restored in *Cl. Rev.* XLI (1927), p. 119f.
... (*ναοῦ ἐν Κυζ.*): *I.G.R.* IV 157.

NAMES NOT MENTIONED

I.G.R. IV 578; 617; 688; 1213 (= Dessau 8853); 1241: *R.E.G.* XIX (1906), p. 139f., no. 71.

ARCHIEREIAI

Aelia Laevilla: *C.I.G.* 2823.
Aeliana Regina (wife of Proclianus Trypho, see above).
Antonia Caecilia (wife of Ti. Claudius Socrates, see above).
Aurelia Hermonassa (wife of M. Aurelius Diadochus, see above): *I.G.R.* IV 1233.
5 Aurelia Melite (*ναῶν ἐν Σμύρ.*): *I.G.R.* IV 1415 and 1435.
Aurelia Tatia (wife of L. Aurelius Aristomenes, see above).
Bassa (wife of [Julius ?] Cleon, see above): Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münzen*, p. 211, no. 681: *Coll. Wadd.* 6032.
7a Claudia (wife of C. Julius A. . . . Saturninus, see above).
7b Mar. Claudia Juliane ? (wife of M. Aurelius Zeno, *Ἀσιάρχης*): *I.G.R.* IV 1386.
Claudia Lorentia: *I.G.R.* IV 706.
Claudia Tryphaena: *I.G.R.* IV 1571.
10 Cornelia Secunda (wife of C. Julius Hippianus, see above).
Flavia Ammion (*ναοῦ ἐν Ἐφ.*, wife of T. Flavius Varus Calvesianus Hermocrates, see above).
Flavia Appia (wife of M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, *Ἀσιάρχης*): *C.I.G.* 2782.
Flavia Lycia (wife of Ti. Claudius Celsus Orestianus, see above).
Flavia Priscilla (wife of Aurelius Athenaeus, *Ἀσιάρχης*): *I.G.R.* IV 1233 and 1234.
15 Julia Marcellina (*ναῶν ἐν Περγ.*): *M.A.M.A.* VI 373 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 205.
Juliane (wife of Alciphron, see above).
Memmia Ariste Teuthrantis: *I.G.R.* IV 687.
Scaptia Firmilla (wife of C. Claudius Verulanus Marcellus, *Ἀσιάρχης*): *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 42.
Stratonice (wife of Ti. Claudius Phesinus, see above).
20 Ulpia Marcella (wife of P. Aelius Paullus, see above): *I.G.R.* IV 1225; 1254 = 1423 (*ναῶν ἐν Σμύρ.*).

Vibia Polla (wife of C. Orfius Flavianus Philographus, see above). . . . (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ.*): *I.B.M.* 553.

2. ASIARCHS

Aelius Apion (*τὸ β'*): Mionnet *Suppl.* VII p. 359, no. 191; p. 358f., no. 188(?) (*τὸ γ'*).

P. Aelius Artemidorus: Mionnet II p. 549, no. 235; *Suppl.* V p. 347, no. 427.

L. Aelius Pigres (*τὸ γ'*): *Coll. Wadd.* 7072.

Aelius Pollio: Mionnet *Suppl.* V p. 444, no. 1021; p. 440, nos. 1003 and 1004(?).

Aelius Themistocles: *J.H.S.* XI (1890), p. 121f., no. 5: name in *B.M. Cat. Caria*, p. 78, no. 7.

P. Aelius Trypho: *I.G.R.* IV 795 (*τρίς*): *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 89, no. 118; p. 101, no. 179f.

P. Aelius Zeuxidemus Cassianus: *I.G.R.* IV 828.

Aelius Zoilus: Mionnet *Suppl.* V p. 505, no. 54: Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 98, no. 203 (*τὸ β'*).

Alexander: *Coll. Wadd.* 6368 and 6371.

Alf. Modestus: *S.E.G.* I 331 (see Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 127).

L. (?) Annianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1226.

M. Antonius Alexander Appianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1294.

M. Antonius Antiochus: L.W. 244.

Antonius Apollodorus (I): L.W. 244.

Antonius Apollodorus (II): L.W. 213 (?) and 244: *R.A.* XXVIII (1874), pp. 109f. and 110f.

L. Antonius Hyacinthus: *I.G.* XIV 1402 = *I.G.R.* I 198.

Apollonius Quartianus: *I.G.R.* IV 665.

Aruntius Mate[rnus]: *Ins. Sardis* 77 = *I.G.R.* IV 1518.

C. Asinius Agreus Philopappus: *Coll. Wadd.* 5591: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 44, no. 2f.

Attalus: *I.G.R.* IV 1609 and 1610.

L. Aufidius Euphemus: Robert *Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec.* p. 197, no. 206.

L. Aurelius: Mionnet *Suppl.* V p. 326, no. 281 and p. 335, no. 348: *Num. Chron.* VI (1866), p. 119.

M. L. Aurelius: Mionnet IV p. 55, no. 285: *Rev. Num.* I (1883), p. 399.

Aurelius Aelius Attalianus: *Coll. Wadd.* 5194: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 216, no. 22 and p. 223f., nos. 58 and 62.

M. Aurelius Artemidorus: *Ephesos* III no. 58.

Aurelius Athenaeus: *I.G.R.* IV 1233 and 1234.

Aurelius Damas: *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 285, no. 68.

Aurelius Demetrius: *Coll. Wadd.* 6505: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 290, no. 2; *Monn. Gr.* p. 412, no. 153 (?).

M. Aurelius Diadochus: *I.G.R.* IV 1233.

M. Aurelius ·ΕΡΑΣΩΝΟΤ ?: *B.C.H.* I (1877), p. 55, no. IV.

Aurelius Gaius (*ναῶν ἐν Περγ.*): *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 46, no. 8 = *Ann. Ép.* 1933, 273.
M. Aurelius Julianus (*δίς*): *I.G.R.* IV 1433.
M. Aurelius Manilius Alexander: *I.G.R.* IV 1631 and 1635.
M. Aurelius Manilius Hermippus: *I.G.R.* IV 1635.
Aurelius Meidias: Eckhel *D.N.* II p. 455 and IV p. 207.
Aurelius Menelaus: *I.G.R.* IV 154.
M. Aurelius Mindius Matidianus Pollio (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ.*): *O.G.I.* 525 = Dessau 8858.
Aurelius Pinytus Glyco (*ναῶν ἐν Σμύρ.*): *I.G.* XII 2, 562 = *I.G.R.* IV 17.
M. Aurelius Tertius: *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 375, no. 174f.; p. 386, no. 253 and Mionnet III p. 214f. nos. 1184 and 1198 and p. 250, no. 1410f. (Tertius).
M. Aurelius Themistocles: *I.G.R.* I 798.
M. Aurelius Tychicus: *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 560 = *A.M.* XXI (1896), p. 114f.
M. Aurelius Zeno (*τὸ δεύτερον*): *I.G.R.* IV 1481.
M. Aurelius Zosimus: *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 560 = *A.M.* XXI (1896), p. 114f.
Carminius Claudianus: *Coll. Wadd.* 2268.
Nem. Castricius L.f. Paconianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1075.
Chersiphron: *I.G.R.* IV 1431.
Claudius Achaicus: *Syll.*[3] 824 B.
Ti. Claudius Aristeas: *Reisen* I no. 134: *B.C.H.* XV (1891), p. 208, no. 149.
Ti. Claudius Aristion: *J.O.A.I.* I (1898), *Beibl.* 76 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1898, 66); VIII (1905), *Beibl.* 67 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1906, 28 and 29 = *Ephesos* V I, nos. I and 13, *τρίς*).
Claudius Calobrotus: Head *H.N.*[2] p. 681.
Ti. Claudius Deioterianus: *I.G.R.* IV 906 and 907 (= *O.G.I.* 495).
Ti. Claudius Dynatus: *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* IX (1924-25), p. 103 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 14.
M. Claudius Fronto: *B.M. Cat. Ionia*, p. 16, no. 1f.: *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 321, no. 1f.
Ti. Claudius Hiero (*δίς*): *I.G.R.* IV 907 = *O.G.I.* 495.
P. Claudius Menippus: L.W. 612 = *A.M.* XXII (1897), p. 484f.
Ti. Claudius Menogenes: *I.G.R.* IV 1688 = *Ann. Ép.* 1911, 51. See *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1932, 5, p. 44.
M. Claudius Niceratus Cerealius: *I.G.R.* IV 740.
Ti. Cl[audius Philop]appus: *I.G.R.* IV 261.
Ti. Claudius Piso Tertullinus: *M.A.M.A.* VI 374: also in *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 400, no. 41.
Ti. Claudius Pius Pison[inus] (son of Italicus): *I.G.R.* IV 1567.
Ti. Claudius Polemo: *I.G.R.* IV 883; 906; 907 (= *O.G.I.* 495); 910.
Claudius Pollio: *Coll. Wadd.* 6189: Imhoof-Blumer *Kl. M.* p. 244, no. 3f.
Ti. Claudius Polydeuces Marcellus: *Ins. Magn.* 187.

M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus ('Aσ. τῆς 'Aσίας): *Ephesos* IV no. 10 = *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 166 (perhaps P. Vedius Antoninus, see below).
Claudius Salvius (*ναῶν ἐν Σμύρ.*): *Ephesos* III no. 72.
Ti. Claudius Tatianus Julianus: *I.B.M.* 620.
Claudius Themistocles: *I.G.* II² 3704.
C. Claudius Verulanus Marcellus: *J.O.A.I.* VII (1904), *Beibl.* 42.
Claudius Zeno (*ναῶν ἐν 'Εφ.*): *Ephesos* III no. 72.
Cornelius Vettenianus (δ' ?): Mionnet IV p. 128f., nos. 727 and 750: *Coll. Wadd.* 5262: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 261, no. 153.
Crispus: *Ins. Magn.* 197.
Domitius Rufus: *Coll. Wadd.* 7059: *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 273f., no. 206f.
Dom[ni]nus Rufus: *I.G.R.* IV 1381.
Cn. Dottius Serg. Plancianus (*templi Eph.*): *C.I.L.* III 6835; 6836; 6837 (= Dessau 5081).
Eunous: *I.G.R.* IV 263.
T. Flavius Aristobulus: *I.B.M.* 500.
Flavius Clitosthenes: *P.A.S.* I p. 110f., nos. 11 and 12 (δίς): *Ephesos* II no. 70. See Groag in *J.O.A.I.* X (1907), p. 287.
T. Flavius Clitosthenes Julianus (*ναῶν ἐν 'Εφ.*): *I.G.* XII 3, 525.
Flavius Craterus (δίς): *I.G.R.* IV 907 and 912.
Ti. Flavius Demetrius: *B.C.H.* XI (1887), p. 216, no. 8.
M. Flavius Domitianus: *J.O.A.I.* XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 57f.
T. Flavius Menander (I): *Ephesos* III no. 62.
T. Flavius Menander (II): *Ephesos* III no. 62.
T. Flavius Munatius ('Aσ. 'Εφ.): *C.I.G.* 2990 = L.W. 158 a.
Flavius Priscus ?: Mionnet IV p. 201, no. 31: Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. Gr.* p. 391f., no. 50.
T. Flavius Quir. Pythio: *C.I.L.* III 14195²: *Ephesos* III nos. 33 and 34.
M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus: *Ephesos* II nos. 76-78 and 82; III nos. 63 and 86: *S.E.G.* IV 539 and 540 = *Ann. Ép.* 1929, 122 and 123.
Glyco: *Rev. Num.* I (1883), p. 399.
Hermolaus: Keil-Premerstein III no. 91.
Julius Charidemus: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 391, no. 21.
[M. Julius ?] Dionysius ('Aσ. Περγ.): *I.G.R.* IV 1247 = *O.G.I.* 516; see Keil-Premerstein II p. 34 and *R. Phil.* XXXVII (1913), p. 308f.
C. Julius Julianus Tatianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1244 and 1245.
Julius Menecles Diophantus: Robert *Hellenica* V (1948), p. 81, no. 318.
C. Julius Philippus: *O.G.I.* 498.
Ti. Julius Reginus (β' *ναῶν ἐν 'Εφ.*): *I.B.M.* 604 and 621.
Q. Lol[lianus ?]: *I.G.R.* IV 472.
Macarius: *Milet* I 9, no. 339.
C. Maternus: Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*, p. 202, no. 640.
Menander: *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 390, no. 18 (Synaus).
Menander: *Rev. Num.* I (1883), p. 400 (Hypaepa).

L. Pescennius Gessius: *I.G.R.* IV 1642: *S.E.G.* II 652 = *Ann. Ép.* 1923, 41 (γ').

98a Philippus: see Chap. XVIII note 61.

Plotius Aurelius Gratus: *I.G.R.* IV 156.

100 A. Plotius Leonidas: *I.G.* XII 3, 529 and 531.

Pollianus: Mionnet III p. 249, no. 1407.

Polybius: *I.G.R.* IV 1168 b.

Cn. Pompeius Hermippus: M.κ.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 177, no. τξα'.

Pomponius Cornelius Lollianus Hedianus: *I.G.R.* IV 1424.

105 Pythodorus: Strabo XIV p. 649.

105a Rufus (perhaps Domitius Rufus): *Coll. Wadd.* 5282.

Rupillius Alex[ander] (Moschianus): M.κ.B. III[1] (1878-80), p. 179, no. τξς'.

Sellius Sulla: *I.G.R.* IV 1643.

Severus: *Coll. Wadd.* 5585: *McClean Coll.* 8753.

Sulpicius Hermophilus: Eckhel *D.N.* III p. 115; IV p. 207: name in *Hunter. Coll.* II p. 466, no. 26.

110 L. Timon: *I.G.R.* IV 1454.

M. Ulpius (Appuleius) Eurycles: *Coll. Wadd.* 5545.

M. Ulpius Damas Catullinus: *O.G.I.* 492.

Ulpius Rufus (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ.*): *Ephesos* III no. 17.

P. Vedius Antoninus: *Ephesos* II nos. 39 (= *O.G.I.* 510) and 65 (perhaps M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Sabinus, see above).

.....αιος: *C.I.G.* 2994 a + b.

.....ανος: *J.O.A.I.* VIII (1905), p. 128.

.....ντωνος: *Coll. Wadd.* 5254.

..... (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ. τρίς*): *Ephesos* III no. 70.

.....: *Ephesos* III no. 55.

.....: *Milet* I 7, no. 158.

NAMES NOT MENTIONED

L.W. 158 *a*: *I.G.R.* IV 1381 and 1612: *Syll.*[3] 900 (*ναῶν ἐν Ἐφ.*): *J.O.A.I.* XXV (1929), *Beibl.* 17 (= *Ann. Ép.* 1930, 78); XXVI (1930), *Beibl.* 57: *Coll. Wadd.* 5503f. (= *B.M. Cat. Phrygia*, p. 13, no. 62); 6369; 7059 (= *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 273, no. 206): *B.M. Cat. Lydia*, p. 225, no. 65; von Fritze *Ant. Münzen Mysiens* I p. 8 and p. 29f., nos. 84f. and 89f.

B. BITHYNIA-PONTUS

1. ARCHONS (BITHYNIA)

M. Aurelius Philippianus Jason: *I.G.R.* III 60.

Ti. Claudius Piso: *I.G.R.* III 63 = *O.G.I.* 528.

Domitius Aurelius Diogenianus Callicles: *I.G.R.* III 65.

T. Flavius Pomponius Domitianus Timocrates: *I.G.R.* III 67 = 1418.

2. BITHYNIARCHS

M. Aurelius Alexander: *I.G.R.* III 90 = 1435 = *O.G.I.* 531.
M. Aurelius Chrysenius Demetrius: *I.G.R.* III 1427.
Aurelius Marcianus: *I.G.R.* III 1397.
M. Aurelius Mindius Matidianus Pollio: *O.G.I.* 525 = Dessau 8858 (δίς): *S.E.G.* IV 520 = *Ann. Ép.* 1928, 97 (τρίς).
Ti. Claudius Piso: *I.G.R.* III 63 = *O.G.I.* 528.
Moschus: *I.G.R.* III 21.
Titius Ulpius Aelianus Papianus: *I.G.R.* III 69 = 1419.
T. Ulpius Aelianus Antoninus: *I.G.R.* III 69.
.....*B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 410, no. 410.

NAME NOT MENTIONED

I.G.R. III 67 = 1418.

3. ARCHIEREIS OF PONTUS

M. Aurelius Alexander: *I.G.R.* III 90 = 1435 = *O.G.I.* 531.
Aurelius Alexander Timotheus: *I.G.R.* III 79. See Robert *Ét. Anat.* p. 256.
Ti. Claudius Lepidus: *I.G.R.* III 88.
T. Julius Aquila: *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 73, no. 21.
Scribonius (?) Pius: *I.G.R.* III 107.

4. PONTARCHS

M. Antonius Serg. Rufus: *I.G.R.* III 115 = *O.G.I.* 529.
M. Aurelius Alexander: *I.G.R.* III 90 = 1435 = *O.G.I.* 531.
M. Aurelius Chrysenius Demetrius: *I.G.R.* III 1427.
L. Caecilius C.f. Clus. Proculus (also Lesbarch): *I.G.R.* III 87 = *J.O.A.I.* XXVIII (1933), *Beibl.* 70, no. 18.
Jul(ius), son of Timotheus: *C.I.G.* 4183.
M. Julius Julianus and wife Sextilia Cyrilla (Ποντάρχοῦντες): *I.G.R.* III 97 = *Stud. Pont.* III 2.
Julius Potitus ?: *I.G.R.* III 116.
Titius Ulpius Aelianus Papianus: *I.G.R.* III 69 = 1419.
T. Ulpius Aelianus Antoninus: *I.G.R.* III 69.
.....*I.G.R.* III 95.
.....*B.C.H.* XXXIII (1909), p. 410, no. 410.

C. CILICIA

CILICARCHS

Domitius Felix Cronides: *I.G.R.* III 912.
Hemerius: *I.G.R.* III 883 = Robert *Hellenica* VII (1949), p. 197f.

D. GALATIA

1. ARCHIEREIS

P. Aelius Macedon: *I.G.R.* III 195 (see no. 184).
Claudia[nus ?]: *S. B. Bayer. Akad.* 1860, p. 193, no. 2 = *I.G.R.* III 232.

Ti. Claudius Bocchus: *J.O.A.I.* xxx (1937), *Beibl.* 10f., no. 2 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 86.
Ti. Claudius Quir. Deiotarus (δίς): *I.G.R.* III 225 = *O.G.I.* 541.
T. Flavius Gaianus: *I.G.R.* III 204: *O.G.I.* 547: *J.O.A.I.* xxx (1937), *Beibl.* 23f., no. 23: Mordtmann *Marm. Ancyr.* p. 3f., nos. II and IV.
.....Quir. Heras (ἑξάκις): *I.G.R.* III 230 = *O.G.I.* 540.
.....*I.G.R.* III 205.

2. GALATARCHS

C. Aelius Flavianus Sulpicius (δίς): *I.G.R.* III 196 and 197: *J.H.S.* XLIV (1924), p. 42, no. 76 = *Ann. Ép.* 1924, 91 = *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 244, no. 18: Mordtmann *Marm. Ancyr.* p. 21, no. 8.
P. Aelius Macedon: *I.G.R.* III 195.
Aemilius Statorianus: *I.G.R.* III 198.
Caecilius Hermianus: *I.G.R.* III 179 = *O.G.I.* 549.
Ti. Claudius Alexander: *J.O.A.I.* xxx (1937), *Beibl.* 10f., no. 2 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 86.
Ti. Claudius Bocchus: *I.G.R.* III 194 = *O.G.I.* 542 = *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 237, no. 11.
Claudius Caecilius Hermianus: *J.O.A.I.* xxx (1937), *Beibl.* 17, no. 12 = *Ann. Ép.* 1937, 89.
Ti. Claudius Procilianus: *I.G.R.* III 194 = *O.G.I.* 542 = *Mél. Beyrouth* XIII (1928), p. 237, no. 11.
T. Flavius Gaianus: *I.G.R.* III 204: *O.G.I.* 547: *J.O.A.I.* xxx (1937), *Beibl.* 23f., no. 23: Mordtmann *Marm. Ancyr.* p. 3f., nos. II and IV.
....lus Januarius Licinianus: *I.G.R.* III 231.
.... Varus (?): *I.G.R.* III 201.

E. LYCIA-PAMPHYLIA

1. ARCHIEREIS (LYCIA)

Aelius Telemachus (Dicaearchus): *I.G.R.* III 713.
Antichares: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 46-48.
Antichares (Dionysius): *I.G.R.* III 712.
Apollonius (II): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 20.
Apollonius (III): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 14 and 15.
Archepolis: *I.G.R.* III 705.
Aristander: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 68: *T.A.M.* II 521; 929 = *I.G.R.* III 741.
Aristolochus: *T.A.M.* II 338.
Attalus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 16.
M. Aurelius archus ([Arist]ocles): *T.A.M.* II 677.
M. Aurelius Euelthon: *T.A.M.* II 284 = *I.G.R.* III 621.
Caesianus: *T.A.M.* II 600.
Callistratus: *T.A.M.* II 260.
Cillortas: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 23.

Ti. Claudius Quir. Agrippinus: *T.A.M.* II 422 A, 424, 423, 425 and 495 = *I.G.R.* III 670-673 and 603.
Claudius Antimachus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 36, 41 and 57.
Ti. Claudius Caesianus Agrippa: *T.A.M.* II 195 = *I.G.R.* III 586.
Claudius Callistratos Alexander: *I.G.R.* III 710.
Claudius Marcianus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 17.
Claudius Sacerdos: *I.G.R.* III 492; 500 III: *T.A.M.* II 905 = 739, cc. 6 and 7.
Claudius Telemachus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 1.
Demetrius: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 22.
Diogenes (?): *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582.
Sex. Flavius Andronicus: *T.A.M.* II 240.
Flavius Attalus: *I.G.R.* III 704 1: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 24.
Flavius Sosus: *I.G.R.* III 704 1.
Harmodius: *T.A.M.* II 330.
Heraclianus (?) (Aristaenetus): *I.G.R.* III 713.
Heraclides: Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* II 26, 1.
[Jas]on (son of Embromus): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739 c. 19.
Jason (son of Nicostratus): *I.G.R.* III 704 II A: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 28 and 37.
Julius Demetrius: *I.G.R.* III 713.
[C. Julius Demosthenes]: *I.G.R.* III 487.
C. Julius Diophantus: *T.A.M.* II 145 = *I.G.R.* III 524.
C. Julius Heliodorus (Diophantus): *T.A.M.* II 143, 155, 601 c and 905 = *I.G.R.* III 527, 526, 568 and 739, c. 35 (?).
M. Julius Heliodorus: *I.G.R.* III 706.
Julius Titianus Ph[a]n[i]as: *I.G.R.* III 704 1.
C. Julius Tlepolemus: *I.G.R.* III 705: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 61.
C. Licinius Fronto: *T.A.M.* II 448 = *I.G.R.* 684 (mentioned in *I.G.R.* III 704 III B and D).
Licinius Longus: *T.A.M.* II 250: *I.G.R.* III 706: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 21.
C. Licinius Musaeus (I): *I.G.R.* III 493 and 494.
C. Licinius Musaeus (II)?: *I.G.R.* 496 (cf. 500 II, l. 10).
C. Licinius Philinus: *T.A.M.* II 678.
Licinius Stasithemis: *T.A.M.* II 247: *I.G.R.* III 704 1: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 42 and 60 (?).
Ma Nicagoras: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 62.
Marcius Thoas: *I.G.R.* III 494 and 496.
Mausolus: *I.G.R.* III 706 (mentioned in 704 1).
M[ett]ius Androbius: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 44.
Nicias: *I.G.* XIV 1878 = *I.G.R.* I 312.
[Ni]costratus (Xanthippus): *B.G.U.* 913 (A.D. 206).
Opramoas: *T.A.M.* II 578 (= *I.G.R.* III 679); 579; 907, 908 and 905 = *I.G.R.* III 731, 738 and 739, cc. 26, 30, 32, 53, 63, 66 and 69.
Pasicrates: *T.A.M.* II 522.

Philippus: *T.A.M.* II 15 = *I.G.R.* III 539.
Pigres: *T.A.M.* II 838 *d* = *I.G.R.* III 649.
[Pol]ycharmus: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 34.
Praxio: *I.G.R.* III 698 = *Syll.*[3] 1234.
Protoleo: *T.A.M.* II 331.
Quintus (?): *T.A.M.* II 208 = *I.G.R.* III 591.
[Sar]pedon: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 26.
Taurinus: *T.A.M.* II 259 = *I.G.R.* III 638.
Timarchus: *T.A.M.* II 765 = *I.G.R.* III 640.
Trebemus: *T.A.M.* II 833 = *I.G.R.* III 647.
[Ve]ranius: *T.A.M.* II 113.
Q. Veranius Clus. Eudemus: *T.A.M.* II 288 = *I.G.R.* III 628.
[Verani]us [Jas]on: *T.A.M.* II 198 = *I.G.R.* III 589.
Veranius Priscianus: *I.G.R.* III 704 I.
Q. Veranius Clus. Tlepolemus: *T.A.M.* II 41 c; 288 (= *I.G.R.* III 628): *I.G.R.* III 705: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 43 and 63.
L. Viberinus: *I.G.R.* III 500 III, l. 41: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, cc. 8 and 12.

NAMES UNKNOWN

T.A.M. II 191 and 195 = *I.G.R.* III 590 and 586: *I.G.R.* III 711.

ARCHIEREIAI

Artemon (Tata) (wife of Philippus, see above).
Flavia Nan(n)e: *T.A.M.* II 206 = *I.G.R.* III 592.
Herpidasa (Sarpedonis): *I.G.R.* III 693.
Marcia Ge (wife of Marcius Thoas, see above).

2. LYCIARCHS

[A]po[llonius]: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 18.
Apollonius (III): *T.A.M.* II 915 = *I.G.R.* III 736.
M. Aurelius Dionysius: *T.A.M.* II 572 = *I.G.R.* III 556 = *O.G.I.* 568 = Dessau 8840.
M. Aurelius Eucarpus: *T.A.M.* II 190 = *I.G.R.* III 585 (name from *T.A.M.* II 189 = *I.G.R.* III 584).
M. Aurelius Quir. Laetus (Paetus): *T.A.M.* II 497 = *I.G.R.* III 604.
Aurelius Pamphilus (?): *T.A.M.* II 771.
Aurelius Philotas: *T.A.M.* II 688.
M. Aurelius [S]o[l]on: *I.G.R.* III 767.
M. Aurelius Troilus: *I.G.R.* III 461 and 462.
Claudius Dryantianus: *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 64.
Ti. Claudius : *I.G.R.* III 491.
Ti. Claudius Telemachus: *T.A.M.* II 175 = *I.G.R.* III 582 = 1515: *T.A.M.* II 301-306 = *I.G.R.* III 622-626 (see Chap. XXII note 70).
Diogenes: *Festschr. f. H. Kiepert*, p. 156, no. 5 = *T.A.M.* II 741.
M. Domitius Philippus: *T.A.M.* II 24 = *I.G.R.* III 538.
Flavianus Diogenes: *I.G.R.* III 500 IV, l. 11.

Jason (son of Nicostratus): *I.G.R.* III 704 II A, B, and D.
C. Julius Demosthenes: *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 52f.
Julius Mettius: *T.A.M.* II 682-686 = *I.G.R.* III 517-519.
Licinius Longus: *I.G.R.* III 492; 500 II, III and VI.
Licinius Musaeus (I): *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 4f.
Licinius Stasithemis: *I.G.R.* III 706.
Ma[rcianus] (?): *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 19.
Marcius Deioterianus: *I.G.R.* IV 907 (= *O.G.I.* 495) and 912.
Marcius Titianus: *I.G.R.* III 500 III, l. 28f.
Marcius Thoas: *I.G.R.* III 500 II, l. 6f.
Mettius Androbius: *I.G.R.* III 500 V: *T.A.M.* II 905 = *I.G.R.* III 739, c. 45.
Mettius Irenaeus: *I.G.R.* III 500 V.
Opramoas: *T.A.M.* II 915 and 905 = *I.G.R.* III 736 and 739, c. 24f.
Torquatus: *Mon. Ant.* XXIII[1] (1914), p. 214, no. 152.

M. Aurelia Chrysion (Nemeso), Αυκιάρχισσα: *T.A.M.* II 188 and 189 = *I.G.R.* III 583 and 584.
Aurelia Niciane Dibidoriane Harmasta (ἀπὸ Αυκιαρχίας): *T.A.M.* III 1, 277 and 485.

3. PAMPHYLIARCHS

Solymius: *B.C.H.* XXIII (1899), p. 301f., no. 30 = *T.A.M.* III 1, 127.

NAMES NOT MENTIONED

I.G.R. III 474.
T.A.M. III 1, 138.

APPENDIX III

CULTS OF ROMA AND AUGUSTUS

(In part from an unpublished manuscript of the late A. O'Brien-Moore)

A. ROMA ALONE

1. REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Alabanda: Livy XLIII 6, 5 (temple and festival, 170 B.C.).
Astypalaea: *I.G.* XII 3, 173 = *I.G.R.* IV 1028 *b*, l. 25 (altar, 105 B.C.).
Cibyra: *O.G.I.* 762 (statue 2d C.).
Ephesus: *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437, l. 90 (priest, 94/3 B.C.): *Ephesos* II no. 30 (1st C., priests): *I.G.R.* IV 1262 (festival).
Hierocaesareia: *I.G.R.* IV 1309 (priest).
Ionian Federation: *I.G.R.* IV 1539, l. 12 (sacrifice).
Lycian Federation: *T.A.M.* II 583 = *I.G.R.* III 563 = *O.G.I.* 556 (priest, 1st C.). See also Chap. X note 30 (now *J.H.S.* LXVIII [1948], p. 46f.).
Magnesia ad Maeandrum: *Ins. Magn.* 88 (= *Syll.*[3] 1079, festival, 2d and 1st C.); 127 (festival, 1st C.).
Miletus: *Milet* I 7, no. 203 (temple, priest and festival, about 130 B.C.): *A.M.* XLIV (1919), p. 32, no. 18 a, restored in *B.C.H.* XLIX (1925), p. 232f. (festival, 2d C.).
Mitylene: *I.G.* XII 2, 25 = *I.G.R.* IV 27 (dedication ?, 47 B.C. ?).
Pergamum: *I.G.R.* IV 1692 = *Syll.*[3] 694 (sacrifices, soon after 129 B.C.): *C.I.L.* III 399 (priest, 1st C.).
Rhodes: *I.G.* XII 1, 46 and 730 (= *Syll.*[3] 724) = *I.G.R.* IV 1131 and 1140 (festival, 1st C.).
Sardis: *I.G.R.* IV 297 = *O.G.I.* 437, l. 90f. (priest, 94-93 B.C.): *Ins. Sardis* 27 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1757); 93; 112 and 113 (= *I.G.R.* IV 1522 and 1526) (priests).
Smyrna: Tacitus *Ann.* IV 56, 1 (temple, 195 B.C.).
Stratoniceia: *I.G.R.* IV 247, l. 25f. (festival, 150 ? B.C.): *O.G.I.* 441, l. 133 (festival, 81 B.C.).
Tripolis ?: *M.A.M.A.* VI 53 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 183.

2. REPUBLIC OR EARLY EMPIRE

Apameia Cibotus: *I.G.R.* IV 793 (priest).
Eumeneia: *I.G.R.* IV 741 (priest).
Teos: *B.C.H.* XIX (1895), p. 554 (priest).
Thyateira: *I.G.R.* IV 1228 (priest); 1304 (priest), see Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 71.
Trysa: *I.G.R.* III 687 (priest).

3. IMPERIAL PERIOD

Anazarbus: *J.O.A.I.* XVIII (1915), *Beibl.* 55 (priest).
Aperlae: *I.G.R.* III 692 (priest).
Apollonia: *I.G.R.* III 320 and 322 (= *M.A.M.A.* IV 142) (priests).

Cos: *I.G.R.* IV 1065 = *Syll.*[3] 1066 (festival).
Dorylaeum: *I.G.R.* IV 522 = *O.G.I.* 479 (priest).
Hyllarima: *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 379 (dedication).
Lycian Federation: *I.G.R.* III 474; 490; 595 = *T.A.M.* II 223 (priests).
Termessus: *T.A.M.* III 1, 90, 109-114, 153 and 176 = *I.G.R.* III 437-443 and 446: *Denkschr. Wien. Akad.* LXIX (1929), 3, p. 28f. (priests).

B. ROMA AND AUGUSTUS

(Apart from provincial cults)

Alabanda: *B.C.H.* X (1886), p. 306f., no. 2 = *R.E.G.* V (1892), p. 411, no. 7: *B.C.H.* LVIII (1934), p. 300f., no. 3 = *Ann. Ép.* 1935, 46 (priests).
Bargylia: *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 191f., no. 14 = XVIII (1894), p. 25, no. 21 (priest, about A.D. 80).
Cyme: *I.G.R.* IV 1302 (priest, after 2 B.C.).
Halicarnassus: *I.B.M.* 894 (temenos).
Mitylene: *I.G.* XII 2, 656 = *I.G.R.* IV 95 (priest).
Mylasa: *C.I.G.* 2696 (temple): *B.C.H.* XII (1888), p. 15, no. 4(?) (priest, 3 B.C.-A.D. 2).
Nysa: *C.I.G.* 2943 = *Syll.*[3] 781 (priest, 1 B.C.).
Pergamum: *I.G.R.* IV 316 = 473(?); 454 (priests).
Priene: *Ins. Priene* 222 (priest).
Samos: *I.G.R.* IV 975 and 977 (dedications).
Thyateira: *I.G.R.* IV 1304 (altar); see Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 71.

ROMA AND JULIA AUGUSTA

Attaleia: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 10f., no. 1 = *S.E.G.* II 696 = *Ann. Ép.* 1922, 2 (priestess, 1st C.).

C. AUGUSTUS ALONE

Assus: *I.G.R.* IV 256 and 257 (priest).
Cos: *I.G.R.* IV 1087.
Ephesus: *C.I.L.* III 6070 = 7118 = Dessau 97 (temple, 5 B.C.).
Eresus: *I.G.* XII *Suppl.* no. 124 (temple).
Heracleia ad Latmum: *R. Phil.* XXIII (1899), p. 287, no. 10 (altar).
Hypaepa ? : Keil-Premerstein III no. 107 (temple).
Ilium: *I.G.R.* IV 220 (priest).
Miletus: *Milet* I 2, no. 7 b and p. 11 (temple).
Sardis: *Ins. Sardis* 8 = *I.G.R.* IV 1756, l. 13f. (temple, 5 B.C.).
Sebaste: *I.G.R.* IV 691 (priest ?).
Thyateira: Robert *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 71, no. 23 (priest).
Antioch: *C.I.L.* III 6848.
Sinope: *C.I.L.* III 6980.
Termessus: *T.A.M.* III 1, 684 = *I.G.R.* III 447 (priest).
Paphlagonia: *I.G.R.* III 137 = *O.G.I.* 532 = Dessau 8781 = *Stud. Pont.* III 66 (3 B.C.).

APPENDIX IV

GROUPS OF RESIDENT ROMANS

Kornemann in *R.E.* IV 1185f.: Chapot *Prov. Procons.* p. 188f. (Asia only): F. Poland *Gesch. d. Griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 595f.: J. Hatzfeld *Les Trafiquants Italiens, etc.* pp. 46f., 90f and 160f.: Broughton in *Econ. Surv.* IV p. 880f.

ASIA

Adramyttium ?: Appian *Mith.* 23.
Alia (or Acmonia ?): Ramsay *C.B.* I p. 641, no. 533 = *I.G.R.* IV 632.
Apameia Cibotus: *C.I.L.* III 365: *I.G.R.* IV 779, 785, 786, 788 and 789 (= *M.A.M.A.* VI 180), 790, 791, 793 and 794: *M.A.M.A.* VI 177 and 183 = *Ann. Ép.* 1940, 195 and 197.
Assus: *I.G.R.* IV 248, 249, 250, 251 (= *Syll.*[3] 797), 254 (?), 255 and 259.
Attaleia: *I.G.R.* IV 1169 (*curator*).
Caunus ?: Appian *Mith.* 23.
Chios: *I.G.R.* IV 943 (= *Syll.*[3] 785) and 1703.
Cibyra: *I.G.R.* IV 903-905, 913 and 916-19.
Cnidus: *B.C.H.* XXXIV (1910), p. 425, no. 1 = XXXVI (1912), p. 667.
Cos: *I.G.R.* IV 1087: *Ann. Ép.* 1947, 55. See also Hatzfeld, p. 152f.
Cyzicus: *C.I.L.* III 7061: *I.G.R.* IV 142 as restored in *R.E.G.* XLII (1929), p. 427f., no. 2; 148.
Dorylaeum: *Échos d'Orient* X (1897), p. 77.
Ephesus: *Ephesos* II no. 58: Cassius Dio LI 20, 6f.: Appian *Mith.* 23 (?).
Erythrae: *I.G.R.* IV 1545 and 1548 as restored in *R.E.G.* XXIX (1916), p. 170f.; 1546; 1547.
Hierapolis: *I.G.R.* IV 818 (κονβεντα[ρ]χήσας).
Ilium: *I.G.R.* IV 190 and 224.
Lampsacus: Cicero *II Verr.* I 69: Appian *B.C.* V 137 (?) (see Chap. XVII note 35).
Laodiceia: *C.I.L.* III 12242 = *I.G.R.* IV 864+873.
Methymna: *I.G.* XII 2, 517 and 518 = *I.G.R.* IV 4 and 5.
Mitylene: *C.I.L.* III 455 = 7160.
Nais: *I.G.R.* IV 713 (A.D. 88).
Pergamum: *I.G.R.* IV 294 = *O.G.I.* 764, l. 19 as corrected in *A.M.* XXIX (1904), p. 389 (ca. 125 B.C.); 315: *A.M.* XXIV (1899), p. 187, no. 48: Cicero *pro Flacco* 71: Appian *Mith.* 23 ?.
Philadelpheia: *I.G.R.* IV 1644.
Priene: *Ins. Priene* 112, l. 80; 113, ll. 39 and 77f.; 123.
Prymnessus: *C.I.L.* III 7043 = 14192[3] = *I.G.R.* IV 675.
Rhodes: Cassius Dio LX 24, 4 (see Hatzfeld, p. 156).
Sebaste ?: *I.G.R.* IV 684.
Smyrna: *I.G.R.* IV 1484: Cicero *pro Flacco* 71.
Stratoniceia (Caria): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 191, no. 12 (= XI [1887], p. 146f.

no. 47); XI p. 147f., nos. 48 and 51; XII (1888), p. 255 (=XXVIII [1904], p. 23f., no. 2); XXVIII p. 245, no. 54.

Synnada: *M.A.M.A.* VI 372=*Ann. Ép.* 1940, 204.

Teos: *I.G.R.* IV 1579.

Thyateira: *I.G.R.* IV 1209 as restored in *R. Phil.* LV (1929), p. 136f.; 1235; 1255 (*curator*).

Tralles: *C.I.L.* III 444: *C.I.G.* 2927 and 2930 (*curator*): *B.C.H.* V (1881), p. 347, no. 10: *P.A.S.* I p. 108f., no. 10: Cicero *pro Flacco* 71: Appian *Mith.* 23 (?).

Unknown place in Lydia: *I.G.R.* IV 1357=1494.

BITHYNIA

Nicaea: Cassius Dio LI 20, 6f.

CILICIA

Mallus: *C.I.L.* III 13617=14177[10] (?).

ISAURIA

Isaura Vetus: *I.G.R.* III 292 and 294 and *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, etc.* no. 152 (*συμπολιτευόμενοι*, see Chap. XVIII note 44).

PAMPHYLIA

Attaleia: *Ann. Scuol. Atene* VIII-IX (1925-26), p. 363, no. 2=*S.E.G.* VI 646=*Ann. Ép.* 1941, 147 (*συμπολιτευόμενοι*).

PAPHLAGONIA

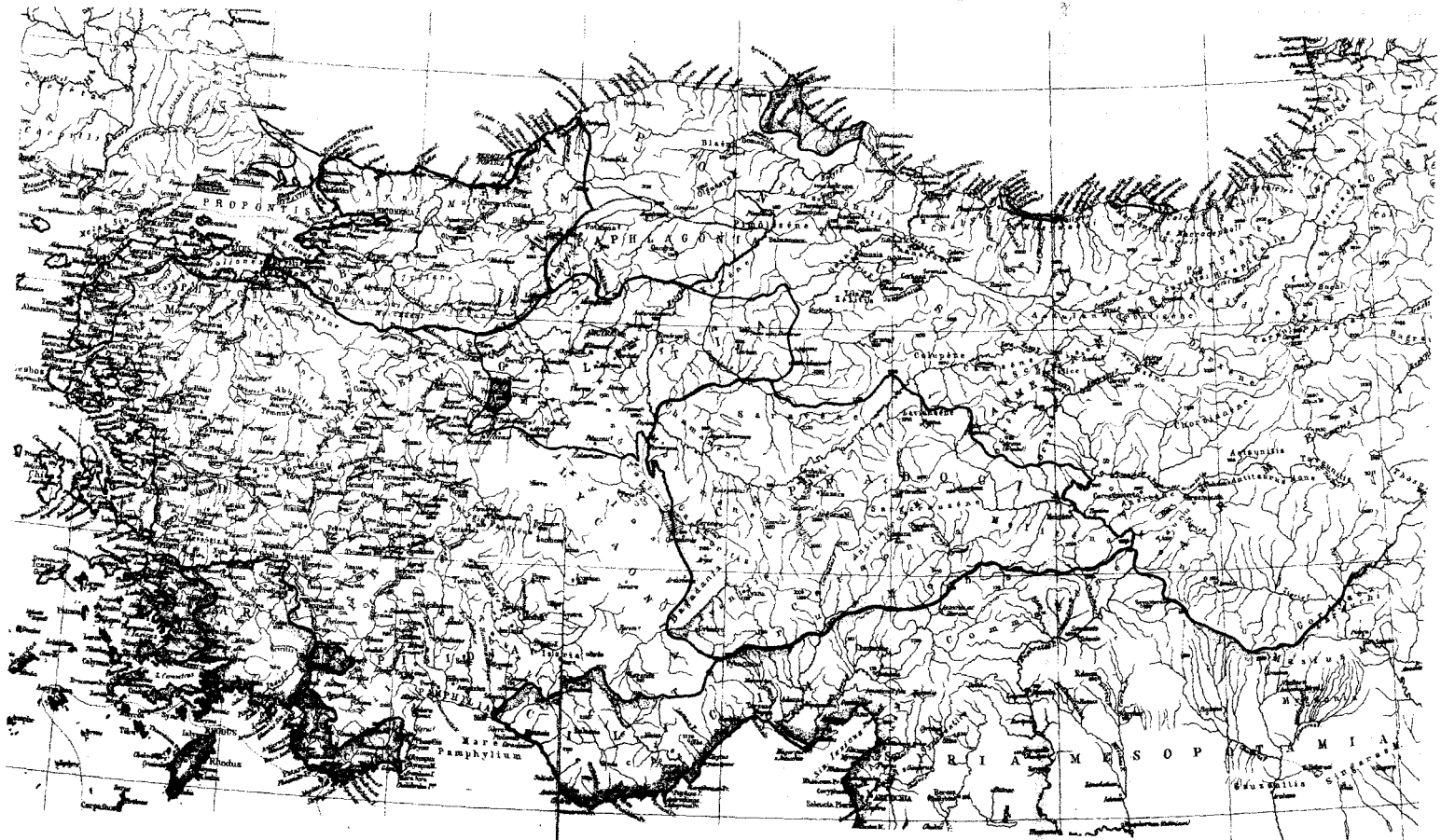
Gangra: *I.G.R.* III 137=*O.G.I.* 532=Dessau 8781=*Stud. Pont.* III 66 (3 B.C.).

PISIDIA

Conana: *I.G.R.* III 325 (?): *Ann. Scuol. Atene* III (1921), p. 43, no. 31=*S.E.G.* II 744=*Ann. Ép.* 1922, 4.

PONTUS

Amisus: *I.G.R.* IV 314 (*συμπολιτευόμενοι*).


PROPONTIS
PAPHLAGONIA
Rhodus
Mare Pamphylium
MESOPOTAMIA

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

PAGE	LINE	
498	11	for "Cameira" read "Camirus."
684	33-35	omit "The bestowal of the titles . . . as well"; see note 41
779	23	for "end" read "beginning."
1122	26	for the decree of Araxa see now *J.H.S.* LXVIII (1948 [1950]), p. 46 f. and Robert in *R.E.G.* LXIII (1950), *Bull. Ep.* p. 65 f.
1362	31	for Marcus Lepidus see also Syme *Rom. Revolution*, p. 433, note 4.
1466	5	for "Parthamisiris" read "Parthamasiris."
1582	46	for "Sex." read "C."
1596	22	for T. Helvius T. f. Basila (*C.I.L.* x 5056=Dessau 977) as legatus Augusti pro praetore on Galatian coins see M. Grant *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, p. 328, note 3.